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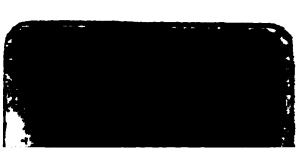

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WILLIAM EWART

GLADSTONE

AND HIS

CONTEMPORARIES:

FIFTY YEARS

OF

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

BY

THOMAS ARCHER, F.R.H.S.,

AUTHOR OF "PICTURES AND ROYAL PORTRAITS," "DECISIVE EVENTS OF HISTORY," "THE TERRIBLE SIGHTS OF LONDON," ETC.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

		PAGE
Portrait—Prince of Wales—From a photograph,	*frontispiece.*	
„ Lord Brougham—From a photograph,	*to face*	12
„ John Bright—From a photograph,	„	62
„ Lord Clyde—From the portrait by Sir Francis Grant, *P.R.A.*,	„	96
„ Earl Clarendon—From a photograph,	„	150
„ Earl Granville—From a photograph,	„	162
„ Robert Lowe—From a photograph,	„	304
„ Sir William Thomson—From a photograph,	„	330

CHAPTER VIII.

War-fever—The Years Militant.

PAGE

Opening of Session of 1853—Material Prosperity—Statistics of Railways—Progress of Manufactures, ... 1

Agricultural Improvement—Mr. Mechi's Experiments at Tiptree Hall—The Water Supply of London—Mr. F. O. Ward's Sanitary Efforts, ... 2

Discussions regarding the final Disposal of the Great Exhibition Building—Erection of Art Galleries and Museums with surplus Funds of the Exhibition, . . 2

Death of Pugin the Architect and of Turner the Painter—Turner's munificent Bequests, ... 3

Death of Count d'Orsay—His relations with the Countess of Blessington—Byron's Sketch of D'Orsay, ... 4

"Emperor-making" in Hayti—Solemn Installation of Soulouque as Faustin the First, ... 4

Arctic Discovery—Public Excitement about Sir John Franklin and his Crews—Reported Sighting of Franklin's Ships, . 5

Evils of Betting Offices, ... 6

Home-Secretary Walpole attempts to stop Open-air Sunday Meetings in the East-end of London—Increase of Secularism—Mr. Holyoake's Position in relation to it—His Appearance in a Court—Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Commissioner Phillips, . 6

Affairs in Australia—Escape of "Meagher of the Sword"—His Reception in New York—O'Brien and Meagher as Ticket-of-leave Men, ... 7

Father Newman's Attacks on Protestantism—Affair of Giovanni G. Achilli—Case of "The Queen *versus* J. H. Newman," . 8

Home Affairs in 1852—Mr. Walpole's new Militia Bill—Mr. Macaulay again returned for Edinburgh—His enthusiastic Reception in the Music Hall—Macaulay's Speech against the Franchise Clauses of the Militia Bill, ... 9

Commissioners' Report on the Oxford Colleges—Parliamentary Oaths Question and Mr. Alderman Salomons—Lord Lyndhurst's Law Reforms—Lord Brougham's proceedings in France, ... 12

The Frome-Bennett Case—Mr. Horsman's Charges against Mr. Bennett and the Bishop of Bath and Wells—Mr. Gladstone defends them—Revival of Convocation, . 13

The Eastern Question—Visit of the Czar Nicholas to England in 1844—His Position and Temper—He communicates his Views on Turkey to Sir Hamilton Seymour in 1853, ... 14

Studies and Pursuits of the Emperor Nicholas—His Love of Pomp and Display—His untiring Activity—Character of his Government—Dr. Mandt's Story, . . . 16

Russian Dislike of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—The Czar's Hope of Prussian Support—Attitude of the French People, . 20

Marriage of Napoleon III., ... 20

Napoleon's Letter to the Emperor of Russia—Nicholas's Reply—Nature of the Russian Demands—Insolence of Prince Menschikoff—Conduct of the Sultan, . . . 21

The Russians enter the Principalities—Rejection of the Vienna Note—Public Feeling in England—The Queen's Letter, . . 23

Digitized by Google

PAGE

The French and British Fleets sent to the Dardanelles—Lord Palmerston's Influence in the Cabinet—Position of the Emperor Nicholas—War declared by Turkey—Omar Pacha takes the Field, . . . 25
Prince Albert and Lord Palmerston on the Situation—Lord Aberdeen's Contention—Manifesto by the Emperor Nicholas—His Letter to Queen Victoria—The Queen's Reply—Commencement of Hostilities, ... 27
Lord John Russell on Coalition Ministries, . 32
The Russians destroy the Turkish Fleet at Sinope—The Combined Fleets ordered to the Black Sea—Napoleon's Remonstrance with Nicholas—Attitude of Austria and Prussia—War-feeling in France and England—Prince Albert's Letter to King Leopold—The English Ultimatum rejected by Russia, ... 33
The Crimea, ... 37
The "Poetic English Party"—Military Review at Chobham—Naval Review at Spithead, ... 38
Positions occupied by the allied Fleets and Armies, ... 40
Lord Palmerston as Home Secretary—His Advice to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, . 42
Case of the Rev. Mr. Maurice—Dr. Colenso consecrated Bishop of Natal, . . . 43
Popularity of Lord Palmerston—His threatened Resignation—Charges against Prince Albert—Palmerston suspected of encouraging them—His Denial—Prince Albert's Letter to Baron Stockmar—The Prince's Position in the State, ... 44
Lord Palmerston remains in the Cabinet—The Provisions of Lord John's Reform Bill—It is withdrawn, ... 49
Financial Prospects—Mr. Gladstone's expected War Budget, ... 52
Character of Frederick William of Prussia—His Letter to Queen Victoria in favour of Russia—The Queen's Reply—Duplicity of the Russian Court, ... 53
The War Budget of 1854—Mr. Kinglake's Criticism of Mr. Gladstone, . . . 56
Mr. Gladstone's additional Proposals for meeting Expenditure—Details of the Supplementary Budget, ... 59
Mr. Gladstone's Views regarding Turkey in 1854 and 1877, and the Proposals for the Occupation of Egypt, ... 60
Messrs. Cobden and Bright oppose the War—Characteristics of their Oratory—Mr. Cobden on the Duke of Wellington—His new Home at Dunford—His Sketch of a "People's Budget"—His Views on National Disarmament and Foreign War Loans—Difference between Cobden and Palmerston's Policy—Popular Feeling against "Cobden, Bright, & Co.," . 61
Mr. Gladstone's recent Views on the Causes of the Crimean War, ... 68
Departure of the Baltic Fleet—Banquet to Admiral Sir Charles Napier, . . . 70
Speech of Mr. Bright at Edinburgh on War and Foreign Intervention, ... 73
Return of the Baltic Fleet—Recriminatory Correspondence between Admiral Napier and Sir James Graham, ... 77
Mr. Bright denounces the War in Parliament—His Opinion of the Condition of Turkey—His Views of the Vienna Note and of Count Nesselrode's Interpretation—He ridicules the "Balance of Power" and "British Interests" Ideas, ... 79
Mr. Gladstone on the Design of the Crimean War, ... 87
A "Day of Prayer and Supplication" appointed—The Queen's Letters to Lord Aberdeen, ... 88
Invasion of the Crimea proposed—Austria's shabby Policy, ... 89
Siege and gallant Defence of Silistria—The Russians defeated and the Siege raised, . 89
Lord Lyndhurst on Russian Policy and the Object of the War—Attacks on Lord Aberdeen—His Defence, ... 91
Proposed Plan for the Attack on Sebastopol—The *Times* on the Situation, . . . 92
Ravages of Cholera among the Allied Troops—Great Fire at Varna, ... 93
The Allied Armies leave Varna for the Crimea—Eupatoria taken, ... 94
Battle of the Alma, ... 95
Prince Albert's Visit to the Emperor of the French, ... 97
Proposal of the Emperor to go personally to the Crimea—He and the Empress visit England—Return Visit of the Queen and Prince Albert, ... 99
Effect of the News of the Alma on the Czar, 103
General Canrobert succeeds Marshal St. Arnaud—Sketch of the General, . . 104
The Defences of Sebastopol—Ignorance concerning its actual Strength and Resources—It is invested by the French and English Armies, ... 105
Battle of Balaklava, ... 106
The "Charge of the Light Brigade," . . 108
Distinguished Services of Sir de Lacy Evans, 110
Battle of Inkerman—Incidents of the Struggle—Savage Behaviour of the Russians—Prince Menschikoff's Explanation, . . 110
Despatch of Reinforcements to the Crimea—

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Inefficiency of the Commissariat and Transport Services—Great Storm and Loss of Valuable Stores—Gross official Blundering, ... 115
The *Times* Crimean Fund—The "Patriotic Fund"—Opposition of the Peace Party—Mr. Bright on Popularity—He refuses to contribute to the Fund—Feeling against the "Pitiless Quakers," 118
The Newspaper Press and the War—Importance of the "Special Correspondent," . 120
Florence Nightingale goes to the Crimea with a staff of voluntary Nurses—Their invaluable Services—Miss Stanley and a second Band of Ladies proceed to the Crimea, . 121
Privations of the British Army—Private Efforts to relieve the Suffering—Mr. Theodore Martin on the State of the Camp—The Scene between the Harbour of Balaklava and the Camp, ... 122
Condition of the French Army, ... 123
Plan to obtain Official Intelligence from the Camp, ... 125
Formation of a Military Reserve Force at Malta, ... 126
An English Christmas before Sebastopol, . 126
Construction of a Railway between Balaklava and the Camp—Telegraphic Communication with England established, . . 126
Balaklava in February 1856—Destruction and Rebuilding of the Town—Damage done to Sebastopol, ... 128
A Visit to the Camp in March—Details of a Dinner-party there—M. Soyer's important Culinary Improvements, ... 129
Positions of the Allied Armies before Sebastopol, ... 131
Home Recruiting and the Foreign Enlistment Act, ... 132
Sketch of Count Cavour—Mazzini's Teaching—Proposal to organize a Sardinian Contingent—The Sardinian Army lands in the Crimea, ... 132
General Pelissier succeeds General Canrobert—Death of Lord Raglan, ... 135
Lord John Russell urges the Appointment of Lord Palmerston as War Secretary—Lord and Lady Palmerston's Visit to the French Emperor, ... 136
Treaty between England, France, and Austria, ... 138
Meeting of Parliament in December 1854—The Conduct of the War condemned by Lord Derby and Mr. Layard—Sketch of Mr. Layard—Opposition to the Foreign Enlistment Bill, ... 138
Meeting of Parliament in January 1855—Mr. Roebuck's notice of motion for a Committee of Inquiry—Resignation of Lord John Russell, ... 140
Messrs. Cobden and Bright opposed to their Constituents—Mr. Cobden's Speech at Leeds, ... 141
Debate on Mr. Roebuck's Motion for Inquiry—The Aberdeen Ministry defeated and resign—The Duke of Newcastle's defence, 143
Failure of Lord Derby to form a Ministry—Serious Aspect of Public Affairs, . . 148
Lord John Russell fails to form a Ministry—The Palmerston Coalition Cabinet formed—Mr. Gladstone appointed Chancellor of Exchequer and Lord Panmure War Secretary, ... 149
Sketch of Lord Panmure (Mr. Fox Maule), 151
Lord Palmerston announces the Policy of his Government—Opposition of Mr. Layard—Mr. Roebuck presses his Resolution—The new Ministry threatened with Dissolution—Mr. Bright's impassioned Appeal to stay the War—A Committee of Inquiry appointed, ... 152
Death of the Czar Nicholas, and Accession of Alexander II.—Resolution of British Government to prosecute the War, . . 155
Arrival of Wounded Soldiers in England—Organization of the Corps of Commissionaires, ... 158
Congress at Vienna—Proposals rejected by Russia—Her Endeavours to separate England and France—Breaking up of the Conference, ... 158
Administrative Reform Association established—Lord Ellenborough proposes an Address to Her Majesty—Lord Granville defends the Government—Lord Palmerston's Speech, ... 161
Sketch of Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis and of his Son Sir George Cornewall Lewis—Sir George's Budget for 1856, . . . 163
Progress of the War—Marshals Pelissier and Canrobert—Distribution of Crimean Medals by the Queen, ... 164
Expedition to Kertch—Destruction of Russian Stores, ... 165
Bombardment of Sebastopol—Capture of the Mamelon—Death of Lord Raglan, . . 166
Debate on the Continuation of the War—Mr. Gladstone advocates Negotiations for Peace—Mr. Bright on the Losses of the War—Prince Albert's Letter to Lord Aberdeen, ... 168
Mr. Gladstone's Review in 1877 of the Political Situation in 1855, ... 175
Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's Appeal for continuing the War, ... 176
Renewed Negotiations at Vienna, . . . 177

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PAGE

Report of the Crimean Committee of Inquiry —Censure upon the Government—Prince Albert's Speech at the Trinity House, . 177
Discussion on Administrative Reform, . . 179
Lord John Russell is denounced by Cobden, Roebuck, and Disraeli—Lord Palmerston attempts to defend his Colleague—Lord John's Resignation, ... 180
Comments on the Political Situation — Mr. Disraeli on the "Candid Friend" — He attacks Lord Palmerston, . . . 181
Mr. Gladstone *versus* Lord Palmerston, . 183
Bombardment of Sveaborg—Condition of the Russians—Their Attack upon the Allied Forces at Tchernaya repulsed, . . 184
Combined Attack upon Sebastopol — The Malakhoff captured—The Russians evacuate the Town—Its Appearance, and Dreadful State of the Hospital, . . . 185
End of the Siege—Our Losses during its Continuance, ... 187
Gallant Defence of Kars by General Williams, ... 187
Peace Negotiations renewed—Palmerston's Lesson to Austria — Conference of the Powers at Paris—Terms of the Treaty of Peace, ... 189
The Tidings of Peace received in the Crimea —Sebastopol given up to the Russians— Its Appearance described by an Eye-witness, ... 192
Changes in Maritime International Law, . 192
Peace Rejoicings at Home—Naval Review at Spithead, ... 193
Relations with the United States, . . . 193
Mr. Gladstone on the Terms of the Treaty of Peace, ... 194
The Difficulty of the Principalities, . . 194
Mr. Gladstone's View of the American Difficulty, ... 195
Mr. Cobden's Motion against the Foreign Policy of the Government — Difficulties with China—The Burmese War—Fighting in Persia, ... 196
War with China—Affair of the *Arrow*—Sketch of Sir John Bowring—His Demands upon the Chinese—The British Fleet bombards Canton—Proclamation of Governor Yeh, 198
Mr. Cobden on the Chinese Question — His Motion for a Select Committee — The Ministry outvoted and Parliament dissolved, ... 201
Lord Palmerston's Triumph in the new Election — Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and other leading Opponents unseated—Mr. Bright's parting Address to his former Constituents, ... 204
The Divorce Act—Mr. Gladstone's Opposition, 205

PAGE

Mr. Gladstone's Mission to the Ionian Islands, 209
Changes in the Government of India, . . 209

CHAPTER IX.

Revolt and Change—The Years of New Developments.

Condition of the Country—Sufferings of the Labouring Classes—Mr. Cobden's Indictment against War—Bread Riots, . . 210
Success of the Ragged School Union — Mr. Gladstone lays the Foundation Stone of a School in Golden Lane, ... 212
Prince Albert's Efforts to improve the Condition of the People—His Views on Popular Recreation and Education — He presides over an Educational Conference, . . 216
Debate on Sir G. C. Lewis' Budget, . . 219
Commercial Depression and Failures in 1857, 220
Christian Socialism and Young Englandism, . 221
Demonstrations against Lord R. Grosvenor's Sunday Bill—The *Times* upholds the Opposition—Conduct of the Police—Trial of the Rioters — Palmerston and Brougham mobbed—Mr. Dundas' foolish Speech, . 222
Condition of the Dwellings of the Poor in London and other Large Towns—Revelations by Dr. Letheby — Main Drainage Act for London, ... 226
Working of the Compulsory Vaccination Act, 228
The Adulteration of Food — "Analytic Sanitary Commission" of the *Lancet*—Startling Disclosures by Dr. Hassall—Sale of Diseased Meat, ... 229
Efforts for Extension of Education — Improvement in Popular Literature — Abolition of the Newspaper Stamp Duty — Cheap Newspapers, ... 231
Embezzlements by Sir John Dean Paul, Strahan, and Bates, and by John Sadleir —Failure of the Royal British Bank—Increase in Crimes of Violence—Treatment of Garotters—Trial of Palmer the Poisoner —The Redpath Frauds—The "Waterloo Bridge Mystery," 232
End of the Transportation System — Penal Servitude—Sir George Grey's Changes in 1857—The Ticket-of-leave in Ireland and in England — Punishment of Prisoners —Case of Edward Andrews, . . . 237
The Indian Mutiny—Feeling of the native Princes—Condition of India—Notions of the ordinary British Officer—Warnings by Colonel Hodgson and General Sir Charles Napier — Lord Macaulay supports Sir Charles Wood's India Bill—Annexation of Territory under Lord Dalhousie — The

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PAGE

Annexation of Oudh — Nana Sahib of Bithoor and his Agent Azimoolah Khan—Number and Character of the Native Army, 240

Origin of the Mutiny—Outbreak at Lucknow—Atrocities perpetrated there and at Delhi—The Magazine blown up by Lieutenant Willoughby, ... 246

News of the Mutiny reaches Lahore—The Native Troops in the Punjaub are disarmed—Lord Canning intercepts British Troops on their way to China, ... 249

The Mutiny at Lucknow—The Sepoys besiege the British—Death of Sir Henry Lawrence, ... 250

Condition of Cawnpore—Sir Hugh Wheeler's desperate Position — He seeks aid from Nana Sahib, who attacks the British—Gallant Defence of the Garrison — Nana Sahib's Treacherous Offer—He shoots down the Men and hacks to pieces the Women and Children — The fearful Slaughter-house described, ... 251

The Avenger of Blood at hand — General Henry Havelock — His rapid Advance upon Cawnpore—Flight of Nana Sahib—The Soldiers' dreadful Vow, ... 255

Havelock and Outram march to Lucknow—The besieged Garrison relieved—Death of General Neill, ... 257

Reinforcements arrive from England—March of Sir Colin Campbell to Lucknow—The Place stormed and the Garrison finally relieved—Death of Sir Henry Havelock, . 258

Desperate Fighting at Delhi—The British enter the City—State of the Palace, . 260

Lieutenant Hodson captures the King of Delhi and his two Sons — The Sons are shot, ... 263

Effect of the Indian Atrocities on the Public Mind—General Neill's treatment of the rebel Sepoys — The "Large Grave" at Cawnpore, ... 264

Debate on Indian Affairs—Mr. Disraeli foreshadows his "Imperial Policy" — Mr. Cobden's Views—General Klapka deprecates wholesale Executions of the Sepoys, 265

Suppression of the Mutiny—Escape of Nana Sahib—Doom of the King of Delhi and of Tantia Topee—The Rhanee of Jhansi—General Sir H. Rose's General Order, . 268

Career of Sir John Lawrence—His Management of the Punjaub, ... 269

Honours to General Havelock's Family—General Neill, Captain Sir William Peel, and Colonel Inglis, ... 270

Attacks upon Lord Canning—His Defence of his Policy—Discussion on his Proclamation—Lord Ellenborough's Proceedings—

PAGE

The Queen's Sympathy with Lord Canning—His Return to England, and Death, . 271

The Government of India—Lord Palmerston's Bill for transferring the Government to the Crown — Absurdities of Lord Ellenborough's "India Bill No. 2"—A Government Measure finally passed—Its Provisions — Extinction of the East India Company, ... 273

Lord Elgin sent to China, ... 275

Birth of the Princess Beatrice—Louis Napoleon's congratulatory Letter—The Anglo-French Alliance—Prince Albert's Reply, 275

The Allied French and English Forces take Canton—Commissioner Yeh captured and sent to Calcutta, ... 276

Difficulties of the Emperor Napoleon—Attempts on his Life—His supposed Secret Game with Russia and Austria, . . 277

Betrothal of the Princess Royal—Christening of the Princess Beatrice, ... 278

Visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French to England — Its semi-political Character—The Queen and Prince Albert's Visit to Cherbourg—The Emperor's Congratulations on the approaching Marriage of the Princess Royal, ... 279

Felice Orsini's Attempt to assassinate Louis Napoleon—Sketch of Orsini—Count Walewski's Despatch concerning English Protection of political Criminals — M. Persigny adds his Remonstrance—Fury of certain French Colonels—*Punch's* Gallic Cock—The *entente cordiale* in danger, . 280

Lord Palmerston's Conspiracy Bill introduced—Public Indignation aroused—The Bill rejected—Resignation of the Palmerston Cabinet, ... 283

Lord Derby forms a Cabinet—Mr. Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer—Lord Cowley retained at Paris—Differences with France about the Conspiracy Bill, . . . 287

Mr. Disraeli's Budget of 1858, . . . 288

Agitation for Reform—Debate on the Government Measure — Lord John Russell's Amendment—The Oratory of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton and Sir Hugh Cairns—The Measure defeated — Dissolution of Parliament, ... 289

Lord Palmerston again Prime Minister and Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer, ... 292

Mr. Cobden on the Derby Administration—He is returned for Rochdale—Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell urge him to enter the Cabinet—Cobden's Arrival from America—His Interview with Palmerston—His Refusal to join the Cabinet, . . 292

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PAGE

Mr. Bright's Address on Parliamentary Reform at Glasgow in 1858, . . . 296
Commercial Treaty with France—Mr. Cobden's Visit to Paris, ... 297
Mr. Gladstone's *Studies of Homer*—His Address to the University of Edinburgh in 1865—His Mission to the Ionian Islands—Criticisms of his Opponents—Final Cession of the Islands to Greece, . . . 298
Sketch of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton—His Style of Oratory—*Punch* and Thackeray on Sir Edward—His Novels and Dramas—His Political Creed—His unhappy Domestic Relations—Sergeant Ballantine's Anecdote of Lord Lytton—His Interest in Criminal Investigations, . . . 300
Sir Hugh M'Calmont Cairns, . . . 303
Sketch of Mr. Robert Lowe, ... 303
The Duke of Argyle, ... 304
Lord Chief-justice Campbell, . . . 304
Sketch of Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), . 305
Lord Lyndhurst—His Speech in favour of Strengthening the National Defences, . 305
Mr. Gladstone's Position in the House and in the Palmerston Cabinet, . . . 306
Austrian Rule in Italy—Policy of Cavour and of Mazzini—Mazzini and Garibaldi—Character of Cavour, ... 306
The Emperor Napoleon's Designs against Austria—Victor Emmanuel's Declaration—Feeling in England—Napoleon's Letter to Queen Victoria—Unpopularity of the War in France—The Emperor's false Position—Negotiations with Lord Cowley—A Congress proposed—M. Thiers on the Emperor—Proposal for a General Disarmament, ... 308
Austria prepares for War—Her Summons to Sardinia—Victor Emmanuel's Declaration to his Soldiers—Commencement of Hostilities, ... 312
The Emperor takes Command of the French Army—Movements of the Belligerents—The Austrians defeated at Palestro and at Magenta—Milan evacuated—Retreat of the Austrians—Their Defeat at Solferino, ... 313
An Armistice signed—Conditions of the Treaty of Villafranca—Return of the Emperor to Paris, ... 316
Mr. Gladstone's Budget of 1859—Increase of the Income-tax—Mr. Disraeli's Criticisms—Mr. Bright on the Income-tax and our Financial Policy—He urges increased Commercial Relations with France, . . 316
Mr. Cobden at Paris—His interview with the Emperor on the subject of English and French Tariffs—Cobden's Impressions of the Emperor—M. de Persigny's Representations—The Emperor assents to a Commercial Treaty, ... 318
M. Rouher's Plan of the Treaty—Cobden's Interview with Count Walewski—His Second Interview with the Emperor—His Letter to Mr. Bright describing the Interview, ... 320
The Commercial Treaty with France officially recognized—Cobden's Opinion of Prince Napoleon, ... 322
Close of the Franco-Austrian War—Dissatisfaction of Sardinia—Hostility of Germany towards France—Neutrality of England—Growth of our Volunteer Force, . . 322
Prince Albert and the Royal Family—Popularity of the Prince of Wales—His Education, ... 324
Prince Albert's Efforts to promote Art and Industrial Exhibitions—His Interest in the Volunteer Movement—Presides at the Meeting of the British Association in Aberdeen—His Inaugural Address, . . . 325
Improvements in Rifles and Artillery—The Armstrong Gun—Armour-plated Warships—The Cigar-shaped Steamship, . 326
The *Great Britain* Atlantic Steamer—Construction of the *Great Eastern*—Her Cost and Details of her Fittings—Her unfortunate Career, ... 327
Progress of Electric Telegraphy—First Atlantic Cable laid, ... 328
Sketch of Sir William Thomson, . . . 329
Condition of the Country in 1859—Financial Association formed—Excessive Cost of Collecting the Revenue—Mr. Bright's Scheme for Financial Reform, . . . 330
Mr. Gladstone's great Budget of 1860—He unfolds its provisions in a Speech of four hours—His Views on the Commercial Treaty with France—His Tribute to the Emperor and to Mr. Cobden—His Supplemental Measure of Customs Reform—Abolition of the Duty on Paper—Mr. Gladstone's concluding Remarks on his Financial Proposals, ... 331

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CHAPTER VIII.

WAR-FEVER—THE YEARS MILITANT.

Illustrative Events of the preceding Sessions 1852-3—Signs of Prosperity—Agriculture—Science—Art—Pugin—Turner—d'Orsay—Social Topics—"Secularism"—Mr. Holyoake—The "Achilli" Scandal—Mr. Walpole's Militia Bill—Macaulay at Edinburgh—Gladstone and Oxford University—The Oaths Question—Brougham—Gladstone and the Frome-Bennett Case—Drifting into War—The Czar Nicholas—The Crimea—Commissariat Muddle—Florence Nightingale—Our Allies—The Sardinians—Russell and the Shifting Government—The Great Struggle—Death of Nicholas—Parliament—Divorce Bill—Government of India—Gladstone and the Ionian Islands.

Signs of advances in material prosperity and of a great increase in the means of social progress had not been wanting during the period which we have been considering; and the session of 1853 opened with excellent prospects for the country. Telegraphic communications were being adopted, not only between distant parts of Great Britain, but between England and other nations. A submarine electric telegraph already united us with France, and a system of international copyright had been arranged between the two countries. The construction of railways in the United Kingdom had been going on at an enormous rate, with the result that the receipts at the end of 1851 had diminished in proportion to the increased length of the lines opened, as compared with the years from 1842 to 1846. At the end of the year 1845 the length of railway opened in the United Kingdom was 2023 miles. The total expenditure on railways at that date was £71,647,000—about £35,070 per mile; and the gross traffic receipts from the railways for that year were £6,669,230—about £3469 per mile per annum. At the end of the year 1851 the length of railway opened in the United Kingdom had increased to 6928 miles. The total expenditure on railways had swelled to £236,841,420—about £35,058 per mile; and the gross receipts of the year were £14,987,310—not more than £2281 per mile per annum. In 1842 the average cost per mile of the railways in existence had been £34,690; in 1845 it had been £35,070; in 1848 it had been £34,234; and in 1851 it was again £35,058. So that the practical cost per mile had increased instead of diminishing with a reduced cost of material and increase of skill. The gross traffic receipts per mile from 1842 had been—In 1842, £3113, or £8·29 per cent on the capital then expended; in 1843, £3083, or £8·82 per cent on the capital; in 1844, £3278, or £8·84 per cent; in 1845, £3469, or £9·30 per cent; in 1846, £3305, or £9·25 per cent; in 1847, £2870, or £8·20 per cent; in 1848, £2556, or £6·78 per cent; in 1849, £2302, or £6·13 per cent; in 1850, £2227, or £5·80 per cent; in 1851, £2281, or £6·35 per cent. Therefore the increased receipts fell behind their due proportion to the increased length opened every year between 1842 and 1850; but in the latter year, when the increased length opened, fell below the increased length opened in the preceding year by more than half (from about 590 additional miles to about 240 additional miles), there were signs of a healthy reaction. The over-construction on speculative railway enterprise had to a great extent ceased, and the lines which had been formed in many in-

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stances were the cause of the development of fresh industrial centres, and of the opening up of new markets and increased productions. There was a general increase in activity in trade in Manchester, Birmingham, and the Irish linen factories, both in home and foreign orders and at good prices. Machinery had to a large extent superseded the former kind of hand labour in numerous manufactures; but it was shown that the effect had not been disastrous to the people who were employed. With respect to inventions, an instance may be taken from one by which the lower class of hosiery goods was produced, and in consequence of which it was stated that while the labour which formerly cost 1*s.* 6*d.* had been reduced to 2*d.*, the output had enormously augmented and the average earnings of the operatives had greatly increased. Indeed, the condition of the working-classes was better than at any previous period. All the mills were working at full time, and many of them had more orders than could be completed. New manufactories were being rapidly built in various districts. Prices of raw material and of articles of consumption were rising in all our markets; and the shipping trade was active, because, although the carrying power of the railways had enormously increased, those railways brought goods regularly and rapidly from the interior, for conveyance from our ports.

Among the prominent topics of the year were those relating to agricultural improvements, and they were closely associated with the name of Mr. Mechi, a London cutler and dressing-case maker, whose cheap razors and "magic strop" were advertised all over the kingdom. Mr. Mechi—who became a prosperous tradesman, and was afterwards alderman and Lord Mayor of London—bought an estate at Tiptree in Essex, and there carried out very costly and interesting experiments in drainage, and the application of sewage matter as manure to the land. His guests at the annual meetings and harvest-homes at Tiptree Hall usually included many of the nobility and gentry who were interested in agricultural improvements. Mr. Mechi said that "if farmers followed his plans the ox which went up to market on Monday would be back with them again in manure before Friday." His plan was to form reservoirs of liquid manure from animal and vegetable refuse and land drainage, and to distribute it over the poor land by means of iron pipes. His experiments were able and interesting, and he brought very poor, cold, and wet land to a high state of cultivation; but the experimental farms at Tiptree did not pay, and eventually Mr. Mechi, having spent a large sum of money, died poor, assisted however for a very short time by the contributions of his friends.

The name of Mr. Mechi could not very well be omitted when questions like these are before us; his ingenious and persevering experiments had an important bearing, not only on agriculture, but on "sanitation." Meanwhile the Sanitary Association was doing its best to arouse public attention upon the subject of the water supply of London, and the defects of a bill introduced by Lord John Manners for regulating that supply in some particulars. At this time the proposal was openly made that the government should "buy up" the water companies, and consolidate the whole machinery of the supply under an authority directly responsible to parliament.

Sanitary topics spread themselves over large areas of time—and space—and they are worked by large numbers of hands; but a word is also due to Mr. F. O. Ward's labours in the cause of pure water for London from the chalk hills, and the devotion of the refuse of towns to its natural use in fertilizing ground set apart for the growth of grain, fruits, and flowers. The open-air and other *reunions* of Mr. F. O. Ward for tasting hill-top water and fruit grown on ground fertilized in a manner which was then rather new to the minds of the multitude, were among the most brilliant and agreeable of the year 1852–3, including some of the foremost names in "society," literature, and art.

The building of Sir Joseph Paxton and Messrs. Fox and Henderson in Hyde Park, which was the admired scene of the Great

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Exhibition of 1851, became, when that exhibition of "peace" was over, a sad bone of contention. Lord John Manners peremptorily closed the building at the end of the term, and the plan of making it a winter-garden for London did not excite any very great interest in the mind of the general public. Many of the trades-people in Piccadilly and the neighbourhood strongly opposed the idea of retaining the building on its original site, saying that the concourse of visitors blocked the streets and spoiled their trade. Others urged that, as the building covered nearly twenty acres of grass ground and necessitated the trampling down of about as much more, with a disagreeable pollution of the Serpentine (from which the effluvium was said to be very bad), it was very undesirable on sanitary grounds to keep the edifice where it was. In fact this crystal palace of peace was the subject of more warfare than any human being would have thought possible. It must not be supposed that London alone took part in the fray. The provinces joined in it, almost every town having a pet scheme of its own—one of these being that the building should remain where it was and be made a "centre" for the granting of diplomas in art and technical knowledge. At public meetings the Duke of Argyll, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Harrowby, Lord Palmerston, Baron Meyer de Rothschild, and other distinguished public men, came forward to support the proposal for keeping the palace in Hyde Park. A working-man sent £20 to Lord Shaftesbury in aid of the movement; but the general public after all were apathetic, and Lord John Manners and his colleagues held that the government were pledged to its removal. There was at first a chance of its being laid down in Battersea Fields, which might have been a good conclusion; but the subsequent history of the palace is well known. The noticeable point is that in these discussions the idea of technical education on a large and dignified scale, and as a national matter, followed so easily in the wake of ideas which belonged strictly to the original Exhibition itself.

The royal commissioners had been constituted a permanent body by a charter granted by her majesty, and were empowered to devote the surplus derived from the Great Exhibition to the erection of galleries and museums for the promotion of arts, manufactures, and commerce. The money was therefore expended in the purchase of land at South Kensington for the new national Science and Art Galleries.

Early in 1852 a name great in art, and of even more than national interest, had come prominently before the public. The death of Pugin, the centre, or more than the centre of the great Gothic revival, was interesting as well as mournful in various ways which need not be dwelt upon now; but Turner, who was in a more direct manner a national benefactor, claims distinct and extended notice. He was, in several respects, a very remarkable man; perhaps, like Pugin, not altogether sane. He was born in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, in 1775, was the son of a barber, and received a very poor education. His extraordinary natural gift with the pencil made him noticed by kind and discerning friends, and it befell that at twelve years of age he was exhibiting two drawings at the Royal Academy. When he was only twenty-four years of age he was elected an associate, and three years afterwards he received the full honours of an academician. In 1807 he was elected professor of perspective, but as he was vulgarly illiterate and quite incapable of communicating knowledge this came to nothing. When he died, in a small house at Chelsea looking on the river, it was found that he had bequeathed to the nation the magnificent collection of pictures now to be seen in the National Gallery, and a fortune of about £200,000 for founding an asylum for decayed artists: a scheme which was frustrated owing to some legal technicality.

Turner left more—and more splendid—work in landscape than any artist that ever lived. He travelled much, but used to say that the finest sunsets he ever saw were in the Isle of Thanet. During the season he might be seen on board the Margate boat, eating a coarse dinner out of a cotton handkerchief, and quite ready to "spell for" a glass of wine of any

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fellow-passenger. The back-grounds of his life are not agreeable to contemplate. It is bewildering to think of the painter of those rainbow dreams of pictures engaged in coarse, and worse than coarse, orgies at Wapping. Turner's coffin lies in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, close to that of Sir Joshua Reynolds. What Mr. Ruskin did and has done for his fame is well known, and also Turner's gruff astonishment at "the young man's" discoveries of his meanings. He was sordidly careful of money, but that he was capable of kind and even generous actions is certain.

In this first year of the French empire, too, died Count d'Orsay, who was something of an artist, and held some sort of office under the prince-president, Louis Napoleon, in that capacity. He was the Count Mirabel of Disraeli's love-story of *Henrietta Temple;* not a coxcomb in the vulgar sense, but an artistically finished man of the world, elegantly epicurean, very clever, and somewhat fascinating. His relations with the Countess of Blessington started from a very high-flavoured piece of "scandal" which was never forgotten. At Gore House, where they presided over the hospitalities together, no *lady* who was in society was ever seen then, but there were plenty of brilliant men, including Disraeli (as has been mentioned), and some who were only notorious, including Louis Napoleon, then an exile.

D'Orsay spent his last years in erecting, on a green eminence in the village of Chambourey beyond St. Germain-en-Laye, where the rustic churchyard joins the estate of the Grammont family, a marble pyramid. In the sepulchral chamber there is a stone sarcophagus on either side, each surmounted by a white marble tablet; that to the left incloses the remains of Lady Blessington, that to the right contains the coffin of d'Orsay himself.

It was known that Count d'Orsay was bitterly disgusted with the state of French politics after the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, and disappointed with his old friend's treatment of him. It was said in addition that he died (aged about 53) of chagrin, while the Countess of Blessington broke her heart over Louis Napoleon's ingratitude. d'Orsay had been a lieutenant in the French army, and notwithstanding the great flaw in his life, had, like the countess, fine qualities. He is very amusingly sketched in Lord Byron's diary at Genoa. "Milord Blessington (Mountjoy) and *épouse*, travelling with a very handsome companion in the shape of a French count, who has all the air of a *Cupidon déchainé*, and one of the few ideal specimens I have seen of a Frenchman before the revolution. Mountjoy (for the Gardiners are the lineal race of the famous Irish viceroy of that ilk) seems very good-natured, but is much tamed since I recollect him in all the glory of gems, and snuff-boxes, and uniforms, and theatricals, sitting to Strolling, the painter, to be depicted as one of the heroes of Agincourt."

It was arranged that d'Orsay was to be a fixture in the Mountjoy family by becoming the husband of the honourable Harriet Gardiner, his lordship's daughter by his first wife. This young person was summoned accordingly from school and married at her father's bidding to the *Cupidon déchainé*. The great scandal ensued. Lord Blessington died at Paris in 1827, and the title became extinct. His countess became a fashionable star in the literary firmament of England, and Count d'Orsay resumed in London the career of sportsman, exquisite, artist, and general *arbiter elegantiarum*. Lady Blessington's literary success was nothing more than *succès de salon*. The disappearance of these two figures may be said to mark the close of the whole business of literary dandyism.

While various small pageantries were going on in Paris by way of preparing for the actual assumption of the purple by Louis Napoleon, a ludicrous performance in the empire way was taking place in Hayti, a place which is memorable in connection with Toussaint L'Ouverture even if Wordsworth had not commemorated him in one of his greatest sonnets. Soulouque was to be crowned emperor. For months, troops, such as they were, had been pouring into "the capital" from every quarter of the country. In they came, helter-skelter, some with sticks, guns, a great number of the latter without locks; some

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with coats only, many without either coats or breeches. The soldiers that had been lucky enough to procure shoes were more fortunate than their officers. There was a large tent erected on the "Champ de Mars" capable of containing from ten thousand to twelve thousand people. At a distance of four hundred yards there was another, erected immediately behind the government palace, which served as a robing-chamber for the imperial family. On the east-end stood a platform on which there was a Catholic altar; the rest of the tent was partitioned off for the deputies, nobles, ladies of honour (black), consuls, and foreign merchants; the troops assembled and formed into a square, and a double line was stationed along the route leading to the palace, in order to protect their majesties from violence. Then came the senators and deputies, dukes, earls, and ladies of honour, who were led to the place assigned to them by the master of the ceremonies. Their majesties were to make their appearance at six o'clock a.m., but with true negro punctuality they did not arrive till nine. They were announced by the discharge of artillery, music, and loud and long *vivas* from the spectators, and none shouted more lustily than the foreign merchants, while at the same time they inwardly cursed Soulouque and his government for ruining the commerce of the country. Their majesties were preceded by the vicar-general. Her majesty first made her appearance, attended by her ladies of honour, under a canopy like that which is seen at Roman Catholic ceremonies on the occasion of the procession of the holy sacrament. She wore on her head a tiara, and was robed in the most costly apparel. Before her husband was elected president she had been a vender of fish. Soulouque himself then followed, accompanied by all the distinguished nobility, under a similar canopy, wearing a crown that, it is said, cost thirty dollars, and having in his hand two sceptres. Their majesties were led to the *prie-dieu*, where they first said their prayers, and they were then conducted to the throne. The ceremonies then commenced by the vicar pronouncing a solemn benediction on the crown, sword, sword of justice, sceptre, cloak, ring, collar, and imperial cloak of the emperor, after which were blessed the crown, cloak, and ring of the empress. Then came the president of the court of cassation (the supreme court of Hayti) accompanied by the deputies, and presented to Soulouque the constitution of Hayti, demanding of him to swear not to violate it; upon which he placed the crown on his head, and placed the Bible on the pages of the constitution, and said, "I swear to abide by the constitution, and to maintain the integrity and independence of the empire of Hayti." Then the master of the ceremonies cried aloud, "Long live the great, glorious, and august Emperor Faustin the First." So ended the pomp and pageantry of crowning this "nigger" emperor. The accounts of it caused much amusement in England, and when Louis Napoleon was crowned the occasion was not forgotten by caricaturists and jokers. But there was more than joking on the subject of the French emperor, for it must be remembered that while Louis Napoleon was challenging the admiration of most of us by his release of the grand old Algerian chief Abd-el-Kader on parole, he was endeavouring to spread his nets all over Europe with an eye to political conspirators. Lord Malmesbury, our foreign minister, nicknamed M. le Comte de Malmesbury and much laughed at about "my French cook," introduced into the Upper House an alarming bill for the extradition of "offenders," including Englishmen, in favour of France. It is enough to say that his lordship had to withdraw the measure, but it looked at one time very near to getting passed.

At the time of which we are now speaking there was considerable excitement in relation to Arctic enterprise, more particularly as to the fate of Sir John Franklin and the crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, which had sailed in search of the north-west passage in 1845 and had not since been heard of. From 1847 onwards, expeditions, both by land and sea, had been despatched in search of the missing ships, at a cost of about a million sterling to the country. In the spring of 1852 the brig *Renovation*, of North Shields, came home with a report that the captain and men had

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seen two ships embedded in ice somewhere off Newfoundland. This brig was herself in danger at the moment, and the captain so ill that he could hardly do more than "groan;" but the tidings naturally caused much discussion in England. The general conclusion, after this discussion and comparing of notes, was that the whole story was the result of an illusion not unfrequently occurring to nautical observers of distant icebergs or masses of ice. A high authority expressed this opinion:—"I think," he wrote, "they were 'country ships,' as we whalers call them—formations upon an iceberg which deceive even practised eyes. To place ships in such a position by the process of freezing into an iceberg would require thirty to forty years, and floe ice would have been broken up with the western ocean swell before it had even reached Cape Farewell. Not a piece of sufficient size would be found to contain even one ship, much less two. No iceberg of one-fourth of a mile would reach such a position; it must have been two pieces of icebergs, and the vessel being five miles distant could not observe the water over the detached ice. We have the experience of the eleven whalers wintered on the ice; they all broke from their icebergs long before they reached Cape Farewell."

Sir Edward Belcher expressed his belief that two ships *had* been seen, not on, but beyond the iceberg, and that they were not the *Erebus* and *Terror*. No reliance, he said, could be placed on the position or correctness of the objects seen over a field of ice. He instanced a case which occurred to Captain Sir Edward Parry, who, with a shooting party in the Arctic regions, saw what every one of the party would have taken his oath was a herd of moose deer, until they came up to them, after nearly a whole day's exertion, and found they were a flock of ptarmigan. All this, however, while it added to what some people might call "the poetry of the case," kept the subject alive in the mind of friends at home, and it never died out till the expedition in the *Fox* under Captain M'Clintock.

One of the "social" topics which in 1852 began to attract serious attention was that of betting and "betting-offices." It was not yet the hour for the legislature to interfere with these precious institutions, and it is not yet a settled thing in all minds that it had any business to interfere, or that it has done any good by meddling. But there never was any doubt that the results of the "betting-office" system were shocking. The thing began, probably, in a cigar-shop, with some such words in the window as "The Races! A List Kept Here." But after a time these places of resort were openly styled betting-offices, and a horrible "roaring trade" was done. Servant-girls, shop-boys, clerks, all and sundry, went and betted, large numbers of the wretched adventurers stealing the money of their employers in order to "speculate." Courts of justice all over the country had a dreary tale to tell. In one town in the north of England as much as £50,000 was lost on one horse; and it was found that very poor people had pawned blankets and children's clothing to procure money for this kind of gambling! Meanwhile the honest friends of the "turf," as it is called, were concerned in helping to expose this nuisance, for jockeys and stable-boys were frequently bribed by the proprietors of these dreadful dens, to betray the secrets of their masters with regard to particular horses. The cry, once taken up, did not cease for long until something was done.

It has already been hinted that the accession of the Tory party to power was followed by one or two signs of a return to what were regarded as repressive measures by the Radical side. There has always been a tendency among high-and-dry politicians of the church-and-king school to limit that right of public meeting and discussion which is so dear to Englishmen. Now Mr. Home-Secretary Walpole was one of the best men that ever lived, and a sound constitutional lawyer, a Christian gentleman who would not for his life do a thing that he believed to be unjust. But he was not a man of robust feeling and intelligence, and had somewhat feminine views on points of order. Unfortunately he had excuse, or what looked like excuse, for interfering with certain meetings in the open air at the East-End of

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London, and he directed the police to check or stop them. These were largely Sunday meetings of artisans to discuss politics and religion, and were almost entirely "officered," so to speak, by republicans and atheists. But whatever power the law gives its administrators in such cases, it would have been wiser for the new Tory government to "let things slide," than to interfere in a way which they were not prepared to follow up, and which was sure to provoke an outcry. Practically, their interference did only harm, and had to be given up; though the police retreated in due order; and the Sunday "orating" in Bonner's Fields, beyond Bethnal Green, went on again finely.

In this connection may be noticed the rapid increase among the working-classes of the party now known as Secularists. For some time previously Mr. Holyoake, who had led the anti-Christian and anti-theistic party, had felt that it was a bad thing for them to be called "atheists," and he succeeded in organizing the party of Secularism, and in establishing that as the current name of the anti-religious body whose chief apostle he was. The point of the change of style lay in this, that a man might adopt the formula of secularism without being an atheist, though, we may add, it was exceedingly improbable that he should, and secularism utterly *ignores* all questions of God and a future life.

Just at this time it happened that Mr. Holyoake appeared as the "bail" in a bankruptcy case before Mr. Commissioner Phillips —of Courvoisier celebrity—and declined to take the usual oath. Being asked if he did not believe in a God, he replied that he was "not prepared to answer the question with the brevity the court would require." To the question what he called himself he answered that if he must take a name he should call himself a Secularist. After a little more twaddle on both sides Mr. Commissioner Phillips dismissed him with ungrammatical abuse: "Go and attend to your secularism, sir."

Now Mr. Holyoake was an able man and a journalist, and had friends and allies, so the case made a great noise. An immoral and irreligious novel of the worst French-revolution type had been written by Mr. Phillips when young, and this unsavoury work—*The Loves of Celestine and St. Aubert*—was dug up and brought into public notice for the purpose of showing the inconsistency of the author; while his defence of Courvoisier was made the most of against him. Those personalities are, however, a trifle. The important fact is, that the Liberal papers all over England, including some religious papers like the *Nonconformist* of Mr. Edward Miall, took up the case, and made it the text of an argument for permitting others than Quakers and Separatists to "affirm." From this time forward the subject assumed a prominence that it never lost.

The gold discoveries in Australia were having many startling effects both at home and in the colonies, the derangement of the currency and a rise in prices being among them. This was expected; but no human being was prepared for the escape of "Meagher of the Sword," one of the Irish patriots whom we had sent to Australia for his share in the rising of 1848. Mr. Meagher had the partial liberty of a ticket-of-leave at the time of his escape, but did not violate its literal conditions. It ran as follows:—"I undertake not to escape from the colony so long as I hold this ticket-of-leave." Having made previous preparations for his flight, with a horse saddled in his stable, and being armed with pistols, he addressed a letter to the magistrate of Ross, about twenty miles distant, and a township of the district out of which he was not permitted to go. The place in which he resided was the wild bush. In his letter he returned his ticket-of-leave and said he would remain at his house that day till twelve o'clock, when the leave expired, in order to give the authorities an opportunity of arresting him if they could. When the magistrate read the letter he was astounded, and he immediately ordered the chief of police, who happened to be present, to proceed at once to arrest Meagher. The chief of police replied he would not do any such thing, as he was an Irishman, and that young gentleman was an Irishman. "But you must do it," retorted the magistrate. "Faith, I will not," replied the Irishman; "I will resign

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first." "But I will not accept your resignation." "Then if you do not you may let it alone, but I will not arrest young Meagher." The magistrate gave it up as a bad case, and rode immediately to another station in search of police. Meantime the Irish chief of police set out for the mines, as he thought he could make more money in digging gold than in arresting his Irish friends. Meagher waited for six hours after the time, in order not to give the British authorities any excuse for saying he had violated his pledge. He was accompanied and assisted by three young English settlers, who supplied him with horses and had horses themselves. They proposed to wait till the police came and to kill them. Meagher thought it unnecessary to shed blood, but stayed till the police came, and kept his friends waiting at a short distance. The moment the police entered the house he passed out at another door, and, mounting his horse, came round to the front of the building within pistol-shot of them, and told them to arrest him if they could. In the next moment he put spurs to his horse, and with his friends was soon out of sight. They travelled over 180 miles without halt, having relays of horses on the way. They at length reached unmolested a lonely spot upon the sea-coast, where, according to previous arrangements, a whale-boat was in waiting, and bore Meagher off in safety. He of course fled to America. When it became known in New York that he was there, detachments of the Irish militia regiments, accompanied by their bands, marched up to his residence in succession and serenaded him. But this was only a part of the "demonstrations" that ensued. The event is particularly interesting at the present time because it is certain that the presence of Meagher and Mitchell had much influence in the formation of the anti-English party among the Irish in America.

A very short time before the escape of Meagher, one of the exiles of the year of insurgence had written to a friend in Galway an amusing account of the then condition of "Smith O'Brine, of royal line," and "Meagher of the Sword." "Smith O'Brien, since his acceptance of a ticket-of-leave, has lived in great privacy and retirement in the vale of Avoca, having, in order to employ his highly cultivated mind, condescended to become tutor to the young sons of an eminent Irish physician who resides in that retired locality. His constant and dignified demeanour has procured him the respect of all, even of those most opposed to him in principles and politics. He is now, I am informed, in very bad health, so much that he has been obliged to give up the employment he had accepted, and has got permission to reside in a different locality. Mitchell has been joined by his wife and family; and with such a family, and with the society of his old and excellent friend Mr. John Martin, he must be as happy as it is possible for an exiled rebel to be. O'Meagher still resides in his solitary domicile at Lake Sorell, save that the solitude is now somewhat disturbed by the presence of his amiable and beautiful bride."

For some years the influence of Dr. J. H. Newman had been increasingly felt in religious circles, and from the Oratory at Birmingham and otherwise he made damaging attacks on what may be called *show* or *shop* Protestantism. This led at last to the long-drawn Achilli business, which ended in one of the most memorable trials of the century, that of "The Queen *versus* J. H. Newman, in the matter of Giovanni Giacinti Achilli." It took place in the Court of Queen's Bench before Lord Campbell and a special jury, Sir Alexander Cockburn leading the case for the defence. The court was crowded, and the scenes which occurred when the women, some of them Italians, were in the box, as witnesses against Achilli, were most dramatic. Achilli himself was a very dark, firmly-built Italian, with deep-set brown eyes, great self-possession, and large mouth and jaw. He wore a short-haired black wig, and in dress and bearing looked a curious mixture of Romanist and Protestant Evangelical.

This Dr. Achilli is almost forgotten now by the general public, but he was then a great celebrity as a "converted Catholic" lecturer, making capital out of what he had seen, or said he had seen, in the Roman

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Church. Father Newman, now Cardinal Newman, was then lecturing at the Oratory, Birmingham, and delivered an impassioned and bitterly ironical attack on the character and career of Achilli, which was included in a pamphlet on the "Logical Inconsistency of the Protestant Point of View." This attack contained the libel for which Father Newman was now indicted. It charged Achilli openly with the very worst offences that could be alleged against a minister of religion; with deliberate atheistic treachery and hypocrisy, and with the grossest immorality. The libel alleged—and this was proved at the trial—that he had been deprived of his office as a priest by his clerical superiors, and it was stated that he had then lived almost publicly in Italy with the wife of a chorus-singer. But publicity or privacy was—according to the libel—all one to Achilli, and the sacristy of a church was mentioned as the scene of some of the evil acts of which he was accused.

Two of his wife's English servant-girls, one of them little more than a child, came forward to give evidence against him. Protestants found it difficult to believe that a man making the most solemn professions of piety and purity could be guilty of the iniquities with which he was charged; but a very black story was brought out by Sir A. Cockburn for the defence. An account of Achilli's career, true or false, was published in the great Roman Catholic organ the *Dublin Review*, and was left unnoticed for fifteen months. A few passages, much condensed, from Dr. Newman's terrible indictment may be placed on record here.

"You speak truly, O Achilli, and we cannot answer you a word. You are a priest; you have been a friar; you are, it is undeniable, the scandal of Catholicism and the palmary argument of Protestants, by your extraordinary depravity. You have been, it is true, a profligate, an unbeliever, and a hypocrite. Not many years passed of your conventual life, and you were never in choir, always in private houses, so that the laity observed you. You were deprived of your professorship, we own it; you were prohibited from preaching and hearing confessions; you were obliged to give hush-money to the father of one of your victims, as we learn from the official report of the police of Viterbo. You are reported in an official document of the Neapolitan police to be 'known for habitual incontinency;' your name came before the civil tribunal at Corfu for the crime of adultery. You have put the crown on your offences by, as long as you could, denying them all; you have professed to seek after truth when you were ravening after sin. Yes, you are an incontrovertible proof that priests may fall and friars break their vows. You are your own witness; but while you *need* not go out of yourself for your argument, neither are you *able*. With you the argument begins; with you, too, it ends; the beginning and the end you are both. When you have shown yourself you have done your worst, and your all; you are your best arguments, and your sole. Your witness against others is utterly invalidated by your witness against yourself."

It would be impossible to quote any of the evidence, except that which related to Dr. Achilli's being deprived of all ecclesiastical functions for ever, and some of the less important testimony of Lord Shaftesbury and other Englishmen. The trial lasted three days. Lord Campbell summed up by merely reading his notes with a few connecting remarks, and the jury found a verdict for the crown. This was received with repeated cheers, which, it was noted, Lord Campbell did not attempt to stop. The *Times* wrote an indignant article, maintaining that the administration of justice in England had received a terrible blow in a trial the like of which had not been seen since the first triumphs of Titus Oates. At the same time Achilli's residence was besieged by congratulating visitors.

To return for a moment to some of the movements which distinguished the portentous session of 1852, it may be mentioned that the Militia Bill, introduced by Mr. Walpole and warmly supported by the Duke of Wellington, was generally held to be an improvement on that of Lord John Russell, and was at the time largely accredited to Lord

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Hardinge. Suppressing details, it may be stated briefly that the number of men to be raised was to be 80,000; the cost after the first year, £250,000 a year; the age from 18 to 35; and the height 5 feet 2 inches, the army standard being 5 feet 6. Lord Palmerston supported the measure. Mr. Hume and the Manchester party opposed it. Certain "fancy franchises" had to be withdrawn, but the best account of them will be found in Mr. Macaulay's great speech in Edinburgh, to which we will now refer.

A constitution for New Zealand was part of the work of the year. It was introduced by Sir John Pakington, and supported by the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Berkeley's annual motion for the ballot was defeated of course; and Mr. Spooner was unsuccessful in his assault upon the Maynooth grant. Mr. Macaulay peremptorily refused to answer any of the questions about it that reached him from Edinburgh.

The narrative of Mr. Macaulay's rejection by his old Edinburgh constituents, his proud withdrawal from parliamentary life, his long-continued sufferings from chronic bronchitis, and his determination never again to take office, need not here be repeated. But it is within our province to notice his return, without solicitation on his part, for Edinburgh in 1852, upon the dissolution of parliament under Lord Derby's government. In November of that year the great Whig historian again addressed his old friends in the Music Hall of Edinburgh as their representative, amid tumultuous excitement. In the last speech he had delivered to an Edinburgh public there had been bitter things, and a little contempt, perhaps more than a little. The less intelligent portion of his audience had resented what they took for the undue self-assertion of the scholar and philosopher, and no doubt Macaulay—though he wished well to all men, and would have sacrificed something to serve them—had at bottom a real dislike of "the masses." There was something of Coriolanus in him, and of all the things which he despised none stood lower in his mind than religious bigotry, or what he took for it. "We're as good as *you* are!" shouted one of the mob at Edinburgh at that bitter parting. After a few years, however, the "better sort" remembered that very few of them were "as good" as Macaulay in the sense in which those words had been used. It was openly proposed that he should again stand for the city; but the proud scholar would not stir in the matter himself. Edinburgh had cast him out; she must now fetch him with open arms and without trouble to himself, if he was to represent her again. To her honour and his she did so, and there never was a more affecting political reconciliation. When the orator first showed himself in the Music Hall—crowded to suffocation, and adorned not only by the presence of the leading men of the city, with some outsiders, and hundreds of ladies—the wan, thin face and pain-stricken air of the man sent a momentary pang through the assembly. There was a stirring pause. But then the cheers burst forth, and Macaulay faltered a little from the shock of sound. Mr. Adam Black, who was moved into the chair, made a very short speech, and simply called upon Mr. Macaulay to "address his constituents." Then the immense multitude rose and again broke out into cheering. When the applause had entirely ceased there was, for some moments, utter silence, and evident emotion on Macaulay's part; but at last he recovered himself, and the old voice was once more heard by the old friends and acquaintances.

The name of John Wilson—Christopher North—cannot be omitted in connection with this event. The professor, it is well known, was a high Tory; but for all that Lord John Russell had advised the queen to grant him a pension of £300 a year, accompanying the notice of the grant with a letter as tender and friendly as if Wilson had been a blue-blood Whig. It was now Wilson's own turn to show that he could forget the politics of party in those higher politics in which all men of good brain and heart are much closer than whips and partisans pretend.

The Edinburgh election came off in the summer. One very hot day Wilson, who was living at Woodburn, Dalkeith, and who had

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been unusually ill (he was within two years of his death), exhibited a restless desire to be driven to Edinburgh. His own carriage had already been driven out by some members of his family, so his daughter thought he would give up his scheme. Not at all; he sent for a carriage from Dalkeith, and made his man drive him to Edinburgh. There he paused to rest at Mr. Blackwood's in George Street. Great was the surprise of the Edinburgh folk to see the worn old lion about their streets, and not a hint of his errand had he vouchsafed to any living soul. But when, leaning on his man, he entered Macaulay's committee-room in St. Vincent Street to record his vote for an old (political) foe, the secret was out, and he was greeted with a passionate burst of cheering.

Space will not permit us to quote Mr. Macaulay's admirably graphic and humorous account of the elections; but his treatment of the franchise clauses of Mr. Walpole's Militia Bill (which were withdrawn) we have promised to reproduce in brief as part of the story, and as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the kind in which the speaker excelled. "At the end of a sitting, in the easiest possible manner, as a mere clause at the tail of a Militia Bill, it was proposed that every man who served two years in the militia should have a vote for the county. What would be the number of these votes? The militia is to consist of 80,000 men; the term of their service is to be five years. In ten years we should have 160,000 voters, in twenty years 320,000, in twenty-five years 400,000. Some, no doubt, would by that time have died off; though the lives are all picked lives, remarkably good lives—still some would have died off. How many there may be I have not calculated. Any actuary would give you the actual numbers; but I have no doubt that when the system came into full operation you would have some 300,000 added from the militia to the county constituency, which, on an average, would be 6000 added to every county in England and Wales. This would be an immense addition to the county constituency. What are to be their qualifications? The first is youth; for they are not to be above a certain age; the nearer eighteen the better. The second is poverty;—all persons to whom a shilling a day is an object. The third is ignorance—for if you ever take the trouble to observe in your streets what is the appearance of the young fellows who follow the recruiting sergeant, you will say that at least they are not the most educated of the labouring classes. Brave, stout young fellows no doubt they are. Lord Hardinge tells me that he never saw a finer set of young men; and I have no doubt that after a few years' training they will be ready to stand up for our firesides against the best disciplined soldiers that the Continent can produce. But these men, taken for the most part from the plough-tail, are not the class best qualified to choose our legislators—there is rather in the habits of the young men that enter the army a disposition to idleness. Oh, but there is another qualification which I almost forgot—they must be five feet two.

"There is a qualification for a county voter! Only think of measuring a man for the franchise! And this comes from a Conservative government—a measure that would swamp all the county constituencies in England with people possessed of the Derby-Walpole qualifications—that is to say, youth, poverty, ignorance, a roving disposition, and *five feet two*. Why, gentlemen, what have the people who brought in such a measure—what have they to say—I do not say against Lord John Russell's imprudence—but what right have they to talk of the imprudence of Ernest Jones? The people who advocate universal suffrage, at all events, gave us wealth along with poverty, knowledge along with ignorance, and mature age along with youth; but a qualification compounded of all disqualifications is a thing that was never heard of except in the case of this Conservative reform. It is the most ridiculous proposition that was ever made. It was made, I believe, at first in a thin house, but the next house was full enough; for people came down with all sorts of questions. Are the regular troops to have a vote? Are the police—are the sailors? indeed, who should not? for if you take lads of one-and-twenty from the plough-tail and give them votes, what possible class of honest Englishmen and Scotchmen can you exclude if

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they are admitted? But before these questions could be asked, up gets the home secretary, and tells us that the thing has not been sufficiently considered—that some of his colleagues do not approve of it—that the thing is withdrawn—he will not press it. I must say, if it had happened to me to propose such a Reform Bill on one night, and on the next sitting of the house to withdraw it, because it had not been sufficiently considered, I think that to the end of my life I should never have talked of the exceeding evil of reopening of the question of reform;—to the end of my life I should never have read any man a lecture on the extreme prudence and caution with which he should approach questions of organic change."

Murmurs were already beginning to be heard, near and far, that Mr. Gladstone was not the most "fit and proper man" to represent Oxford. But it is of more consequence to note that the blue-book report of the Oxford University Commission, a slight work of 900 folio pages, made it very plain that the new broom so long needed at that ancient centre of learning was ready for sweeping purposes, and would not be kept out much longer. "If," said the commission, "we look only to their statutes, the colleges of Oxford are now what they were in the times of the Plantagenets and Tudors, and if the Laudian code be binding, the University of Oxford is now what it was in the time of King Charles I.; *but in fact, almost every distinct purpose and every particular object of the founders, almost every detail of government and administration has been neglected or superseded.*" This was, of course, an inevitable result of the lapse of time. How agreeable this association with the memory of the stupid and bloodthirsty bigot who treated the author of *Zion's Plea against Prelatry* (the father of Archbishop Leighton) with a life-long cruelty, the details of which will now hardly bear reading. It was part of the plan of the commissioners that past alterations of the Laudian code should be indemnified, and full power given for all future alterations or abrogations of statutes, some few fundamental reservations excepted.

We can find room for only one clause more, but that is an important one:—"Of the proposals which affect the university, the most important are those which we (the commissioners) have made for remodelling the constitution and for *abolishing the existing monopoly of the colleges and halls, by allowing students to reside at Oxford without the expenses of connection with those bodies.* In regard to the colleges, we would especially urge the immediate necessity of *opening the fellowships and scholarships,* of attaching professorships to certain colleges, of increasing the number and value of scholarships, of granting to the colleges the power of altering the statutes, and, above all, of *prohibiting as unlawful the oaths to observe the statutes.*"

The Parliamentary Oaths question was kept alive during nearly the whole of the year 1852 by the case of Mr. Alderman Solomons, member for Greenwich, who had taken his seat, and the oath, omitting only that portion which pledged the member to "the true faith of a Christian." The honourable gentleman's case came before the legal tribunals, and it was decided that he could not legally be permitted to omit the clause in question, which, as Mr. Solomons observed, was amusing, since the words were originally intended to exclude "Popish recreant convicts." In an action for penalties to the extent of £1500, the lord chief-baron of the Court of Exchequer, Pollock, laid it down distinctly that only one penalty, £500, was recoverable, however frequently a member might vote in error or in defiance of the law. This action broke down upon a technical point. No penalty was inflicted, and in the meanwhile Lord Lyndhurst had introduced a bill to amend the law. It is a curious thing that to that great lawyer, who seemed in some respects to have taken up the mantle of Eldon, we should be indebted, in his old age, for so many just and useful initiatives in law reform. There is something ludicrous in the spectacle of the Tory Lord Lyndhurst, about whom so much scandal "in the matter of women" was at one time afloat, introducing a bill to better the position of married women as against their husbands, which the once-Radi-

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HENRY BROUGHAM.

FIRST BARON BROUGHAM AND VAUX

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cal Brougham jumps up and denounces as the first step towards the destruction of a great social edifice which will not bear the touch of a finger.

Lord Brougham had been quiet for some time in relation to English politics, and had devoted considerable attention to French affairs during his repeated sojourns at Cannes, where he had a small estate and a winter residence, but probably some readers may be surprised to hear that during the troublous times of 1848 he had contemplated gaining a seat in the French legislature and offering himself for election as president. He had applied to Lamartine for letters of naturalization, which had not been granted, or rather Brougham was informed that the granting them would deprive him of his English privileges, and so he abandoned the application. Little is known of the real intention of the restless ex-chancellor, who would still, as it was said of him in a much earlier period, have undertaken any position, even that of commanding the British fleet. It is on the authority of Lord Palmerston that the fact is stated, for in a letter to Lord Normanby in 1848 the humorous and acute foreign minister wrote:—"Lamartine is really a wonderful fellow, and is endowed with great qualities. It is much to be desired that he should swim through the breakers and carry his country safe into port. I conclude that he has escaped one danger by the refusal to naturalize Brougham; for it is evident that our ex-chancellor meant, if he had got himself elected, to have put up for president of the republic. It is woful to see a man who is so near being a great man make himself so small."

But Brougham too did good work in 1852 in company with other law lords.

It was remarked by a very acute young lady that Mr. Gladstone would never make a perfectly willing politician, except in connection with church matters. It was a little strange that the man should be criticised as unfit for the post of representative of Oxford University, who displayed so much eloquence and acumen—ecclesiastico-forensic acumen—as Mr. Gladstone showed in the celebrated Frome-Bennett case. It may just be mentioned in passing that Mr. Gladstone's antagonist in parliament in this matter was Mr. Horsman (now dead). Mr. Horsman made no mark on any one subject, and he was usually, though a Liberal, a self-isolated politician like the present Earl Grey. He was, however, a brilliant debater, and was pretty sure to be listened to and to produce an effect. Those were days in which quasi-Romanist practices in the Church of England excited much stronger *general* antagonism than they do now, and there had already been a series of storms out of doors, and some interpellations in the House of Commons. Mr. Horsman recited all the charges against the bishop and Mr. Bennett, and moved for a committee to inquire into the circumstances. It was alleged against this clergyman that he had, while at Kissingen, attended mass, but had never attended the Protestant service at the embassy, while he had carried about with him a small altar for his own use. He was also accused of not holding the doctrine of the supremacy of the crown. He had resigned the incumbency of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, upon a remonstrance from the Bishop of London (the "anti-popery" scenes which led to this are now but little remembered), and the point now was that the Bishop of Bath and Wells had admitted him from another diocese into his own without due care. It would be tedious to go into the legal niceties of the story; but Mr. Gladstone, in a masterly speech, maintaining incidentally that the people of Frome were satisfied with their vicar, argued that his bishop had acted in due course of law, and could not be brought before the house as a culprit. If any honourable member would move for a committee to inquire into the state of the law in these matters, "which seemed to have been studiously framed to discourage bishops," he would himself vote for such a committee. Mr. Horsman he indicated as a sort of professional "public accuser." In the debate which followed, Mr. Disraeli of course opposed the motion, and no less sturdily Protestant an authority than Sir W. Page Wood supported Mr. Gladstone's contention that the bishop

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was within the law. Mr. Horsman carried his motion, however; but when the committee had been nominated, Mr. Gladstone, Sir W. Page Wood, and some others refused to serve, Mr. Gladstone declaring that nothing less than a peremptory order of the house should compel him to sit! This was a collapse indeed. The discouragement of bishops was not a subject which troubled the house much, but the revival of convocation this year was a sign of the times (pointing to ecclesiastical controversy) which is entitled to this brief mention.

The attitude of the Czar Nicholas of Russia towards England in regard to "the sick man," as he had long nicknamed Turkey, had been made clear enough during his visit to this country in 1844, and we have already had a glimpse of what manner of man he was and of his efforts to draw English statesmen into a confidential understanding which would enable him to claim them as allies without the formality of a treaty.[1] It may be doubted whether those confidential suggestions were treated by Lord Aberdeen with sufficient decision. That amiable nobleman, who sought peace, was naturally reluctant to speak with marked emphasis to a potentate who was a guest of the queen, and the czar appears to have come to the conclusion—or he pretended to have come to the conclusion—that his proposals were at least to be considered and were not unacceptable. Had it happened that Palmerston had been the recipient of the emperor's confidence (an unlikely supposition of course) there would probably have been no war in the Crimea, though Palmerston would have been ready (some people said willing) for war. As it was, the statesman who hated war and did not dislike the czar, found himself—perhaps in consequence of his pacific and conciliating reticence—at the head of an administration from which immediate hostilities were demanded.

It is very difficult to understand the position assumed by Nicholas except on the ground that he was a semi-barbarian with an almost insane sense of his vast authority, who, seeking to assert his personal influence, chose to flatter English statesmen by a proposal for a tacit mutual understanding with which the rest of the world had no concern. His will was despotic at home, and he may have calculated that his concessions would be irresistible when he chose to come here as a visitor and to be familiar with the English aristocracy. He was intensely interesting to those who met him; but, as we have seen, the kind of interest he excited was often that which people take in the temporary docility of a magnificent tiger. He had the grand physique of a semi-savage despot;—the almost childish desire to attract regard and admiration, the sudden generosity, the capability for noble impulses, the anxiety to be accepted as the equal if not the superior of men of high intellectual culture and refined habits, and on the other hand he possessed the cunning of the savage not much tempered by the diplomatic wiles of which he was usually suspected. When he discovered that his appeals had been received only with polite attention, and that they were not regarded as sacred confidences which would bind the English government from interposing to prevent the dismemberment of Turkey, he was (or assumed to be) as indignant as though the obligations of a definite treaty had been abandoned and disclaimed. It is likely that he had really come to think the conversations in which he had made known his views would be accepted as the basis of tacit agreements. In his own country they would have been no less than absolute commands. He had laid aside his imperative character during his visit here and had professed to desire no other agreement than such as might be implied by an understanding "between English gentlemen." This may have been part of a secret design to obtain an assurance which could never have been made part of a regular treaty, but probably he imagined that the mere fact of his having imparted his views in friendly confidence would so touch English notions of honour that he might be able to count upon the neutrality if not the co-operation of our government. The conversations in which he endeavoured to press his policy on

[1] See vol. ii. p. 130.

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Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel, only indicated the proportions to which his intentions grew nine years afterwards when in January, 1853, he met the English ambassador (Sir Hamilton Seymour) at the palace of the Archduchess Helen in St. Petersburg, and commenced another series of confidential communications which showed that according to the usual temper of his mind the former tentative propositions had relation to a fixed purpose which he would obstinately carry out even in spite of refusal. The affairs of Turkey, the czar intimated, were in a very disorganized condition, the country itself seeming to be falling to pieces. That fall would be a very great misfortune, and it was very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding upon these affairs, and that neither should take any decisive step of which the other was not apprised. A month afterwards the emperor again met our ambassador and returned to the subject. "I tell you," he said, "that if your government has been led to believe that Turkey retains any element of existence, your government must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise.[1] We must come to some understanding, and this we should do, I am convinced, if I could hold but ten minutes' conversation with your ministers—with Lord Aberdeen, for instance, who knows me so well, who has full confidence in me as I have in him. And remember, I do not ask for a treaty or a protocol; a general understanding is all I require—that between gentlemen is sufficient; and in this case I am certain that the confidence would be as great on the side of the queen's ministers as on mine." Pursuing the conversation on the following day, he said, "There are certain things which I will never tolerate. I will begin with ourselves. I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. Having said this I will say that it never shall be occupied by the English or French or any other great nation. Again, I never will permit an attempt at the reconstruction of a Byzantine empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state; still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics—asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe. Rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war, and as long as I had a man or a musket left I would carry it on." It was still left to the speculation of the listener what was to be the future of Constantinople and the Turkish Empire, but it was more than hinted that in the case of the dissolution of the latter there might be a satisfactory arrangement. "The principalities," said the czar, "are in fact an independent state under my protection. This might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria. There seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state." Then came the temptation—or what he conceived to be the temptation to an alliance—"As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can, then, only say that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objection to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia; that island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession." The monstrous arrogance added to the unscrupulous assumption of these propositions would only have been possible to a sovereign, himself a semi-barbarian, ruling with a personal despotism not only millions of people but even the nobles and officials by whom he was surrounded. When we attentively consider the terms and meaning of his efforts to form a tacit alliance with England to dismember the Ottoman Empire, divide the territory, and defy the rest of Europe, it is difficult to see how war could have been avoided unless the Earl of Aberdeen and our government had spoken in unmistakable denunciation of the suggestions instead of listening and saying little or nothing. Had a rough-and-ready or an emphatic and decided negative been given at

[1] In 1844 the czar had said, "Il y a dans mon cabinet deux opinions sur la Turquie: l'une, qu'elle est mourante; l'autre, qu'elle est morte—la dernière est la mienne."

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once, accompanied by an intimation that England would not stand by and see the mischief done, we might have been saved the Crimean war; but the answer was not given in time. When it was given, and given so late that it seemed as though we were half reluctant to refuse or were only endeavouring to save appearances, Nicholas would not believe that we were in earnest until we had proceeded to extremities, when he lied without hesitation, and as promptly flung himself into a war in which, as he probably knew, Prussia and Austria would render us no aid, while our alliance with France goaded him to a condition not far short of frenzy.

It must not be understood that the Emperor of Russia was destitute of intellectual attainments; on the contrary, he was in many respects accomplished. His favourite studies were military architecture, mathematics, and music. He was passionately fond of dramatic performances, and is said to have assisted the Russian poet Nestor Koukoluik in the composition of some of his pieces, and to have repeatedly aided in the construction of ballets. He was frequently behind the scenes at the theatre. It may be said indeed that he had a decided taste for theatrical display, and that although in private he lived plainly and simply, his vanity was strong enough to be pleased with the trappings and ornaments that belong to state occasions and set off the person. An amusing story is told by the Comte de Villemar illustrating the czar's consciousness of his own superb appearance.

At the Vaudeville at Paris, when it was in the Rue de Chartres, there was an actress remarkable for her corpulency, her animation, and her piquancy—Madame Bras, who left Paris to seek her fortune in Russia, where she was well received, particularly by the royal family. The Emperor Nicholas was fond of visiting the actors in the green-room during the play, and used to *thee* and *thou* the women. On entering one evening the women's green-room, he found Madame Bras alone. A slight malicious smile, as he entered, played over her lips. The emperor remarked it, and said, "Bras, what made thee laugh on my coming in?" "A feminine folly, sire," she replied, "which passed through my mind, and which I beseech your majesty to excuse me from communicating, though I protest there was nothing in it to offend your majesty, whom I respect as I ought." "I believe it," replied the emperor with his usual dignity, "which is the reason why I want to know the cause of your laugh." "Sire," answered Madame Bras, "since you order it I will confess that, as I saw your majesty come in, I could not help saying to myself that your person is devilishly well adapted to your line of characters" (*qu'elle a diablement le physique de son emploi*). Though the compliment savoured a little of the vulgar player, it infinitely flattered the emperor, who laughed at it with the affability which was habitual to him when conversing with the French actresses; and on the following day he sent a beautiful pair of diamond bracelets to the vivacious truant from the theatre of the Rue de Chartres.

His regard for pomp and display in public may be partly explained by his fine physical proportions and by the necessity for his always appearing with effect upon state occasions, and this may have been the reason why he constantly wore a military uniform; but he possessed a vast self-consciousness, and was continually anxious to know what was said of him. It was declared that he had formed a collection of all the books and pamphlets and even of the numberless newspaper articles published in various languages in every quarter of the globe, in which he was spoken of either favourably or the reverse, and that this curious collection consisted, at the time of his death, of several hundred volumes and portfolios.

Nicholas of Russia, it must be remembered, was not the heir of a long line of imperial culture. Until Peter the Great, who had no pretentions whatever to culture, opened up the empire, Russia was a barbarous state. Catherine II., who *did* pretend to all kinds of intellectual progress, was the sovereign who really developed and extended the national boundary and created for it a prestige which placed it on an equality with the older states of Europe, but this was done not by culture but by governing capacity, unsparing despotism, and ex-

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traordinary ability aided by political intrigue. Nicholas himself when he succeeded to the throne of his brother Alexander I., became the sovereign of neither a completely civilized nor a free people. Half the nation was still in a condition of semi-barbarism; and it had been the policy of its rulers vigorously to suppress liberty of thought and speech. The government was Asiatic in its prevention of what we call freedom, and Nicholas entered upon his enormous responsibilities with an intention to make himself personally regarded not only as the head but as the sole authority of the state. The aggrandisement of Russia was the tradition which he followed, and to that everything must give way. His capacity for work, his great strength and stature, his power of directing state affairs and giving almost unremitting care to minor details of civil and military organization, were all remarkable. There never was a sovereign who was so constantly employed as the Czar Nicholas, and this may have prevented the development of that insanity which had more than once shown itself in the imperial family, and of which outbursts of violence and obduracy were perhaps the occasional symptoms in Nicholas himself. He made himself not only dictator but responsible agent, and so he was never at rest. He was constantly travelling to various parts of his vast dominion, and ordering military, naval, or public works. He prompted the codification of the laws, or to speak more correctly the institution of a regular code of laws instead of the few enactments promulgated by Catherine, who adopted a preamble with the aid of Voltaire, Diderot, and d'Alembert. In 1832 the code inaugurated by the czar was contained in fifteen quarto volumes, and in 1851 sixteen volumes were added as a supplement. Russia had become a great and threatening military power, and the necessity for conciliating or counteracting her policy had long been a prominent factor in European diplomacy; but she was also making vast strides in material progress, and here again the emperor was compelled to exert himself to the utmost to enlarge his fleets, increase the number of his ports and his mercantile marine, to establish railroads and means of communication through the great territory over which he ruled, and to provide for the rapid transmission of intelligence, which he did so effectually that news from the Crimea came to England more quickly by way of St. Petersburg than by the direct route. The conclusion of commercial treaties with China, Asiatic states, Germany, and America, gave him occupation in another direction, and yet the man's activity was so untiring that he constantly attended reviews—was first on the spot where there was a fire, directing the men how to work the engines, and even superintended the breaking of the long icicles which in winter hung from the eaves and copings of public buildings to the danger of the passengers.

It will be seen that Nicholas was in a position where submissive adulation, or at the most a kind of deferential temerity on the part of those who surrounded him, inflated his already overweening pride, and the homage which he received, added to some genuine admiration for his person and the extraordinary energy of his character, gratified his vanity to an excess that injured the real strength of his character. But he was also credited with holding the traditional dream of becoming, if not the conqueror of the world for the Slavonic race, at least of preparing the way for the Muscovite rule in Asia. Whether he held this expectation or not, he was eminently unfitted for promoting it outside Russian dominion. He had, as we have said, many of the higher qualities that distinguish half-civilized rulers who are despotic because they know no other form of government which would be applicable to their people—but he had no high moral qualities. As a ruler he had inherited and held almost unchanged the policy of the more powerful of his predecessors. Without going so far as to endorse the saying that his was in its bare elementary principles a government of force and fraud, we may quote the words of a writer who in 1855, when reviewing his career, said:—

"As to the liberty and dignity of man, as to those elevated sentiments of heart and mind which ennoble human nature, he not

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only neglected to cultivate them among his people, but opposed them throughout his life by the most violent and merciless means. Every religious denomination was proscribed except his own, and the Bible was rigorously banished his dominions. To close Russia against all liberal ideas, no matter how moderate, to prevent the faintest discussion and criticism of the acts of authority, to bear down all resistance, and subjugate and mould sixty millions of men until the harshest military despotism should appear a natural and almost an indispensable thing, to substitute his own will for right, and, as a necessary consequence, to think himself infallible—these were the principles which filled his mind as his blood did his veins, and made the very pulse of his life. By the exercise of a power so unlimited a man runs the risk of becoming mad with pride, but can never be great or good. His system resolves itself into a species of deification of himself, and of an insulting opinion of the rest of mankind. If the theory itself was flagrantly false, he who cherished and acted upon it could be little better than a huge delusion."[1]

Yet it is difficult to believe that any man would pursue such a course except under the spell of imperial fanaticism: a conviction that he was called upon to subdue everything to the one end of national aggrandisement under the personal direction of members of one family. The toil was exhausting, and would have killed almost any other man: the anxiety was so constant that everybody noted, not only the occasional wild and almost horrifying stare, but the heavy cloud of care that marred the lineaments of that proud, handsome face. Amidst all the exertion, the flattery, the constant work, and change, and wearing ambition —there was the constant suspicion, if not the dread of assassination or of poisoning. A story of a terribly suggestive kind as showing the violent and almost brutal temper of the czar, as well as the peril to which he thought he was liable, was told privately at Breslau by Dr. Mandt in 1852, when the emperor was fifty-six years old, and had therefore already passed the usual number of years attained by the members of the imperial family.

"The constitution of the emperor is excellent, but as he treats it like an enemy, and in spite of his age does not deny himself any excess, he often shakes this magnificent edifice. At the period of which I am speaking he suffered from an obstinate indisposition, of which the cause remained unknown. My enemies, my friends, and, above all, my brother physicians, took advantage of this to charge me first with want of foresight, then with ignorance, and ultimately with poisoning. At that critical juncture I was summoned by the Grand-duchess Helen, who received me with a countenance at once cold and stern. She inquired how the emperor was, and without waiting for an answer, added that she was forewarned, and would abandon that august health neither to ignorance, if there were ignorance, nor to treason, if there were treason! She then motioned to me to retire. On reaching home I was summoned to wait upon her husband, the Grand-duke Michael; his agitation was extreme, and he rushed towards me. I remained motionless, and instead of strangling me as I expected, he contented himself with putting his fist in my face, exclaiming, 'Traitor!' I respectfully begged that he would give me the means of repelling an odious accusation by acquainting me with the error which had suggested it. 'You act the virtuous man!' he exclaimed; 'you play the philosopher, the stoic; but I will not suffer myself to be deceived by this jugglery. The health of the emperor is in your hands; you are answerable to me for it with your life. On the day of that precious health being endangered your learned head would only adhere to your shoulders by a thread. Not a word, sir; understand, and go!' and I withdrew, pursued by his threats. In my absence the emperor had sent for me. I found him alone, stretched upon an easy-chair, his lion-like head weighed down by suffering, his colour leaden, his air gloomy. He cast on me a penetrating glance, and after some minutes of a chilling silence, inquired how I found him. I felt his pulse, which was strong and agitated; his tongue was bad, his general state

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March, 1855.

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alarming. 'Well, sir?' said the emperor; he always used to call me by my name, and this alteration boded no good. 'Sire, your majesty has oppression and fever; it will be necessary to take an emetic.' At the word emetic the emperor raised his head abruptly—'An emetic! you never prescribed one to me before.' I went into the laboratory adjoining his study, and soon after returned with the dose; it was not long before it acted, but I was not satisfied with the result. Another emetic appeared to me necessary, and after it had taken effect the emperor raised his pallid countenance and said to me, in a tone of suppressed wrath, 'Is that all?' 'No, sire, for I must have bile.' 'That is to say, you must have my bowels. Be it so; but remember this—I *will* have' (and he pronounced the word *will* in a manner to give it a threatening meaning), '*I will have this one produce an effect.*' Fully sensible of the danger and responsibility, I, at all risks, trebled the dose; the vomiting was instantaneous and complete. He inquired whether I was satisfied. 'Your majesty is completely out of danger,' answered I, and we parted. On the following day I found the emperor standing up and strong. 'Do you know, Mandt,' said he, 'that yesterday, while you were administering the medicine to me, I believed I was poisoned?' 'I knew it, sire!' 'You knew it—and you had the courage to advise me to take an emetic!' 'The state of your majesty required it.' 'But if it had operated ill, what would your enemies have said? for you have enemies, and they are numerous.' 'They would have asserted subsequently what they insinuated previously,—they would have called me Mandt the Poisoner.' 'And that thought did not stop you?' and here he held out his hand to me."

The suspicion of the czar on this occasion has been explained by the fact that when an emetic was proposed he was at once reminded that this was the very remedy which had been mentioned as an antidote in case of a suspicion of poisoning; and that, as he was probably aware of the interview between Mandt and the Grand-duke Michael, he immediately began to consider whether the doctor, to save himself, was about to give a remedy which would counteract the effects of some noxious drug previously administered. The story was not made public till after the death of the emperor, on whom Dr. Mandt (who, by the by, was a homœopath) continued to attend.

It must not be supposed, however, that the outbursts of violence displayed by the czar were evidences of a brutal temper. They have been attributed as much to hereditary malady as to the conditions amidst which he was placed and the defects of his education. He was capable of great gentleness and of moods of deep sentiment, and those domestics who were in personal attendance on him were warmly attached to him as to a kind master. That he was an affectionate father and husband is well known, and indeed though his marked attentions to women and his gallantries—which were more commands than intrigues—were notorious, his deep regard and esteem for his wife remained unaltered to the day of his death. She was the daughter of Frederick William III. of Prussia, but according to the Russian usage changed her name on her marriage from Louise Charlotte to Alexandra Feodorowna. They were married in 1796 while Nicholas was grand-duke, and their eldest son was born in the following year, on which occasion Nicholas wrote to the metropolitan Bishop of Moscow a very touching letter mentioning his joy at the happy termination of his anxieties, and asking the bishop to be his guide and aid in accomplishing a vow to erect a chapel to the honour of Alexander Newski in the church of the New Jerusalem. In this letter he says, "It has pleased Divine Providence to make me taste the happiness of being a father. He has deigned to preserve both the mother and the son. The expression of gratitude, which is not necessary to Him who searches the heart, becomes indispensable for a heart which is penetrated with it." The deep affection and respect for his wife continued to the day of his death, and was manifested on many occasions and in characteristic ways. It is recorded that when the military insurrection broke out in St. Petersburg after the death of the emperor Alexander the First, the new czar repaired with his wife to the

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chapel of the palace before putting himself at the head of the regiment of horse-guards to give battle to the insurgents in Isaac Square, and joined in prayer with her for the safety of the empire. While the engagement lasted, the empress, who could hear the incessant discharges of cannon, remained prostrate, imploring Heaven for the preservation of her husband, who, when victory had declared itself, returned to throw himself into her arms and offer up thanks with her on his knees for his complete success. This desire to be together in trying conjunctures was manifested anew during subsequent years. In spite of a disease of the lungs, which for several seasons forced her to exchange the rigorous winter of St. Petersburg for some milder climate, the empress would not leave her husband alone in his trials, and to this affectionate resolve he owed the consolation of having by his death-bed the companion of his life. In former days, when she was absent for her health, the emperor had posted through Europe to surprise her in her winter-quarters. In 1845 she had a country house at the gates of Palermo, and the door of her chamber being opened one morning with an unusual noise, the czar entered, having travelled incognito from Russia for the mere gratification of the interview.

It will be seen that as the Russian empress was sister to the King of Prussia, the czar may have had some reason to expect that whatever Austria might do in the way of "moral support" to the claims of France and England in favour of the Ottoman Empire, the Prussian government would follow her only for a short distance, and in this he was scarcely disappointed. It soon became evident that Nicholas had determined to accept no compromise which the sultan and his advisers would make. Though Lord Stratford de Redcliffe by his astuteness more than once prevented an excuse for proceeding to extremities by his sagacious advice to the Turkish government, the Russian emperor felt the appointment of Lord Stratford itself to be an additional cause for irritation, since the designs of Russia had previously been checked by the prompt and decisive diplomacy of the British plenipotentiary, who had been ill received, if not refused, when he was sent on a mission to Russia. It became evident, not only, as Lord Aberdeen piteously exclaimed, that we were drifting into war, but that the burden would have to be sustained by England and France alone. It was afterwards declared, and not without reason, that the French people were not altogether favourable to the war, which they regarded as affecting English interests more than their own, but they were not averse to the alliance with England, and Napoleon III. was ready to represent a principle which France was willing to endorse, in checking those overweening assumptions of the czar which had led him to ignore the existence of French interests in his suggestions to the English government. The Emperor of the French too, though he was willing to accept the name of a new-comer, owed little to the courtesy of the high-handed Nicholas. It cannot be supposed that he went into a tremendous conflict for the purpose of resenting any supposed slight, but there appears to be a tone in the letter he addressed to the Emperor of Russia inviting a pacific settlement, which is precisely that of the new-comer, addressing an easy and rather familiar remonstrance to the haughty claimant of conservative rights which are put entirely out of the question.

It should be mentioned also that Napoleon III. had lost no time in forming a matrimonial alliance, and that he had made not the slightest attempt to seek it in any of the royal or imperial families of Europe.

The declaration of the empire had been almost immediately followed by the marriage. The French emperor had long before made choice of a lady distinguished for her beauty and for eminent social talents; Eugénie Marie de Montijo, second daughter of Count de Montijo, grandee of Spain, and of Marie Manuela Kirkpatrick de Closeburn, the descendant of a Scotch Roman Catholic family. Her education had been completed in France and in England, and during travels through Europe. She was twenty-seven years of age at the time of her marriage to the emperor, who on the 22d of January, 1853, announced his intention to the senate by saying:—

"The alliance which I contract is not in

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accordance with the traditions of ancient policy, and therein is its advantage. France, by its successive revolutions, has separated from the rest of Europe. Every wise government ought to wish it to re-enter the pale of the old monarchies. But this result will be more surely attained by a straightforward and frank policy, by loyalty in conduct, than by royal alliances, which often create a false security, and substitute family interests for those of the nation. Moreover, the example of the past has left in the minds of the people certain superstitious feelings. They have not forgotten that for seventy years foreign princesses have mounted the throne only to behold their race dispossessed or proscribed by war or revolution.

"One woman alone seemed to bring happiness, and to live more than the others in the memory of the people. That woman, the modest and good wife of General Bonaparte, was not the issue of royal blood. It must, however, be admitted that in 1810 the marriage of Napoleon I. with Marie Louise was a great event. It was a pledge for the future, a real satisfaction, as the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, which had been so long at war with us, was seen to intrigue for the alliances of the elected chief of a new empire. Under the late reign, on the contrary, the patriotism of the nation suffered when the heir to the crown solicited fruitlessly, during several years, a princely alliance, to obtain it only in a secondary rank and a different religion.

"When, in the presence of Europe, a man is borne on by the force of a principle to the level of ancient dynasties, it is not by giving an ancient character to his escutcheon, and by seeking to introduce himself, at any cost, into a family, that he is accepted. It is rather, ever remembering his origin, by preserving his own character, and by adopting frankly in presence of Europe the position of *parvenu* —a glorious title when one obtains it by the voluntary suffrages of a great people. Thus departing from the precedents followed up to this time, my marriage became a private affair, and there remained only the choice of the person.

"She who has been the object of my preference is of princely descent. French in heart, by education, and by the recollection of the blood shed by her father in the cause of the empire, she has, as a Spaniard, the advantage of not having in France a family to whom it might be necessary to give honours and fortune. . . . Without despising any one, I yet yield to my inclinations, after having taken counsel with my reason and my convictions. In fine, by placing independence, the qualities of the heart, domestic happiness, above dynastic prejudices and the calculations of ambition, I shall not be less strong because I shall be more free."

It was on the 29th of January, 1854, and of course after the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the Russians at Sinope, that Napoleon III. wrote to the Emperor of Russia:—

"Your majesty has given so many proofs of your solicitude for the tranquillity of Europe, and by your beneficent influence has so powerfully arrested the spirit of disorder, that I cannot doubt as to the course you will take in the alternative which presents itself to your choice. Should your majesty be as desirous as myself of a pacific conclusion, what would be more simple than to declare that an armistice shall now be signed, that all hostilities shall cease, and that the belligerent forces shall retire from the places to which motives of war have led them? Thus the Russian troops would abandon the Principalities, and our squadrons the Black Sea. Your majesty, preferring to treat directly with Turkey, might appoint an ambassador, who could negotiate with a plenipotentiary of the sultan a convention which might be submitted to a conference of the four powers. Let your majesty adopt this plan, upon which the Queen of England and myself are perfectly agreed, and tranquillity will be re-established and the world satisfied. There is nothing in the plan which is unworthy of your majesty, nothing which can wound your honour; but if, from a motive difficult to understand, your majesty should refuse this proposal, then France as well as England will be compelled to leave to the fate of arms and the chances

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of war that which might now be decided by reason and justice."

The Emperor of Russia replied on the 9th of February:—"I have made, for the maintenance of peace, all the concessions, both of form and substance, compatible with my honour; and in claiming for my coreligionists in Turkey the confirmation of the rights and privileges which they have long acquired at the price of Russian blood I claimed nothing which was not confirmed by treaties. If the Porte had been left to herself the difference which has so long kept Europe in suspense would have been solved. A fatal influence has thrown everything into confusion. By provoking gratuitous suspicions, by exciting the fanaticism of the Turks, and by deceiving their government as to my intentions and the real scope of my demands, it has so exaggerated the extent of the questions that the probable result seems to be war. . . . My confidence is in God and in my right, and Russia, as I can guarantee, will prove herself in 1854 what she was in 1812. If, however, your majesty, less indifferent to my honour, should frankly return to our programme, if you should proffer me a cordial hand, as I now offer it to you at this last moment, I will willingly forget whatever has wounded my feelings in the past. Then, sire, but then only, we may discuss, and perhaps we may come to an understanding. Let your fleet limit itself to preventing the Turks from sending additional forces to the theatre of war: I willingly promise that they shall have nothing to fear from my attempts. Let them send a negotiator; I will receive him in a suitable manner. My conditions are known at Vienna. That is the only basis upon which I can allow discussion."

It was thought by Prince Albert and others who were thoroughly acquainted with the situation that the representations made by Napoleon III. to Russia, though they were little likely to find favour with the czar, were genuinely intended to avert if possible a war in which the French people were not at all desirous to engage; but the temper of the French people themselves underwent a change after the reply came, and the war being inevitable they were ready to engage in it with spirit and determination. It is said that the phrase of the czar, "Russia will prove herself in 1854 what she was in 1812," aroused the war fever in France. But we must briefly refer to the events which preceded this correspondence, and then as briefly indicate the progress of the struggle during 1854 and 1855.

We have already seen that the demands of Russia were founded on a clause in a treaty which, it was alleged, gave the czar a protectorate over the Greek subjects of the sultan. The treaty was that of Kutchuk-Kainardji, made in 1774 between the Ottoman Porte and Catherine II. of Russia, at a time when Turkey had been repeatedly defeated, and was reduced to such extremities that she was ready to concede almost anything, and did in fact relinquish Azof and Taganrog, at the same time making the Crimea independent, with the result of its being afterwards calmly appropriated as a possession of the Russian Empire. It seems scarcely likely, therefore, that in the same treaty which enforced these enormous concessions a clause should have been knowingly accepted, which, under colour of giving Russia a right to demand from the sultan due protection to members of the Greek Church in Turkey, might be at any time interpreted to mean such a claim of interposition on the part of Russia as would virtually make the Porte entirely subservient to the czar in respect to a large proportion of its subjects. All Europe may be said to have been engaged in disputing about the literal interpretation of the clause in the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, on which Russia founded its arrogant and inordinate claims, and many, among whom was Mr. Gladstone, contended that the *wording* of the treaty involved the right of Russia to interpose if the sultan failed to extend to the Christian churches the protection which had been promised. Of course, accepting even to the full this interpretation, it was still open to argue what was the kind or degree of protection intended, and to what extent Russian interposition could be permitted in a case affecting not the Ottoman Porte only, but the European powers; or at all events, not only the integrity

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but the existence of the Ottoman Empire. Now the seventh clause of the treaty, on which the whole controversy turned, recorded the agreement of the Sublime Porte "to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches; and also to allow the minister of the imperial court of Russia to make, on all occasions, representations, as well in favour of the new church in Constantinople, of which mention will be made in the fourteenth article, as in favour of those who officiate therein, promising to take such representations into due consideration as being made by a confidential functionary of a neighbouring and sincerely friendly power." The "new church in Constantinople" evidently refers to some specific building; and in the "fourteenth article" this reference is explained to mean a permission to the Russian court to build in the Galata quarter of Constantinople a Greek church for public worship, in addition to the chapel built in the residence of the Russian minister; and it is further declared that this new church shall be always under the protection of the ministers of the Russian Empire, and shielded from all obstruction and all injury. The whole contention as to the logical claim of Russia turned on a distinction or a relation between the first line of the seventh clause and the entire clause along with the article relating to the new church, to which a reference is made by the clause itself.

There is no need, however, to dwell on these disputes, and practically they had no effect in averting the war, or in justifying the action which was taken by Russia to enforce claims which it was asserted were monstrous under any interpretation of the treaty, or, as many people would have said, in spite of the existence of any treaty whatever. In England the intentions rather than the claims of the Emperor Nicholas were estimated, and his attempts to make our government a party to his assumptions appeared to be resented more by the people of this country than they had been by the ministers to whom the sinister suggestions had been submitted.

It would have been comparatively easy to obtain from Turkey a reasonable recognition of the terms of the treaty. The sultan was ready to admit the claims in respect to the holy places, and the protection to be afforded to Christian churches. But it soon became evident that the emperor had determined to make an end of "the sick man" and administer his estate; and the refusal of England to become an accomplice seemed to increase his obstinacy, or rather to change its character to that of dogged fury. Prince Menschikoff either had orders to behave more like a bully than an envoy, or he naturally adopted that tone and manner which turned diplomatic proposals into threatening demands, and made of a so-called "convention" an ultimatum, the manner of presenting which was an insult to which no nation would be likely to submit unless it were in such extremity that it dare not refuse. The sultan did not think that Turkey was in that extremity, and it may be noted that Lord Palmerston thought so too, since he afterwards said he was by no means certain that the Turks might not have held their own for a long time against the bullying of Russia even after actual hostilities had commenced. The sultan had already issued firmans by which the claims for the confirmation and protection of the privileges of the Christian church had been met, and under the advice of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe the whole attitude of the Porte was one of a desire for conciliatory measures; but the demanded convention was refused, as perhaps Menschikoff expected that it would be, and then (on the 3d of July 1853) two Russian divisions under the command of Prince Gortschakoff crossed the Pruth and took possession of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. This the czar announced was not an act of war, but only the acquisition of material guarantees for the concession of the demands of Russia; but as these demands had already been emphatically refused as intolerable, war could not be very far off. Still, in accordance with the advice of the English representative and the concurrence of the other powers, the sultan refrained from a declaration of hostilities. The Vienna note, which was the result of the conference, was put forward as a charming example of diplo-

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macy; and Russia was ready to accept it, for it left the points in dispute unsettled, and its language was so vague that it was even more liable to misinterpretation than the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji itself. Lord Stratford, however, was not deceived by it. He saw that it could be distorted into a concession of Russian demands, since it would be interpreted into an admission of her immediate protectorate over the Greek Christians in Turkey. Prince Albert was among those who were at first caught by its smooth conciliatory admissions, but he afterwards characterized it as a trap laid by Russia through Austria. As we have already indicated, the demands of Prince Menschikoff had gone far beyond the questions in dispute about the holy places, and the Porte had closed that dispute by the issue of firmans at the beginning of May. The "convention" afterwards proposed was really an ultimatum which Turkey could not for a moment admit. The crossing of the Pruth by Russian troops for the purpose of securing material guarantees was little less than a declaration of war: but Count Nesselrode's note declaring it to be only a measure of self-protection enabled the western powers again to endeavour to pacify the Porte while fresh negotiations were attempted. The temper of the Turkish government was such that it needed no more than a hint from Lord Stratford to lead it to reject the Vienna note unless considerable modifications were made in its terms. Not only the Moslem, but a large proportion of the Christian populations were averse to the domination of Russia, and the sultan felt that he had the moral support of the western powers against the outrageous demands of the czar. In rejecting the note it was necessary to guard against interpretations which might revive those demands, even if they were for the moment kept in abeyance, and the only direct way to do this was to alter the reference to the stipulations of the treaty of Kainardji so as to make it quite clear that there should be no direct protectorate by the Emperor of Russia over the Christian subjects of the czar. This alteration was just what the emperor did not want; the amendments were rejected, and though some further attempts were made to patch up a diplomatic arrangement, war became inevitable, except from the point of view of the "Peace Party," who mostly thought that even the disappearance of the Turkish Empire from the map of the world would not be an overwhelming calamity.

The situation was the more critical because the subjects of the Porte were already in a state of great excitement, and were crying loudly against the demands of the Russian government; and indeed, public feeling in England was being aroused to a pitch which would soon have made a pacific government unpopular. England could not advise the ministry of the sultan to accept the Vienna note, the Russian interpretation of which had been distinctly declared to be at variance with the intention of the powers who drew up its provisions. One of two courses seemed to be unavoidable—either to induce the Turkish government to accept it by giving a guarantee to support them in any future attempt of Russia to act on its misinterpretation, or to prepare in conjunction with France to go to their aid to repel the Russian aggression.

To his great grief Lord Aberdeen saw that he was unable to stem the tide, and his difficulties were not diminished because he was already being "advised" by Palmerston, whose robust pugnacity would have taken decisive and emphatic measures to show Russia that he was not to be trifled with. The state of Constantinople had become very alarming. Lord Aberdeen wrote to the queen on the 23d of September, 1853, "The war frenzy and fanaticism of the Turks have passed all bounds, and threaten the safety of the sultan and of the Christian inhabitants of the capital. Under these circumstances authority has been given to call up the English and French fleets for their protection. The ambassadors have already agreed, each of them to summon two war steamers for this purpose. Unwilling as Lord Aberdeen has always been to agree to the gratuitous violation of the treaty of 1841, he could not hesitate a moment when British life and property were at stake, as well as the personal security of the sovereign."

The Queen and Prince Albert had by that

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time, however, begun pretty well to understand the true position of affairs, and her majesty was prompt and definite enough in her reply in a letter from Balmoral dated September 25th.

"Lord Aberdeen's explanation of the present state of affairs throws an entirely new light upon the position of the question in dispute. The queen has also just seen Count Nesselrode's despatch, stating his reasons for the objections to the modifications made in Vienna note. Hitherto Russia has generally objected to any modification of what had been already accepted by the emperor as an *ultimatum*.

"But since it appears, as Lord Aberdeen says, 'that the Russian interpretation of the Vienna note was directly at variance with that of the four powers, and in a great measure confirmed the Turkish objections,' Lord Aberdeen is perfectly right in calling it 'an act scarcely honest upon the part of England and France to ask the Porte to sign a note upon the strength of their interpretation, while they knew perfectly well that this interpretation was entirely different from that put upon it by the power to whom the note was to be addressed.'

"From this moment, however, it becomes also obvious that it will be fruitless further to attempt to settle the dispute by the 'rédaction' (compilation) of notes to be exchanged between Turkey and Russia, or the choice of particular words and expressions in public documents having for their object to avoid naming the real objects in dispute.

"It is evident that Russia has hitherto attempted to deceive us in pretending that she did not aim at the acquisition of any *new* right, but required only a satisfaction of honour and a reacknowledgment of the rights she already possessed by treaty; and that she does intend, and for the first time lays bare that intention, to acquire new rights of interference which the Porte does not wish to concede, and cannot concede, and which the European powers have repeatedly declared she *ought not* to concede.

"Ought not the points of difference to be now prominently laid before our allies, and in conjunction with such as have either the honesty or the courage to avow the same opinion with ourselves ought we not to point this out to Russia, with a declaration that such demands are unsupported by existing treaties, inadmissible by Turkey if she has any regard for her independence, and inadmissible by the powers who have an interest and a duty to guard this independence, and that the continuance of the occupation of the principalities in order to extort these demands constitutes an unwarrantable aggression upon Turkey, and infraction of the public law of Europe?

"If the views of Russia, for instance, with regard to 'Modification III. of the Note' were to prevail, the extension of the advantages and privileges enjoyed by Christian communities, in their capacity as foreigners, to the Greeks generally, with the right granted to Russia to intercede for them to this effect, would simply make foreigners of ten millions of the subjects of the Porte, or depose the sultan as their sovereign, putting the Emperor of Russia in his place."

It is not difficult to trace in this plain declaration the hand of Prince Albert, but at the time or soon afterwards he was accused and suspected of being in effect adverse to England and of acting inimically to the national honour by his foreign sympathies. The "dead-set" made on the prince by a large part of the newspaper press was inexcusable, and for a time he was again the centre of abuse from all quarters, until a short declaration in parliament utterly exploded these scandalous accusations. Of this we shall have a word to say in another page. The line of argument indicated in the queen's reply to the Earl of Aberdeen was adopted and made the substance of a despatch by Lord Clarendon to Sir G. Hamilton Seymour at St. Petersburg, and then followed another move on the part of the Emperor Nicholas.

The French and British fleets had been sent to the Dardanelles for the protection of Turkey as soon as it was known that preparations were being made for the Russian occupation of the principalities. Lord Palmerston had strongly advised that when the occupation did take place the fleets should at once be sent up

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to the Bosphorus, and that they should also be at liberty to go into the Black Sea if necessary or useful for the protection of Turkish territory. This he believed would be an encouragement to Turkey, a direct check to Russia, and a stimulus to Austria and Prussia to make increased exertions to bring the Russian government to reason, and that it would also "relieve England and France from the disagreeable and not very creditable position of waiting without venturing to enter the back door as friends while the Russians have taken possession of the front hall as enemies." Palmerston was then convinced that this country expected some such decisive course to be taken, and that it would meet with support from the opposition in parliament; but the Earl of Aberdeen persisted, as Prince Albert wrote in a letter to Stockmar, not only in treating our enemies as if they were honourable men, but in maintaining it was right to think that they were so in fact.

It must have been difficult to support this high opinion after the Emperor of Russia had declared that the occupation of the provinces was to be explained by the presence of the fleets in the Dardanelles, and would only cease when they retired. "It is the robber who declares that he will not leave the house until the policeman shall have first retired from the courtyard," said Palmerston in a memorandum sent round to the members of the cabinet. "The position of England and France was already sufficiently humiliating; but this insolent pretension, published to all Europe even before it was communicated to us, seems to me to make that position no longer tenable consistently with a due regard to the honour and character of this country." He still advised the despatch of the fleets to the Bosphorus, with an intimation that Count Nesselrode's note, dictating to us where we should send our fleet, left us no alternative but to station that fleet at the very heart of that empire whose integrity and independence had been unwarrantably threatened by a Russian invasion of its territory.

It will be seen that Palmerston was already playing a very prominent part as adviser in foreign affairs in addition to his duties as home secretary, and it cannot be doubted that he was interpreting the feeling of the country; but he must seriously have embarrassed the patient and, as most people thought, the timid and hesitating policy of the Earl of Aberdeen, who clung to the opinion that negotiations for peace might be successful after all if we could only go on acting as though we gave Russia credit for honesty and good faith. But the Russian people as well as the Turkish people were regarding the impending struggle from a fanatical point of view; and though the emperor sometimes seemed ready to make another effort to set himself right with England, it was evidently only for the purpose of gaining his end, and without regard to the truth of his statements. He had declared at Olmutz that he sought no new right, privilege, or advantage, but solely the confirmation of the legal *status quo*. If he had been sincere in this there ought to have been no difficulty in concluding a peace. He was reported to be depressed and out of spirits at the position in which he found himself. The four great powers had declared him in the wrong; they all felt sore that the rash and unjustifiable invasion of the principalities had brought them to the verge of an European war. Prussia and Austria, moreover, had reason to dread a power so arbitrary in its demands and its manner of enforcing them by seizing what territory it pleased. If Moldavia, why not any other province under the pretext of some equally unfounded claim? Seeing the attitude adopted by England and France, the emperor had tried to engage Austria and Prussia in a league, offensive and defensive, against them. Austria would have yielded had Prussia done so; but Prussia, under the firm guidance of Baron Manteuffel, refused. Thus the emperor stood alone, with the public opinion of Europe arrayed against him, and two of its greatest powers virtually pledged to support the sultan by their whole combined strength. The prospect might well have made him pause; but by this time the religious fervour of the Russians was roused in favour of what they deemed a crusade in support of the true faith, and this element, with others, more than

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outweighed the suggestions of policy and prudence.[1]

The Emperor of Russia felt himself impelled to a difficult war in which he would have to stand alone, and at the last moment he was still plotting and contriving how he might secure some kind of support. There are even evidences that he would have receded if he could have done so with substantial advantage in the direction of a protectorate which would make it appear that he was, as he professed to be, acting only in the interests of national honour. But the time had passed. He had gained nothing by his efforts to hoodwink Europe, and though he made overtures for a triple alliance with Austria and Prussia, the governments of these countries could neither of them venture to go to that extent of perfidy after they had ever so faintly protested against the assumptions of the czar. Either they had promoted a treaty by the clauses of which they had been deceived, or they were playing into the hands of Russia.

The old Asiatic party in Turkey, led by Redschid Pacha, who held by a prophecy that the Turks were to be driven out of Constantinople and would be confined to a territory in Asia, were anxious to secure peace by almost any concessions; but they were no longer tolerated when Russia commenced hostilities by crossing the Pruth, and the war party were called to power with Omar Pacha as commander-in-chief of the Turkish armies for the Danubian Principalities. Omar Pacha was an Austrian subject, a Croatian, who had entered the Turkish service in 1830 when he was twenty-nine years old, and whose reputation had been sustained by his great military ability and some brilliant exploits in Syria, Albania, Koordistan, and Bosnia. He had professedly embraced the Mohammedan tenets, but it needed all his great talents and repeated successes to enable him to hold his own against the jealousy of the Turkish officers, who looked upon him for some years with dislike and suspicion. The war on which he was about to enter gave him another opportunity of asserting his superiority as a general. As soon as the Russian troops entered the principalities Turkey issued a manifesto, and on the 5th of October declared war. The four western powers, desiring still to avert decided hostilities if possible, sent to the Turkish general desiring him not to cross the Danube or to commence an appeal to arms; but Omar Pacha was already in action:—his army had crossed the river and taken a firm position in spite of the resistance of the Russians.

At this time Prince Albert had sent a circular, or what may be called a series of notes on the situation, to the Earl of Aberdeen, in which he represented as his opinion that though we were most anxious for the preservation of the peace of Europe, which could not fail to be endangered by open hostilities between Turkey and Russia, by the order to our fleet to protect the Turkish territory, and by the declaration of war issued by the Turks, this the perhaps most important object of our policy had been decidedly placed in jeopardy. In acting as auxiliaries to the Turks we ought to be quite sure that *they* had no object in view *foreign* to our duty and interests; that they did not drive at war whilst we aimed at peace; that they did not, instead of merely resisting the attempt of Russia to obtain a protectorate over the Greek population incompatible with their own independence, seek to obtain themselves the power of imposing a more oppressive rule of two millions of fanatic Mussulmans over twelve millions of Christians; that they did not try to turn the tables upon the weaker power, now that, backed by England and France, they had themselves become the stronger.

If our forces were to be employed for any purpose, however defensive, as an auxiliary to Turkey, we *must insist* upon keeping not only the conduct of the negotiation, but also the power of peace and war, in our own hands, and that, Turkey refusing this, we could no longer take part *for her*.

It would be said that England and Europe had a strong interest, setting all Turkish considerations aside, that Constantinople and the Turkish territory should not fall into the hands of Russia, and that they should in the last extremity even go to war to prevent such an over-

[1] Sir Theodore Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort.*

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throw of the balance of power. This must be admitted, and such a war might be right and wise. But this would be a war, not for the maintenance of the *integrity of the Ottoman Empire*, but merely for the interests of the European powers of civilization. It ought to be carried on unshackled by obligations to the Porte, and would probably lead, in the peace, which must be the object of that war, to the obtaining of arrangements more consonant with the well-understood interests of Europe, of Christianity, liberty, and civilization, than the reimposition of the ignorant barbarian and despotic yoke of the Mussulman over the most fertile and favoured portion of Europe.

This memorandum from the prince was approved by the foreign minister Lord Clarendon, and by Sir James Graham, while Lord John Russell said he "agreed very much with it;" but Lord Palmerston differed considerably from its conclusions, and his reply is worth attention, because it may be said to have relation to a dispute which has been renewed at a comparatively recent date and is by no means settled. He said: "According to my view of the matters in question the case is simple and our course is clear. The five great powers have in a formal document recorded their opinion that it is for the general interest of Europe that the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire should be maintained; and it would be easy to show that strong reasons, political and commercial, make it especially the interest of England that this integrity and independence should be maintained. But Russia has attacked the independence and violated the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; and Russia must, by fair means or foul, be brought to give up her pretensions and withdraw her aggression. England and France, urged by common interests to defend Turkey against Russia, have given Turkey physical assistance and political and diplomatic support. They undertook to obtain for Turkey, by negotiation, a satisfactory and honourable settlement of her difficulties with Russia, and failing that, to support Turkey in her defensive war. Hitherto our efforts at negotiation have failed, because the arrangement which we proposed was declared both by Turkey and by Russia to be such as Turkey could not honourably nor safely adopt. The Turkish government, seeing no apparent prospect of better results from negotiation, and aware that lapse of time was running to the disadvantage of Turkey, at length, after having for some considerable time yielded to our advice to remain passive, came to a determination not unnatural and not unwise, and issued that declaration of war which we had officially and publicly said that the sultan would have been justified in issuing the moment the Russians invaded his territory.

"This declaration of war makes no change in the position of England and France in relation to Turkey. We may still try to persuade Russia to do what she ought to do, but we are still bound, by a regard for our own interests, to defend Turkey. Peace is an excellent thing, and war is a great misfortune; but there are many things more valuable than peace, and many things much worse than war. We passed the Rubicon when we first took part with Turkey and sent our squadrons to support her; and when England and France have once taken a third power by the hand, that third power *must* be carried in safety through the difficulties in which it may be involved. England and France cannot afford to be baffled, and whatever measures may be necessary on their part to baffle their opponent, those measures must be adopted; and the governments of the two most powerful countries on the face of the earth must not be frightened either by words or things, either by the name or by the reality of war. No doubt when we put forth our whole strength in defence of Turkey we shall be entitled to direct in a great measure the course and character of the war, and to exercise a deciding influence on the negotiations which may afterwards lead to peace. And it was with that view that some time ago I proposed to the cabinet that, negotiation failing, England and France should conclude a convention with Turkey, by which, on the one hand, the two powers should engage to afford Turkey naval assistance, and to permit their respective subjects to enter the sultan's service, naval and military; and by which the sultan, on the

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other hand, should engage to consult with the two powers as to the terms and conditions of peace. But the only grounds on which we can claim influence in these matters is our determination to give hearty and effectual support. We support Turkey for our own sake and for our own interests, and to withdraw our support or to cripple it so as to render it ineffectual, merely because the Turkish government did not show as much deference to our advice as our advice deserved, would be to place our national interests at the mercy of other persons. . . . But it is said the Turks seem to wish for war while we wish for peace. I apprehend that both parties wish for one and the same thing, namely the relinquishment by Russia of inadmissible pretensions, and her retirement from the Turkish territory; both parties would rather gain these ends by the pen than by the sword. We only differ in our belief as to the efficiency of these two methods. It is indeed possible that the Turks may think that a successful conflict would enable them to make a treaty of peace which should free them from the thraldom of some of their old engagements; and if this were possible it would certainly place future peace on a firmer foundation. It is said also that the Turks are reawakening the dormant fanaticism of the Mussulman race, and that we ought not to be the helping instruments to gratify such bad passions. I believe these stories about awakened fanaticism to be fables invented at Vienna and St. Petersburg; we have had no facts stated in support of them. I take the fanaticism which has been thus aroused to be the fanaticism which consists in burning indignation at a national insult, and a daring impatience to endeavour to expel an invading enemy. This spirit may be reviled by the Russians, whose schemes it disconcerts, and may be cried down by the Austrians, who had hoped to settle matters by persuading the Turks to yield; but it will not diminish the good-will of the people of England, and it is a good foundation on which to build our hopes of success. The concluding part of the memorandum points to the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the establishment of a Greek Empire in European Turkey. But such a scheme would be diametrically opposed to the principles of the policy on which we have hitherto acted. To carry such a system into execution we ought to join the Russians against the Turks, instead of helping the Turks against the Russians; for how could such a reconstruction of Turkey become the result of a successful contest by England and France in defence of Turkey? I have no partiality for the Turks as Mohammedans, and should be very glad if they could be turned into Christians. I am well convinced that there are a vast number of Christians under the governments of Russia, Austria, Rome, and Naples who would rejoice to enjoy as much security for person and property as the Christian subjects of the sultan. To expel from Europe the sultan and his two million of Mussulman subjects, including the army and the bulk of the landowners, might not be an easy task; still the five powers might effect it, and play the Polish drama over again. But they would find the building up still more difficult than the pulling down. There are no sufficient Christian elements as yet for a Christian state in European Turkey capable of performing its functions as a component part of the European system. The Greeks are a small minority, and could not be the governing race. The Sclavonians, who are the majority, do not possess the conditions necessary for becoming the bones and sinews of a new state. A reconstruction of Turkey means neither more nor less than its subjection to Russia, direct or indirect, immediate or for a time delayed. It seems to me then that our course is plain, simple, and straight. That we must help Turkey out of her difficulties by negotiation if possible; and that if negotiation fails, we must, by force of arms, carry her safely through her dangers."

Nothing could more plainly indicate Palmerston's policy than this statement. It was not, it did not pretend to be, based on very exalted theoretical principles, and it is not difficult in reading it to understand the dislike, one might almost say the abhorrence, with which his declarations and the action which they involved were likely to excite, and did excite in the minds of men who

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regarded war not only as a misfortune, but as an evil, to avoid which almost any sacrifice should be made. Such men held that war, either for the sake of British interests or for glory, was a crime,—would not admit that it was necessary for us to resort to arms when negotiations had failed for the purpose of supporting one barbarous and tyrannical power against another because it suited our purpose; nor would they agree that having once engaged in an enterprise which was in itself an evil one, we were bound to prosecute it to its evil end. That was the extreme view taken by those people who were regarded as the fanatics of peace, and it must be admitted that they were numerically weak. There was enough in Palmerston's appeal to the English sense of honour (which made it incumbent on a strong protective ally to stick to a threatened comrade through thick and thin), to hit the popular sentiment; and Palmerston himself was doubtless sincere in putting it forward as the highest motive which was practicable—looking to what he conceived to be the necessary outcome of an alliance that would achieve the humiliation of Russia, promote the power and influence of England, and teach unconstitutional autocrats that they could not break into their neighbours' houses without having to confront "the policeman." More than that, it had long been a personal policy. It was Palmerstonian as well as English, and Palmerston was waiting on events, shrewdly guessing that before long he would be recalled by the public voice to take the direction of the war office.

Lord Aberdeen did not let the whole statement go without a reply, and on the subject of Turkish fanaticism and cruelty he said: "Notwithstanding the favourable opinion entertained by many, it is difficult to believe in the improvement of the Turks. It is true that under the pressure of the moment benevolent decrees may be issued, but these, except under the eye of some foreign minister, are entirely neglected. Their whole system is radically vicious and inhuman. I do not refer to fables which may be invented at St. Petersburg or at Vienna, but to numerous despatches of Lord Stratford himself and of our own consuls, who describe a frightful picture of lawless oppression and cruelty. This is so true that if the war should continue, and the Turkish armies meet with disaster, we may expect to see the Christian populations of the empire rise against their oppressors; and in such a case it could scarcely be proposed to employ the British force in the Levant to assist in compelling their return under a Mohammedan yoke."

He contended that in any case, though we had sent our fleet to the Bosphorus, we had done so reserving to ourselves complete freedom for further negotiation with a view to peace. If, while we were labouring for this, the Turks should be obstinately bent on war, "then," he added, "I confess I am not disposed to sacrifice our freedom of action, and to permit ourselves to be dragged into war by a government which has not the requisite control over its own subjects, and is obliged to act under the pressure of popular dictation." The Ottoman government had declared war in opposition to the remonstrances of our ambassador; and if we were now to go into war along with them we must see that we did so for ends which we could justify to ourselves and in the face of Europe.

"I should be perfectly prepared," he said, "to oppose, even to the extremity of war, the possession by Russia of Constantinople and the Dardanelles with the approaches to the Mediterranean; and I think that this decision would be justified by English and by European interests. It is true that the Emperor of Russia has invariably declared that he entertains no such projects, and that he would regret any such proposition; but if a contest should arise on this ground, it would probably embrace other objects than the security of Turkish dominion. It is difficult to say into whose hands these territories would ultimately fall; but whoever might profit by the result, it is to be expected that the Turks would disappear, never more to return to a soil upon which, in the face of Christendom, they have been so long established."

But the prospects of negotiation became more distant. The Emperor of Russia himself destroyed the restraints which might for

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a time have influenced our government even against the clamour which was raised in the country. On the 1st of November the Emperor Nicholas issued a manifesto declaring war against Turkey, and referring to his former manifesto by which he had made known to his faithful and dearly beloved subjects the motives which had placed him under the obligation of demanding from the Ottoman Porte inviolable guarantees in favour of the sacred rights of the orthodox church. "We also," he went on to declare, "announced to them that all our efforts to recall the Porte by means of amicable persuasion to sentiments of equity and to the faithful observance of treaties had remained unfruitful, and that we had consequently deemed it indispensable to cause our troops to advance into the Danubian Principalities; but in taking this step we still entertained the hope that the Porte would acknowledge its wrong-doings and would decide on acceding to our just demands. Our expectation has been deceived. Even the chief powers of Europe have in vain sought by their exhortations to shake the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman government. It is by a declaration of war, by a proclamation filled with lying accusations against Russia, that it has responded to the pacific efforts of Europe as well as to our spirit of long-suffering. At last, enrolling in the ranks of its army revolutionary exiles from all countries, the Porte has just commenced hostilities on the Danube. Russia is challenged to the combat, and she has no other course left her than, putting her trust in God, to have recourse to force of arms, and so compel the Ottoman government to respect treaties and obtain reparation for the insults with which it has responded to our most moderate demands and to our most legitimate solicitude for the defence of the orthodox faith in the East, professed also by the people of Russia."

There is no need to quote more or to point out the monstrous falsehoods of this declaration which was distributed to the colonels of the Russian army. It was of course designed to stimulate the Russians themselves to a prosecution of the war, but to publish it to the world was little less than an insane defiance of the opinion of Europe. If anything had been wanting to rouse the war fever in France and England this manifesto would have answered the purpose, and yet the czar seemed to imagine that he might still influence the English government, whose hesitation and reluctance to abandon the attempt to find a basis of agreement, he attributed either to timidity or to a lingering desire to support his claims. No other assumption seems capable of explaining an autograph letter which he at the same time addressed to the queen, expressing surprise that there should be any misunderstanding between her majesty's government and his own as to the affairs of Turkey, and appealing to her majesty's "good faith" and "wisdom" to decide between them. This letter was at once submitted by the queen to Lord Clarendon for his and Lord Aberdeen's perusal and opinion as to the answer to be returned. Her majesty replied on the 14th of November, and her letter, which was written in French, contained a direct and unmistakable answer, though it preserves the style of a formal private letter, and therefore gives the emperor rather more credit for good intentions than might be permissible if the language were to be judged otherwise than as that of the reserve which is understood to be ordained by etiquette.

"Being heartily anxious, sire, to discover what could have produced this painful misunderstanding, my attention has been naturally drawn to article 7 of the treaty of Kainardji; and I am bound to state to your majesty, that having consulted the persons here best qualified to form a judgment upon the meaning to be attached to this article, and after having read and re-read it myself, with the most sincere desire to be impartial, I have arrived at the conviction that this article is not susceptible of the extended meaning which it has been sought to attach to it. All your majesty's friends, like myself, feel assured that you would not have abused the power which would on such a construction have been accorded to you; but a demand of this kind could hardly be conceded by a sovereign who valued his own independence.

"Moreover, I will not conceal from your majesty the painful impression produced upon

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me by the occupation of the principalities. For the last four months this has caused a general commotion in Europe, and is calculated to lead to ulterior events, which I should deplore in common with your majesty. But as I know that your majesty's intentions towards the Porte are friendly and disinterested, I have every confidence that you will find means to give expression and effect to them, so as to avert those grave dangers which, I assure you, all my efforts will be directed to prevent. The impartial attention with which I have followed the causes that up to this time have led to the failure of all attempts at conciliation, leaves me with the firm conviction that there exists no real obstacle which cannot be removed or promptly surmounted with your majesty's assistance."

Before her majesty's letter was despatched it was of course submitted to Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon, and was much commended by them; so that it is after all to be regarded as a semi-diplomatic as well as a formally courteous communication. It was known in St. Petersburg that a letter had been written to the Queen of England, and our ambassador there soon heard how much the emperor had been mortified by the tenor of the reply, which he could easily interpret from the language of etiquette. He regretted "that he had not followed Nesselrode's advice and kept clear of politics in his letter, for the queen had in fact gone heart and soul with her ministry." Count Nesselrode was very anxious to learn from our ambassador if he knew the contents of the queen's reply. To him as well as to his other informant Sir Hamilton Seymour could only answer that he did not. "These correspondences," he added, "between sovereigns are not regular according to our constitutional notions; but all I can say is that if her majesty were called upon to write upon the Eastern affair she would not require her ministers' assistance. The queen understands all these questions as well as they do."

Hostilities, as we have seen, had actually commenced between the invading force of the Russians in the principalities. At Oltenitza 9000 Turks had taken up a position on a triangular space formed by the village, the Argis, and the Danube; and though the Russian troops endeavoured repeatedly to dislodge them the attempts were unsuccessful. On the last occasion the Turks repulsed the attack with such spirit, that 1200 of the enemy were killed or wounded. At Kalafat also the Turkish soldiers made good their position; but Omar Pacha did not intend to keep his whole army for the purpose of holding the left bank of the Danube, and he therefore retained Kalafat only as a position from which he could command that side of the river, blew up the works he had constructed at Oltenitza, and recrossed the stream.

It is easy to understand that after these events, the manifesto of the emperor and the reply to the letter which he sent to the queen, further efforts to avert war were not very promising, amidst growing excitement against Russia, and an impatient defiance and denunciation of the emperor's assumptions. After the defeat of Lord Derby's government the Aberdeen ministry had had enough to do to defend itself, not only for being a "coalition," which was a title that had been converted into a term of reproach, but against being denominated a "factious combination," which was a still more formidable charge. Lord John Russell as secretary for foreign affairs had said one or two smart things, but one of the best was to a meeting of his constituents, the electors of the city of London,—"If an omnibus with some dozen passengers were seen going down Ludgate Hill at a furious pace, and breaking into the shop windows and injuring everybody that was going by, why, every man would concur,—the men that were going eastward and the men that were going westward—all would concur in stopping that omnibus and telling the coachman to get off his box. And how much surprised would all those passengers with the policeman at their head be, if the coachman were to say, 'Why, this is a factious combination. You gentlemen are going, some of you one way and some another, and yet you have all combined to prevent me driving my omnibus into the shops.'"

It may be mentioned, also, that on the first intimation of probable war with Russia, Lord

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John Russell made use of a phrase which has since been heard a good deal of in its more recent form of "Peace with honour." In reply to a taunt from Mr. Disraeli of having joined the Aberdeen ministry "without a department," and of "condescending to accept subordinate office under an ancient and inveterate political opponent," he said, "Unless I were convinced that the present government was more likely than any government which could be formed to carry on the war successfully, and to conclude it by an honourable peace, I should cease to be one of its members." It was pretty evident, however, that the war fever was reaching to a height which would defy the placid palliatives of Aberdeen, and would not be allayed by the declarations of the foreign secretary. The Russian attack upon the Turkish fleet at Sinope turned the scale, and pacification seemed to have become impossible, for there could no longer be any pretence that the movements of the czar were only defensive. The Turks had been sending reinforcements to the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea; and in the harbour of Sinope, about halfway between Trebizonde and Constantinople, they had anchored a fleet of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two smaller vessels. On the 30th of November a Russian fleet of six sail of the line, two frigates and three steamers, appeared suddenly in the harbour and immediately commenced action. The Turks were in an ill-chosen position, they handled their ships badly, and were far inferior in the number of guns and men; but they fought for two hours and a half, during which 4000 were killed, and all their ships were destroyed or crippled, except one steamer which escaped the Russian broadsides and carried the news to Constantinople. It has been contended that Russia had a right to give battle to the Turks when and how she pleased; but that certainly was not the opinion in England at the time. The destruction of the Turkish vessels while in anchor in a Turkish harbour, and almost during the time that the emperor was proclaiming his intention to be defensive and not aggressive, was held to be a fresh proof of the unscrupulous character of his claims. Lord Clarendon wrote to the British minister at St. Petersburg:—"The object with which the combined fleets were sent to Constantinople was not to attack Russia but to defend Turkey; and the English and French ambassadors were informed that the fleets were not to assume an aggressive position, but that they were to protect the Turkish territory from attack;"—but the sultan's squadron was destroyed, where the English and French fleets, if they had been present, would have protected it, and would have repelled the attack; and on receiving intelligence of the engagement the allied fleet sent two frigates to watch the movements of the enemy. By that time the Russian vessels had hastily sheered off and taken shelter in Sebastopol. Few politicians had much expectation of war being averted after this. The immediate results were that the combined fleets were ordered to the Black Sea by the Earl of Clarendon, who had succeeded Lord John Russell in the Foreign Office, and that thus the opinions of Lord Palmerston were being justified. The queen was acute enough to see that though Palmerston's mode of proceeding was often objectionable, it might, if it had been adopted earlier, have prevented the outrageous conduct of Russia and so have led to a treaty of peace. Writing to Lord Clarendon on the 20th of December, 1853, she said, "Lord Palmerston's mode of proceeding always had that advantage that it threatened steps which it was hoped would not become necessary, whilst those hitherto taken, started on the principle of not needlessly offending Russia by threats, obliging us at the same time to take the very steps which we refused to threaten."

It has already been noticed that after the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope, Napoleon III. addressed the Emperor of Russia in terms which, while they strongly urged the conclusion of negotiations which might secure peace, were little calculated to appease the rage of the czar when he heard that the allied fleet was ordered to the Black Sea. Yet the language he used was guarded and moderate. "The two maritime powers had sent their squadrons to the Bosphorus because Turkey, threatened in her indepen-

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dence, her provinces seized as a material guarantee for the fulfilment of a treaty which she had not broken, had claimed a support to which, by the justice of her cause, affirmed by the combined voice of Austria, Prussia, England, and France, she was entitled. The western powers had maintained a passive attitude up to the day when the Turkish fleet, riding quietly at anchor in a Turkish port, had been destroyed in spite of the assurance that there was no wish to commence an aggressive war. After that event it was no longer the policy of the allied powers which received a check, it was their military honour. The sound of the cannon-shot at Sinope reverberated painfully in the hearts of all those who in England and in France respected national dignity. All shared in the sentiment that wherever our cannon could reach our allies ought to be respected. Out of this feeling arose the order given to our squadrons to enter the Black Sea, and to prevent by force, if necessary, the recurrence of a similar event." Probably the most distasteful part of the letter was its concluding representation that the allies also could secure "material guarantees" by prohibiting the navigation of the Black Sea by the Russian fleet, since it was "important during the war to preserve a guarantee equivalent in force to the occupation of the Turkish territory, and thus facilitate the conclusion of peace by having the power of making a desirable exchange."

"I return with refusal," were the words telegraphed to Paris by the French representative at St. Petersburg. From the moment that the combined fleets of France and England entered the Black Sea with the avowed purpose of shutting up the Russian fleet in Sebastopol the hope of a peaceful adjustment was at an end. Count Nesselrode wrote to Baron Brunnow that it was "an act of flagrant hostility." It can scarcely be doubted that Lord Aberdeen and the ministry, with the exception of Lord Palmerston, were desirous to use every effort to convince the czar that they desired peace. One reason for this was, perhaps, that they knew we were not ready for war, but unfortunately that may have been regarded by the czar as their *chief* reason, when he had reluctantly discovered that a desire covertly to support his claims had no influence in their decisions. He applied to Prussia and to Austria to obtain a promise of strict neutrality, but there also he was disappointed. Encouraged, perhaps, by the fact that they could safely assert their independence while France and England were immediately interested in maintaining it, they both objected to be dictated to. In answer to Count Orloff, who was at Vienna on this mission, the young Emperor of Austria asked whether the count could promise that the czar would not cross the Danube, would seek no acquisition of territory, and would evacuate the principalities when the war was over. The haughty reply was that the czar could come under no such engagement, and Count Orloff was then informed that Austria must be equally free to act as her interests and dignity might direct. Baron de Budberg had little more success in Prussia. The king was anxious enough to conciliate his brother-in-law the czar, and there was a strong Russian party at the court, but there was also a firm minister —Manteuffel—who for the moment influenced the king to refuse to commit himself to any course inconsistent with the principles he had maintained at the Vienna conference. Neither Austria nor Prussia would give any pledge of active interference, but Austria supported the ultimatum which was soon afterwards addressed to the czar by France and England. "It is impossible to make these people (Prussia) understand the duties and responsibilities of a great power," wrote our ambassador at Berlin; "their chief thought in this question appears to be the chance of playing a great card hereafter in Germany when the war shall have lasted a few years."

The Emperor of Russia had issued a ukase for a military levy of nine men in every thousand of the adult male population throughout his dominions, and this order was followed by a proclamation in which the blame for any future hostilities was thrown upon "those who were opposing the moderation and justice of demands in which Turkey, if left to herself, would have acquiesced." The manifesto having commenced with this declaration, which

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was so worded as to appear to have been written more in sorrow than in anger, went on to say that the appearance of the English and French fleets at Constantinople had served as a further incentive to the obstinacy of the Porte, and that the two powers had now sent their fleets to the Black Sea, proclaiming their intention to protect the Turks, and to impede the free navigation of Russian vessels of war employed for the protection of the Russian coast. After a course of proceedings unheard of among civilized nations, the czar declared that he had recalled his embassies for England and France, and had broken off all political intercourse with these powers. The proclamation ended by appealing to the fanaticism of the people against those who had sided with the enemies of Christianity.

It may be easily understood that this manifesto increased the war feeling in France and England to a pitch which would have made the tenure of any government uncertain unless it was prepared to take immediate action. At the end of 1853 the *Times* upheld the general demand for hostilities by reminders that the suspicion that our fighting days were over was a mistake, whether it was held in Russia or in England:—

"The combined governments of England and France have exhausted their diplomacy, their remonstrances, and their patience, and they now see themselves apparently reduced to the alternative of quitting for ever their high station among the nations of the earth, forfeiting their promises, and abandoning their allies, or having recourse to war,—the sport of barbarous sovereigns, but the dread of free and progressive governments. This is no alternative—it is a decision. With whatever reluctance, the western powers must accept the challenge so insultingly flung to them. It has been greatly to the credit of our people that, under circumstances of no small irritation, they have forborne from embarrassing the course of negotiation by an indiscreet exercise of their right of public meeting, and have thus left diplomacy every opportunity for averting the scourge with which we are threatened. Equally meritorious has been their forbearance from expressing a natural anxiety for peace, and an impatience of further taxation, at a time when such sentiments could only weaken the effect of our remonstrances and impair the confidence of our allies. The people of England have shown that they are not only temperate, but magnanimous, and capable of adopting in their collective capacity, when required by circumstances, the same prudent reserve and wise forbearance which are continually required from individual statesmen. We trust that in the coming struggle, which all our efforts seem powerless to avert, and which, though begun on the banks of the Danube, may spread from the Baltic to the Caspian, from the Caspian to the Ganges, and from the Ganges to the shores of the North Pacific, they may show a like firmness and constancy. We have not sought war, we have done all in our power to avoid it; but, if it must come, we trust its evils and sacrifices will be cheerfully borne, as we are sure its perils will be manfully confronted. We have enjoyed peace long enough to value it above all things except our honour, but not long enough to enervate our energies, or chill the courage which has carried us through so many unequal conflicts. The dawn of 1854 lowers dark with the presage of impending battle."

Prince Albert afterwards in a letter to King Leopold said:—"Another mistake which people abroad make, is to ascribe to England a policy based upon material interests and cold calculation. Her policy is one of pure feeling, and therefore often illogical. The government is a popular government, and the masses upon whom it rests only feel and do not think. In the present instance their feeling is something of this sort. The Emperor of Russia is a tyrant, the enemy of all liberty on the Continent, the oppressor of Poland. He wanted to coerce the poor Turk. The Turk is a fine fellow; he has braved the rascal, let us rush to his assistance. The emperor is no gentleman, as he has spoken a lie to our queen. Down with the Emperor of Russia! Napoleon for ever! He is the nephew of his uncle, whom we defeated at Waterloo. We were afraid of his invading us? Quite the contrary. He has forgotten all that is past,

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and is ready to fight with us in the glorious cause against the oppressor of liberty. He may have played the French some tricks, but they are an unruly set, and don't deserve any better. D—— all the German princes who won't go with us against the Russian, because they think they want him to keep down their own people. The worst of them is the King of Prussia, who ought to know better."

There is a good deal of truth, and the evidence of keen perception in this, but it strikes one as peculiarly quaint, and there is a foreign air about it, though the prince was as English in his sympathies as it was afterwards shown he was faithful to the high position that he held in the country.

The war fever was reaching its height when, on the 27th of February, 1854, Lord Clarendon wrote to Count Nesselrode the ultimatum of England to Russia in the following terms:—"The British government having exhausted all the efforts of negotiation, is compelled to declare to the cabinet of St. Petersburg that, if Russia should decline to restrict within purely diplomatic limits the discussion in which she has for some time past been engaged with the Sublime Porte, and does not, by return of the messenger who is the bearer of my present letter, announce her intention of causing the Russian troops under the orders of Prince Gortschakoff to commence their march with a view to recross the Pruth, so that the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia shall be completely evacuated on the 30th of April next, the British government must consider the refusal or the silence of the cabinet of St. Petersburg as equivalent to a declaration of war, and will take its measures accordingly. The messenger who is the bearer of this letter to your excellency is directed not to wait more than six days at St. Petersburg for your reply." On the fifth day from the messenger's arrival Count Nesselrode verbally informed the English consul that "his majesty does not think it becoming in him to give any reply to Lord Clarendon's letter." In the course of the same interview, the British agent asked the count what the intentions of his government were with reference to the consular arrangements between the two countries, in the event of a declaration of war. Count Nesselrode replied:—"That will entirely depend upon the course her Britannic majesty's government may adopt. We shall not declare war." The messenger (Captain Blackwood) returned to England on the 25th March.

On the 28th the following declaration of the causes of war was published in the *London Gazette*:—"It is with deep regret that her majesty announces the failure of her anxious and protracted endeavours to preserve for her people and for Europe the blessings of peace. The unprovoked aggression of the Emperor of Russia against the Sublime Porte has been persisted in with such disregard of consequences, that, after the rejection by the Emperor of Russia of terms which the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Prussia, as well as her majesty, considered just and equitable, her majesty is compelled by a sense of what is due to the honour of her crown, to the interests of her people, and to the independence of the states of Europe, to come forward in defence of an ally whose territory is invaded, and whose dignity and independence are assailed. . . . The Emperor of Russia had some cause of complaint against the sultan with reference to the settlement which his highness had sanctioned, of the conflicting claims of the Greek and Latin churches to a portion of the Holy Places of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. To the complaint of the Emperor of Russia on this head justice was done; and her majesty's ambassador at Constantinople had the satisfaction of promoting an arrangement to which no exception was taken by the Russian government. But while the Russian government repeatedly assured the queen's government that the mission of Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople was exclusively directed to the settlement of the question of the Holy Place at Jerusalem, Prince Menschikoff himself pressed upon the Porte other demands of a far more serious and important character, the nature of which he in the first instance endeavoured as far as possible to conceal from her majesty's ambassador. And those demands thus studiously concealed affected not the pri-

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vileges of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, but the position of many millions of Turkish subjects in their relations to their sovereign the sultan. These demands were rejected by the spontaneous decision of the Sublime Porte. Two assurances had been given to her majesty: one, that the mission of Prince Menschikoff only regarded the Holy Places; the other, that his mission would be of a conciliatory character. In both respects her just expectations were disappointed. . . . Her majesty, in conjunction with the sovereigns of Austria, France, and Prussia, has made various attempts to meet any just demands of the Emperor of Russia without affecting the dignity and independence of the sultan; and had it been the sole object of Russia to obtain the security for the enjoyment by the Christian subjects of the Porte of their privileges and immunities she would have found it in the offers that have been made by the sultan, but as that security was not offered in the shape of a special and separate stipulation with Russia it was rejected. Twice has this offer been made by the sultan, and recommended by the four powers; once by a note originally prepared at Vienna and subsequently modified by the Porte; once by the proposal of bases of negotiation agreed upon at Constantinople on the 31st of December and approved at Vienna on the 13th of January, as offering to the two parties the means of arriving at an understanding in a becoming and honourable manner. It is thus manifest that a right for Russia to interfere in the ordinary relations of Turkish subjects to their sovereign, and not the happiness of Christian communities in Turkey, was the object sought for by the Russian government; to such a demand the sultan would not submit, and his highness, in self-defence, declared war upon Russia; but her majesty, nevertheless, in conjunction with her allies, has not ceased her endeavours to restore peace between the contending parties. The time has, however, now arrived when the advice and remonstrances of the four powers have proved wholly ineffectual, and the military preparations of Russia becoming daily more extended, it is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered upon a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. In this conjuncture her majesty feels called upon, by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognized as essential to the peace of Europe, by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong, by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a power which has violated the faith of treaties and defies the opinion of the civilized world, to take up arms in conjunction with the Emperor of the French for the defence of the sultan. Her majesty is persuaded that in so acting she will have the cordial support of her people, and that the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion will be used in vain to cover an aggression undertaken in disregard of its holy precepts, and of its true and beneficent spirit. Her majesty humbly trusts that her efforts may be successful, and that by the blessing of Providence peace may be re-established on safe and solid foundations."

We now find that the ears and eyes of our countrymen have become familiar with names of places afar off that had hitherto been scarcely noticed by schoolboys in their books of geography. Some of these knew what the Bosphorus was, and remembered something about the Chersonese, but to the great majority of Englishmen the very word Crimea was strange, and certainly Kertch, and Sebastopol, and Scutari had a very foreign sound with them. Sidney Herbert, as has been said in these pages, had beautiful estates in the very peninsula—nearly an island—which the British and French were now to invade; but it certainly was not generally known that the southern part of this country was not only rich in natural beauty, but contained some of the finest parks and gardens in the world. Here the Tartar and the Russian, the Mohammedan mosque and the convent of the Greek Church are mingled together among the rocky hills and the forests, while here and there a mouldering fortress suggests to the instructed eye some incident in the long and varied history of the country. Here grow the olive,

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the grape, and even the orange, while good wines are yielded by some of the vineyards. Horses, sheep, oxen, honey, and silk are among the products of the southern portion of this interesting land, which was once Crim Tartary. The population is about a fifth of a million, and is very mixed, the greater portion being Tartars. This was the country in which the little river Alma was soon to give a name to one of the most important battles in history.

Something has already been said concerning the existence of what may be called the poetic English party, whose voices were for war at this time. The feeling with these politicians had something romantic and even ethereal about it. They seemed to think that England was reading the whole world a lesson by standing forward in defence of the weak, *i.e.* Turkey. Was "the sick man" (as Turkey was by that time currently called) to be quietly smothered by the "Colossus of the North?" No; we had neglected our duty with regard to Italy, Hungary, and Poland—it was now time to make what amends we could to our consciences. Such was the argument of this party. They also laid great stress upon the question of the education of the nation in manliness, upon what Florence Nightingale called the "re-tempering of peoples." The half-mad lover in Mr. Tennyson's "Maud" very nearly advocated war as a cure for social ills. Here, said he, we have been having for many years "the blessings of peace," but "we have made them a curse." Women poison their babies for the sake of the insurance money. Men, having lost the sense of brotherhood, for want of social strain (such as war creates) have made life rotten from end to end with fraud and selfishness. "Peace in her vineyard? Yes! But a company forges the wine." The inner heart of the nation is being eaten out by commercial fraud. Is not this war? It *is* war, "the viler, as underhand, not openly bearing the sword." Far better open conflict with a strong foe. Let us get rid of "the long, long canker of peace," and welcome "the blood-red blossom of war, with a heart of fire." Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and a good many more were opposed to the war, but those who did not perceive that what England wanted was a bout of bloodshed, were "hucksters:"—

> "Last week came one to the county town,
> To preach our poor little army down,
> And play the game of the despot kings,
> Tho' the state has done it and thrice as well.
> This broad-brimmed hawker of holy things,
> Whose ear is stuft with his cotton, and rings
> Even in dreams to the chink of his pence,
> This huckster put down war! can he tell
> Whether war be a cause or a consequence?"

There was of course no lack of *popular* outcry for war—the mob are always for fighting. Those who dreaded and hated the idea of a French alliance were not numerous enough or well-informed enough to outvote the rest; the newspapers cried "War, war!" Lord Palmerston was devoted not only to the old idea of the balance of power, but to the old policy of keeping Russia not only away from Constantinople, but right away, as far as possible, from access to the Mediterranean; and everybody hated the Emperor Nicholas —everybody out of courtly or high-commercial circles. The newspapers made ludicrous capital out of the "movements" of our fleet in the Mediterranean under Admiral Dundas. Day after day the "bills" displayed such lines as, "The fleet preparing to advance!" and "The fleet in the Dardanelles!" until at last, after long waiting, came the announcement, "The fleet has passed the Bosphorus!" The street songs that celebrated this event were endless, and were in this style (we quote from an original):—

> "Old Nick will soon be made to quake,
> His troops will wade in gore;
> Prince Menschikoff and the Russian Bear
> In misery do deplore.
>
> "The fortress of Sebastopol
> Will soon come down, alas!
> Surrounder'd both by sea on land
> By Raglan and Dundas."

Nicholas, Emperor of Russia, was vulgarly called "Old Nick" of course.

Manifestations of an intention to prepare for a probable war had not been wanting on our part, although the opportunities for negotiation had avowedly been kept open as long as possible. The camp at Chobham

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Common could scarcely be deemed a hostile movement, as it had been proposed early in the year, and was part of a scheme for increasing the general efficiency of the army by training the troops to field operations in accordance with modern manœuvres; but when the various brigades were assembled the spectacle presented was not without significance. A party of sappers and miners went down to prepare the camping-ground, dig wells, clear away obstructions, and erect the more important stores and buildings; and on the 14th there arrived from various quarters four regiments of cavalry, three battalions of guards, two brigades of infantry each comprising three regiments, a troop of royal horse-artillery, and three batteries of horse-artillery. A company of sappers was there, and a pontoon train formed part of the equipment. Prince Albert went with the Duke of Cambridge to visit the camp on the arrival of the men, and remained there for two or three days in command of the brigade of guards. He took deep interest in the operations, and would have continued actively employed, but on his return to town with a severe cold was seized with an attack of measles, from which the royal children (except the two youngest), and finally the queen herself, afterwards suffered. The infection also reached the guests at Buckingham Palace, the young Crown-prince of Hanover and the Duke and Duchess of Coburg, who had left England before they discovered that they had incurred the disorder, which they in turn had carried to the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Flanders, whom they met on their homeward journey. This, however, was after the review and the trial of field operations which took place before the queen at Chobham on the 21st of June. The queen had been staying at Osborne, whither she had gone a fortnight after the birth of her fourth son (Prince Leopold) on the 7th of April, and had returned on the 27th of May, so that this was her first appearance on any special public occasion after the event; but early in the morning her majesty and the prince, with the King of Hanover and the Duke of Coburg, were on the ground; the queen, on horseback in a military riding-habit, rode with the prince and her guests down the lines, and afterwards witnessed the manœuvres from a neighbouring height. The spectacle was realistic—for the country was open, but broken by hollows, woods or thickets, streams and marshes—and a hundred thousand spectators had assembled to witness it. The real value of the camp was to be found in the daily exercises, and though the weather for a great part of the two months during which the troops were under canvas was exceptionally rainy and tempestuous, the men showed themselves to be remarkably efficient and enduring.

More suggestive than the manœuvres at Chobham, however, was the naval review held at Spithead on the 8th of August. By that time the common impression was that war must soon become imminent, and the display of a naval force was regarded not only as a determined manifestation, but as an exhibition of the enormous development, or rather the vast reconstruction, of our maritime armaments. There were altogether forty vessels of war, of which twenty-five were of chief importance. Thirteen of these were screw and nine were paddle-wheel steamers, while three were sailing ships of the line. The steam-vessels possessed a nominal total of nearly 10,000 horse-power, and an actual total of about 18,000 and of 44,146 tons, the number of hands being about 10,000. There were 1087 guns, of which 68-pounders were the chief feature, the smallest of the guns being 32-pounders and the largest throwing 84-pound shells. At forty-five minutes past ten the royal yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*, entered between the leeward ships of the fleet, passing the *Vesuvius* and the *Terrible*, and then proceeding straight down the line towards the *Duke of Wellington*, gave an opportunity to the vast number of persons congregated on the decks of the steamers, which brought passengers to the spectacle, to welcome her majesty with bursts of enthusiastic cheering. After the queen and the royal party had inspected the *Duke of Wellington*, the signal was given to weigh, and her majesty led the fleet out to sea, the royal yacht occupying a central position between "the *Duke*" on the starboard and

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the *Agamemnon* on the port side, but slightly in advance of both. A few miles below the mole the signal was given to form line abreast, and at cable length from each other the line from end to end extended for more than three miles. At 2·40 the signal was given to "chase," and later in the afternoon the review ended with a mock engagement between the principal vessels. The weather was fine, and the spectacle from the point of view of those who regarded it as a great warlike demonstration was magnificent. Most of the members of the House of Commons with the speaker went to see the great show by special steamers provided for their accommodation. It was said that a hundred steam-boats carried spectators, and the royal circle included the three grand-duchesses, the Crown-prince of Wurtemburg, the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the Prince of Prussia, so there were plenty of witnesses to report the proceedings not only to the two neutral powers, but to the Emperor of Russia himself. Prince Albert afterwards wrote to Stockmar: "The great naval review has come off, and surpassed all that could have been anticipated. The gigantic ships of war, among them the *Duke of Wellington* with 131 guns (a greater number than was ever before assembled in one vessel), went, without sails, and propelled only by the screw, *eleven miles an hour*, and this against wind and tide! This is the greatest revolution effected in the conduct of naval warfare which has yet been known. Steam as well as sailing vessels will of necessity be cast aside as useless, and men-of-war with the auxiliary screw will take their place. This will cost a great deal of money till the change is effected, and render many fleets, like the present Russian one, useless. We have already sixteen at sea and ten in an advanced state. France has no more than two, and the other powers none. On Thursday 300 ships and 100,000 men must have been assembled on one spot. The fleet carried 1100 guns and 10,000 men. The weather, moreover, was magnificent, and the impression which the spectacle presented sublime."

Those people in London who had not been to the naval review were soon to witness what to them came nearer in significance—the departure of troops by railway or by transport ships, the marching of well-known regiments through the streets, the clang and fanfare of military bands, the tramp of men, and the "shrill squeaking of the wry-necked fife" or the drone of the bagpipe. They were to have part too in leave-takings, that were sad enough, and were remembered afterwards when, during the terrible winter, there came home tidings from the British camp which made men and women wail, and utter complaints that were little short of imprecations against a government which had prepared so ill for war that while men were upon the field to fight the foe, they had to fight cold and hunger and disease also, because food and drink, shelter and clothing, and medicine, and even mules and horses, had either not arrived or were beating about on shipboard at some port where they were useless, or were landed where there were no means of conveying them to the soldiers who starved and froze and sickened, but would not yield till death itself vanquished them.

Before war had been formally declared both France and Russia had sent considerable forces to the East for the protection of Turkey, and to act as might be required for that object. The British army consisted of four divisions commanded by Lieutenant General Sir George Brown, and Major-Generals the Duke of Cambridge, Sir de Lacy Evans, and Sir Richard England, and a division of cavalry under the Earl of Lucan. Altogether 10,000 of our troops left England at the end of February, 1854, and landed at Malta, where they remained till the 31st of March, when they proceeded to Gallipoli, in European Turkey, where the French were already arriving in detachments, Marshal St. Arnaud, former minister of war, being in command, and under him General Canrobert and General Bosquet; a brigade of cavalry under General d'Allonville, and reserves under Prince Napoleon, General Forey, and General Cassargnalles. The number of the French troops was at that time 20,000, or twice as many as our own. The choice of Gallipoli as a basis of operations was that of the Emperor of the French, who had

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determined that to fortify that place would be to prevent the Russians from crossing the Balkan; but as a basis of operations it was too far from the Turkish armies and from Constantinople. The emperor had, however, instructed General St. Arnaud that though Gallipoli should be the strategical point and the place of depôt for arms, ambulances, and provisions, that need not prevent the troops from marching forward or lodging one or two divisions at the barracks at the west of Constantinople or at Scutari; while, if, after having advanced towards the Balkans, a movement in retreat should become necessary they would regain the coast of Gallipoli instead of that of Constantinople, because the Russians would never venture from Adrianople to Constantinople with an army of 60,000 good troops on their right flank. These instructions and the attitude afterwards assumed by the French general looked a little too much like taking the initiative of command of the entire allied army for the taste of some people here, but matters soon assumed a regular course. Lord Raglan did not arrive at Gallipoli till May, when more active measures than merely protective dispositions had to be adopted. The war may, in fact, be said to have begun much as it continued. The results were attributable more to the soldiers than to the generals. The French and English worked together harmoniously in a cheerful hearty spirit of emulation in making the seven miles of line of entrenchments on the crest of the ridge from the Gulf of Saros to the Sea of Marmora, just as they afterwards fought like brave comrades whenever there was fighting to be done, and they were allowed to support or relieve each other amidst the tempest of shot and fire. When the works were finished the forces moved to the Bosphorus, the French occupying the European side near Constantinople, and our men landing on the eastern side of the narrow Strait of Scutari.

The positions taken by the allied fleets and the allied armies can only be estimated by reference to the map of Europe, and an acquaintance with the conformation of the territory where hostilities were likely to be commenced. The northern shores of the Black Sea and also a part of the eastern shore belonged to Russia; the southern, the Asia Minor, and the greater part of the western shore was the territory of Turkey. The Black Sea itself was therefore little other than a lake, but it was the only outlet for Russia on the south, its own sole escape being the deep and narrow channel of the Bosphorus, seventeen miles long and repeatedly contracted to not more than half a mile in breadth, but deep enough to carry large ships of war close to the shore throughout its entire course. This channel passes between Constantinople and Scutari, and, flowing into the Sea of Marmora, may be said to reappear as a westward waterway under the name of the Dardanelles, which flow for forty miles till they reach the Mediterranean. It is little to be wondered at that the sultans of Turkey had always claimed the right to exclude foreign ships of war from both these channels,—a right which was confirmed by the five great powers of Europe in the treaty of 1841, which was the latest of several treaties having the same object. By its provisions the sultan had power to close the straits against all foreign vessels of war, and at the same time was bound to exclude any such force in time of peace. In time of war, however, he might admit a foreign fleet; and this proviso enabled him, in such a contingency, to shut up the western outlet of Russia, and actually to confine the Russian fleet to the Black Sea. No other equitable arrangement would have been possible except that of leaving the straits entirely open to the navies of the world, and that would have ill-suited Russia, since it would have abolished the exclusive policy which left her influence foremost in Eastern Europe, and enabled her eagerly to watch for an opportunity of absorbing not only the straits, but Constantinople itself, or at all events of holding both in subjection by her influence on the Ottoman government.

We have already tried to show that it is no part of the purpose of these pages to give prominence to deeds of war, or to show to each reader the soldier standing in front and becoming the figure

"That hides the march of men from us."

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And yet such was the position which the nation chose to take during the earlier part of the Crimean war, that comparatively little attention was paid even to some important measures brought before parliament, and other equally important occurrences in society.

Our soldiers and sailors deserved all the honour that they received, for they were actuated by a simple desire bravely to do their duty, and they did it nobly; but the war fever had hold of the body of the nation. People suffering from its delirium, would talk of little else than the Crimea and Sebastopol. Lord Palmerston had, as he was sure to do, made a distinct reputation as home secretary. He gave his mind to the work with his usual originality and blunt determined common sense, and he was as indifferent as ever to opinions with which he had no sympathy. Yet by his never-failing *bonhomie* and shrewd wit he contrived to avoid making enemies. Only very earnest and deeply serious people, who would not accept his worldly philosophy for true wisdom, were long at variance with him, and even these could scarcely be proof against his inveterate good humour. Between him and Cobden and Bright, and men of their school, there could be no real agreement, and Palmerston himself did not pretend that any such agreement was possible. He seems almost to have gone out of his way to make himself appear as flippant and irreverent as he was accused of being, for the purpose of showing how little he cared for the remonstrances and the opposition of Mr. Bright; and though during his home secretaryship he said and did things which were afterwards incontrovertible, he contrived to say them in such a way as to appear to carry a contemptuous expression to strait-laced and orthodox persons who (as he clearly saw) regarded him with suspicion, while they sought to influence his proceedings. In cases where most other ministers would have thought it prudent merely to make a brief statement or to give a simple reply, Palmerston could not refrain from giving his reasons, for the sake, as it would seem, of challenging an adverse opinion. There was an Irish side of his character which constantly came uppermost; and his humour, the quality which made him popular, and often not only saved him from defeat but secured his success, had in it much of the Irish quality. It was amusing, although it is somewhat painful, to note the thrill of aversion with which people holding certain dogmatic opinions were affected by some of Lord Palmerston's sayings, that were uttered in perfect good faith as maxims of practical experience and without any reference whatever to so-called religious doctrines. This of course does not wholly apply to his answer to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who had written to be informed whether it was proposed, on account of the epidemic of cholera, to appoint a day of national fast and humiliation. His reply gave great offence at first, and it was probably designed as a smart rebuke. "There can be no doubt," it said, "that manifestations of humble resignation to the Divine will and sincere acknowledgments of human unworthiness are never more appropriate than when it has pleased Providence to afflict mankind with some severe visitation; but it does not appear to Lord Palmerston that a national fast would be suitable to the circumstances of the present moment. The Maker of the universe has established certain laws of nature for the planet on which we live, and the weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance or the neglect of these laws. One of these laws connects health with the absence of those gaseous exhalations which proceed from overcrowded human beings, or from decomposing substances whether animal or vegetable; and these same laws render sickness the almost inevitable consequence of exposure to these noxious influences. But it has at the same time pleased Providence to place it within the power of man to make such arrangements as will prevent or disperse such exhalations so as to render them harmless, and it is the duty of man to attend to these laws of nature and to exert the faculties which Providence has thus given to man for his own welfare. The recent visitation of cholera, which has for the moment been mercifully checked, is an awful warning given to the people of this realm that they have too much neglected their duty in this respect,

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and that those persons with whom it rested to purify towns and cities, and to prevent or remove the causes of disease, have not been sufficiently active in regard to such matters. Lord Palmerston would therefore suggest that the best course which the people of this country can pursue to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring in planning and executing measures by which those portions of their towns and cities which are inhabited by the poorest classes, and which, from the nature of things, most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence and be fruitful in death in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation. When man has done his utmost for his own safety then is the time to invoke the blessing of Heaven to give effect to his exertions."

Of course this was not an exhaustive answer, and a good deal might reasonably have been said against so rough and ready a way of reply; but it was not an irreverent one, and there were but too many obvious proofs in the streets that the Scottish as well as the English municipal authorities had not faithfully attended to their immediate duties. There was an outcry against the letter, of course, and while some of the religious sections of the community denounced it from their point of view, it was made use of by unscrupulous satirists as the foundation for a jest to the effect that the ex-foreign minister treated Heaven itself as a "foreign power;" but the jest was a very poor one—so poor that its want of reverence was not to be excused for its wit.

This was in the autumn of 1853, and there were at that time other symptoms of orthodox significance, one of them being the dismissal of the Rev. Frederic Denison Maurice from the professorships of ecclesiastical history and of English literature in King's College. Mr. Maurice had long been as remarkable for his piety and simplicity of character as for his attainments. He was perhaps not so much the head of what was known as the Broad Church, as the leader of those young and generous enthusiasts who desired to make their religion a living power, and who therefore advocated what has been called Christian socialism. We have already glanced at the position taken by Charles Kingsley and others in relation to the often painful and always solemn social problems of the time. It is enough here to say that Mr. Maurice was the master to whose pure and unselfish teaching they had listened, and by whom their religious opinions had been greatly influenced. Mr. Maurice made no secret of his views on the subject of the professed doctrine of eternal punishment, and it was to a correspondence on this subject, as it was treated in his *Theological Essays*, that the attention of the council of the college was directed by Principal Jelf. The council came to the conclusion that the opinions set forth and the doubts expressed in the essay were of a dangerous tendency, and likely to unsettle the minds of theological students; and that the continuance of Mr. Maurice's connection with the college would be seriously detrimental to its usefulness. It was in vain for him to remonstrate, calling upon the council to state which of the articles of faith condemned his teaching. "I cannot, my lords and gentlemen," he said, "believe that, great as are the privileges which the right reverend bench has conceded to the principal of the King's College, their lordships, the bishops, ever intended to give him an authority superior to their own, superior to that of the articles by which they are bound. I cannot think that they wish to constitute him and the council, arbiters of the theology of the English Church. Such a claim would be as alarming, I apprehend, to the public as to our ecclesiastical rulers. If some parents have been suspicious of the influence I might exercise over their sons, I believe that there are few parents in England who will not complain that the college has departed from its original principle when it gives such a scope to the private judgment of its chief officer, or even to the judgment of the body which manages its affairs. . . . If I have violated any law of the church, that law can be at once

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pointed out; the nature of the transgression can be defined without any reference to possible tendencies and results."

These representations were of no avail; the council "did not think it necessary to enter further into the subject." The two chairs held by Mr. Maurice were declared vacant, and were filled respectively by Dr. A. M'Caul and Mr. G. W. Dasent, whose orthodoxy was presumably unquestioned, or who at all events may be supposed to have said nothing to lead to its being suspected. But the dismissal of Mr. Maurice from the professorships made him none the less a professor. The men who had been his pupils remained his friends, and he remained, until his too early death, the recognized leader and teacher of a "school" of religious thought which included many of the best and noblest of the large number of those who have since, without rebuke, openly avowed opinions for holding which he was deemed unworthy to be recognized as a Christian teacher.

It may be worth while here to note that only a month after Mr. Maurice had been discharged from his appointments at King's College Dr. Colenso was consecrated Bishop of Natal by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Lincoln. At the same time Dr. Armstrong was appointed to the other new see of Grahamstown, and the Bishop of Oxford preached the consecration sermon, taking for his text the words, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul." He spoke with such positive intensity of the certainty of the call to the sacred office to which both the new bishops had been appointed that the sermon on this occasion, the demands of a declaration of orthodoxy, and the limits of the articles of profession of faith with regard to certain supposed dogmas, all became significantly prominent topics of discussion when, nine years afterwards, Bishop Colenso, the heterodox, was prohibited from preaching in the churches of most English dioceses.

It might have been thought that Palmerston had enough to occupy even his untiring industry in carrying out the sanitary measures which he was determined should be no dead letter under his administration of the home-office. He had spoken pretty plainly to the Edinburgh corporation, and in London the provisions of the public health acts were being enforced in a very practical fashion. Foul neighbourhoods were being destroyed or disinfected; the smoke of factory chimneys was abated, churchyards were being closed and sealed with cement, and he declined even to exercise the right of making privileged exceptions to the law against intramural interments. In answer to Lord Stanley of Alderley, who had written for special permission for the interment of the remains of a church dignitary beneath the sacred edifice, he said: "The practice of burying dead bodies under buildings in which living people assemble in large numbers is a barbarous one, and ought to be at once and for ever put an end to. . . . And why, pray, should archbishops and bishops, and deans and canons, be buried under churches if other people are not to be so? What special connection is there between church dignities and the privilege of being decomposed under the feet of survivors? . . . As to what you say about pain to feelings by shutting up of burial-grounds, that is perfectly true. I am quite aware that the measure is necessarily attended with pain to feelings which excite respect, as well as to pressure upon pecuniary interests which are not undeserving of consideration. But no great measure of social improvement can be effected without some temporary inconvenience to individuals, and the necessity of the case justifies the demand for such sacrifices. To have attempted to make the application of the new system gradual would have reduced it to a nullity. England is, I believe, the only country in which in these days people accumulate putrefying dead bodies amid the dwellings of the living; and as to burying bodies under thronged churches, you might as well put them under libraries, drawing-rooms, and dining-rooms."

Such language as this would have been cynical if employed by most men; but it was a part of Palmerston's "common sense" relieved by a jaunty expression. It is astonishing how few people were offended by plain utterances which, though they read somewhat

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coarsely, lost much of their offensiveness because of the peculiar humour which gave them a different effect; and even the reader of a letter like this would recall the familiar manner of the writer. Palmerston as the "judicious bottle-holder"—Palmerston as the keen-faced, wide-awake sporting man, biting a straw or a flower stem, as he appeared in the caricatures of *Punch*—was the popular favourite, and hundreds who were not among the populace believed implicitly in the ready wit and consummate tact, which, combined with the practical staightforward temper that is prompt to act and refuses to acknowledge the probability of failure, was regarded as peculiarly "English." But it was doubted by people of greater penetration whether the noble lord was quite so straightforward as he pretended to be. He had given his advice to the prime-minister, he was hankering after the power if not the place of minister of war or of foreign minister, and was urging that the allied fleets should be sent at once to the scene of conflict. The cabinet hesitated to accept his dicta, enforced though they were by letters and circulars, and it was suddenly announced that Lord Palmerston had resigned. It will be remembered that on a former occasion (in 1851), when he had relinquished office, his resignation had been preceded and accompanied by a number of rumours almost amounting to deliberate accusations against Prince Albert, charging him with using his influence to control the government and to turn its policy towards the advantage of foreign interests. The position of the prince consort was assailed, and it was insinuated that he used it for the purpose of sending despatches and tampering with foreign affairs to the detriment of British independence. It was an unfortunate circumstance that the same or similar insinuations reappeared at this juncture, and it is scarcely to be wondered at that Palmerston was suspected of having some hand in them either directly, or by recklessly giving expression to his opinion that the opposition with which his proposals were received by the cabinet was to be attributed to the influence of the prince, and through him of the queen. It is plain enough from his letters and speeches that Palmerston had very little of the reticence supposed to be essential to a responsible minister, and that he was in the habit, to use a common expression, of "letting his tongue run" when it would have been more discreet if he had been silent. Whether he was responsible for it or not, no sooner had his resignation been rumoured than those newspapers which supported his foreign policy recommenced their scarcely veiled attacks upon the prince. He was represented to be the chief agent of "the Austro-Belgian-Coburg-Orleans clique, the avowed enemies of England and the subservient tools of Russia, he was present at the conferences between the queen and her ministers, the queen herself discussed with him the foreign as well as the domestic policy of the country, and her opinions were perpetually subject to his influence,—was that influence not exercised to defeat a foreign policy which would be national and patriotic, for the purpose of advancing that of foreign rulers with whom he was in constant correspondence, to whom he could reveal the secrets of her majesty's council? Of course these insinuations—and they sometimes grew to the proportions of direct allegations—need now only to be examined for their absurdity to be discovered. It would have been little to the advantage of the prince to diminish the prestige of the British government and to injure the interests of the queen for the sake of foreign rulers or distant family relations, with whose opinions he had over and over again emphatically shown that he was at variance. Amidst all the imputations that were made not a single fact was adduced that had the least weight; nor did any of the political leaders on either side pay any serious regard to such charges, though they must have known, and some of them would surely have resented any such actions as were made the subject of these scandalous suggestions. There is no need at the present day to enter into any vindication of the prince; his letters, speeches, conversations of that time have been published, and the refutation of the calumnies to which he was subject has long been completed in the story of his life and of the true rela-

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tions which he sustained to the country to which he was never weary of giving his best and worthiest efforts. But there was no real need of vindication even at the time. Singularly enough, directly it was known that Lord Palmerston had withdrawn his resignation, many of those papers which had been foremost in their imputations withdrew them with the utmost facility. Whether Palmerston had or had not anything to do with the storm of invective that had been raised, it abated directly it was discovered that he had no need of that mode of accounting for his supposed retirement from the councils of the state. But the accusations had the effect of raising a violent uproar in the country. As the *Spectator* said, a whisper which was first insinuated for party purposes had grown into a roar, and a constructive hint had swelled into a positive and monstrous fiction. The story, not only told in all parts of England, but by some believed, was, that Prince Albert was a traitor to his queen, that he had been impeached for high treason, and finally that on a charge of high treason he had been arrested and committed to the Tower. Nay, the public appetite having grown by what it fed on went beyond this, and there was a report that the queen herself had been arrested.

"You will scarcely credit," wrote the prince to Stockmar, "that my being committed to the Tower was believed all over the country —nay, even that the queen had been arrested! People surrounded the Tower in thousands to see us brought to it! On the other hand, I hear from Manchester, where Bright, Cobden, Gibson, Wilson, &c., held their annual meeting, that they made very light of it, and laughed at all the accusations."

They were just the men who were likely to treat such rumours with a kind of humorous contempt, for they knew well enough what were the means likely to be taken by a certain class of political opponents to foment popular prejudice. It is only fair to admit, however, that the same sort of disdain may have prevented Palmerston from contradicting the declaration that he was responsible for the growth of the scandals with which Prince Albert was assailed. That he had on the former occasion originated expressions of antagonism to the court there was no denying, and it, therefore, did not seem improbable that such expressions had been repeated, or that he had imputed to the prince influences which were opposed to him and to his policy, and were therefore, in his opinion, antagonistic to English interests, for Palmerston had a very sincere belief that the two things were inseparable if not identical.

Once during the contention Palmerston did give a denial, but it was not a very conclusive one. A long time previously a pamphlet had, it appears, been prepared, setting forth the inimical and adverse position of the prince in relation to the state, and this was now referred to by the newspapers, with an insinuation, not only that Lord Palmerston had handed to the writer of the pamphlet, proofs of the prince's misdoings and copies of his alleged secret correspondence, but that the prince had bought up the copies of the work, suppressed its publication, and made friends with Palmerston in order to screen himself. At the same time it was intimated that there were still some copies in existence, and republication was threatened. Palmerston thereupon wrote to the *Morning Post*, declaring that he neither got the pamphlet written nor gave up any documents whatever, but that he had, on the contrary, entreated that the pamphlet might not appear. This was evidently saying too much or not enough, and it was followed by the publication of the pamphlet in the columns of another paper; not, probably, by any connivance of Palmerston, for, as Prince Albert afterwards remarked, it was a miserable performance, which could really hurt no one but Lord Palmerston himself, as it accused the court and Lord John Russell of having intrigued to subject Lord Palmerston *falsely* to the stigma of having cried up the *coup d'état*, with the conviction that a false belief on this head was calculated to do him serious injury! As, however, it had already been proved in parliament that Palmerston *had* supported the *coup d'état*, it seemed scarcely likely that he would have wished this representation to be revived or to be made public. There had been a very decided antagonism between the prince

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and the ex-foreign secretary ever since the queen's remonstrances on the subject of the despatches, which led to Palmerston's dismissal from the Russell administration, but there was a tendency to make Palmerston responsible for more than really belonged to him, and it was one of his characteristics to let things alone when they only involved his personal claims. He would not take the trouble to defend himself apart from his official position, and, strange as it may seem, he claimed the right to abstain from personally defending himself against the complaints of the queen, on the ground that it would ill become him to have any altercation with the sovereign. The same feeling *might* have prevented what could only have been an indignant denial of having been responsible for the imputations made against the prince consort, and though there can be little doubt that he had given rather too free expression to the suspicion that the dislike of the court had influenced the attitude of the cabinet towards his policy, it appears to have been admitted by Prince Albert himself that the slanders which were levelled at the throne during the Aberdeen ministry were not wholly attributable to this source.

"One main element," he wrote to Stockmar, "is the hostility and settled bitterness of the old high Tory or Protectionist party against me on account of my friendship with the late Sir Robert Peel, and of my success with the Exhibition. . . . Their fury knew no bounds, when by Palmerston's return to the ministry that party (which is now at variance with Disraeli) lost the chance of securing a leader in the Lower House, who would have overthrown the ministry with the cry for English honour and independence, and against parliamentary reform, which is by no means popular. Hatred of the Peelites is stronger in the old party than ever, and Aberdeen is regarded as his representative. To discredit him would have this further advantage, that, if he could be upset, the keystone of the arch of coalition would be smashed, and it must fall to pieces; then Palmerston and John Russell would have to separate, and the former would take the place he has long coveted of leader to the Conservatives and Radicals. For the same reason, however, it must be our interest to support Aberdeen, in order to keep the structure standing. Fresh reason for the animosity towards us. So the old game was renewed which was played against Melbourne after the queen's accession, of attacking the court, so as to make it clear, both to it and to the public, that a continuance of Aberdeen in office must endanger the popularity of the crown."

Another element of opposition, the prince declared, was the appointment of Lord Hardinge as commander-in-chief instead of Fitzroy Somerset (Lord Raglan), who had for thirty years been military secretary under the Duke of Wellington. It was assumed that the appointment of Lord Hardinge was due to the prince, who had since the death of the Duke of Wellington been in constant confidential communication with him on military matters relating chiefly to arms and equipments. But the matter really at issue was the actual position which the prince was entitled to assume as one of the council, and as the husband and therefore the adviser of the queen, and on this subject he knew well public opinion must pronounce in spite of calumnies which, it could be shown, were without the slightest foundation, and of misrepresentations which could be refuted directly they were plainly met. He knew, and it was, he believed, time the nation knew, he had long outgrown his first neutral position, and that, after constant study and unremitting attention to public matters, he could not, and should not, remain unconcerned with political affairs—or rather with those affairs of state in which, as the natural counsellor as well as the private secretary of the queen, he had a legitimate interest deepened by observation and experience.

"A very considerable section of the nation," he wrote to his old friend and counsellor, "had never given itself the trouble to consider what really is the position of the husband of a queen regnant. When I first came over here I was met by this want of knowledge and unwillingness to give a thought to the position of this luckless personage. Peel cut down my income, Wellington refused me my rank, the royal

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family cried out against the foreign interloper, the Whigs in office were only inclined to concede to me just as much space as I could stand upon. The constitution is silent as to the consort of the queen; even Blackstone ignores him, and yet there he was, and not to be done without. As I have kept quiet and caused no scandal, and all went well, no one has troubled himself about me and my doings; and any one who wished to pay me a compliment at a public dinner or meeting, extolled my 'wise abstinence from interfering in political matters.' Now, when the present journalistic controversies have brought to light the fact, that I have for years taken an active interest in all political matters, the public, instead of feeling surprise at my reserve, and the tact with which I have avoided thrusting myself forward, fancied itself betrayed, because it felt it had been self-deceived. It has also rushed all at once into a belief in secret correspondence with foreign courts, intrigues, &c.; for all this is much more probable than that thirty millions of men in the course of fourteen years should not have discovered, that an important personage had during all that time taken a part in their government. If *that* could be concealed, then all kinds of secret conspiracy are possible, and the Coburg conspiracy is proved to demonstration.

"Beyond this stage of knowledge, which was certain sooner or later to be reached, we shall, however, soon have passed; and even now there is a swarm of letters, articles, and pamphlets to prove that the husband of the queen, as such, and as privy-councillor, not only may, but in the general interest must be, an active and responsible adviser of the crown; and I hope the debate in parliament will confirm this view, and settle it at once and for ever.

"The recognition of this fact will be of importance, and is alone worth all the hubbub and abuse. I think I may venture to assume that the nation is ashamed of its past thoughtlessness, and has already arrived at a just understanding of my position. . . .

"As for the calumnies themselves, I look upon them as a fiery ordeal that will serve to purge away impurities. All the gossip and idle talk of the last fourteen years have been swept away by what has occurred. Every one who has been able to say or surmise any ill of me has conscientiously contributed his faggot to the burning of the heretic, and I may say with pride, that not the veriest tittle of a reproach can be brought against me *with truth*. I have myself sometimes felt uneasy, under attacks prompted by fiendish wickedness, that I might here or there have unconsciously made mistakes. But nothing has been brought against me which is not absolutely *untrue*. This may have been mere good luck, for I can scarcely suppose that I have not in some things laid myself open to censure."

The queen had suffered no less than the prince from a sense of the wrong which had been inflicted on them by their detractors, and as they feared by the nation, which, under the fickle excitement of a great slander, had been willing to cancel those sentiments of simple loyalty and affection without which the throne itself would have been worthless. But they yet trusted to the honest instincts of the people, and looked forward to the meeting of parliament for a refutation of calumnies which might, after all, as the prince had said, have the effect of bringing before the country his just claims, a recognition of which would at once give him his true position, and would leave no room for further misrepresentation of his relations to the throne and to the government. On the 31st of January her majesty went to open parliament, and she was accompanied by the prince. Lord Aberdeen and the other ministers had seriously advised that the subject of the attacks on the prince and his true claims should be brought before the house, and had assured her that the slanders would then be effectually demolished, and that general satisfaction and enthusiasm would be the result; that the reaction would be greater than any attack could be, and that the country was as loyal as ever, only a little mad.

"The prince has now been so long before the eyes of the whole country," wrote the premier, "his conduct is so invariably devoted to the public good, and his life so perfectly

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unattackable, that Lord Aberdeen has not the slightest apprehension of any serious consequences arising from these contemptible exhibitions of malevolence and faction."

And he was right. It was expected that some adverse demonstrations might be made against the prince, and the precaution was taken of calling out the whole of the Horse Guards instead of a small escort only, while the route of the procession was lined with policemen. These arrangements might have been necessary if the Russian ambassador, who had not then left London, had chosen to attend, but he prudently absented himself. At a few points, hisses were heard when Prince Albert passed, but they were drowned in a tempest of cheering; and it was soon evident that the people had not been very ready to accept in earnest the scandalous rumours that had been so widely circulated. The Turkish ambassador was, of course, received with uproarious acclamations when he was seen in the procession, and there was no lack of the usual loyal demonstrations. So far as the queen and her consort were concerned, there was no need for further anxiety.

The distinct and warmly emphatic denial which was given by Lord John Russell to the charges of improper interference by the prince in the Eastern question was endorsed by Lord Aberdeen. Lord Derby in the House of Lords and Mr. Walpole in the Lower House spoke with equal decision and earnestness in contradiction of the imputations which had been made, and in vindication of the constitutional right of the prince to support the sovereign by his advice in matters of state.

Lord Campbell, also, representing the highest legal authority, gave unhesitating testimony to this view, and indeed the leaders of all political parties concurred in a declaration which many of them had already endorsed, by an expression of personal regard and esteem for the prince. "The impression has been excellent," he wrote to his former correspondent, "and my political status and activity, which up to this time have been silently assumed, have now been asserted in parliament without a dissentient voice."

Lord Palmerston had resumed office before the meeting of parliament. His resignation had not been accepted, and though he waited for some time he consented to withdraw it. What would have been the consequence to the government if he had persisted in retiring need not be discussed. People were asking another question—Had he resigned because he could not agree with the other members of the cabinet on the Eastern question and the steps to be taken with regard to the approaching war? The opposition declared that he had, the government affirmed that he had not. No explanation was given. He had reconsidered the matter, and there he was. He was himself more than usually reticent, but he had written to his brother-in-law—the Right Hon. Laurence Sulivan—that the cause of his resignation was his inability to agree with a scheme of parliamentary reform which was to be introduced by Lord John Russell.

He had been placed on the committee of the cabinet to prepare the plan, but he had insurmountable objections to the scheme, and stated them both to Lord John and to Lord Aberdeen, who said he would communicate with the queen and his colleagues; but instead of this consulted Russell and Graham, who said that Palmerston's objections were inadmissible, with which he (Aberdeen) agreed. There was nothing left for Palmerston but to resign. "I could not," he says, "take up a bill which contained material things of which I disapproved, and assist to fight it through the House of Commons, to force it on the Lords, and to stand upon it at the hustings." The letter had the following postscript:—"The *Times* says there has been no difference in the cabinet about Eastern affairs. This is an untruth, but I felt it would have been silly to have gone out because I could not have my own way about Turkish affairs, seeing that my presence in the cabinet did good by modifying the views of those whose policy I thought bad."

These reasons for not retiring were potent—for in less than a week he wrote again to his brother-in-law, to say that he should remain in the government. "I was much and strongly pressed to do so for several days by many of

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the members of the government, who declared that they were no parties to Aberdeen's answer to me, and that they considered all the details of the intended reform measure as still open to discussion."

Had the members of the cabinet already foreseen that Lord John Russell's scheme would not pass—that it was not only defective in itself, but that the temper of the country would not brook so inopportune a moment for introducing a measure which would interfere with the one absorbing topic, the prosecution of a war that would defer political if not social progress? One can partly understand the attitude of men like Bright and Cobden if they looked at the relative situation of the government and the country by this light.

But Lord Palmerston had yet a few lines to write. "Their (the members of the government) earnest representations, and the knowledge that the cabinet had on Thursday taken a decision on Turkish affairs in entire accordance with opinions which I had long unsuccessfully pressed upon them, decided me to withdraw my resignation, which I did yesterday. Of course what I say to you about the cabinet decision on Turkish affairs is entirely for yourself and not to be mentioned to anybody. But it is very important, and will give the allied squadrons the command of the Black Sea."

These are suggestive lines. They were written on Christmas-day, 1853. Almost immediately afterwards the French ambassador, on hearing that Palmerston's resignation was withdrawn, wrote to him: "Au début de la campagne que nous allons faire ensemble, c'est un grand comfort pour moi et une grande garantie pour l'Empereur que de vous savoir l'âme des conseils de notre allié. Votre concours d'ailleurs pèse d'un poids très-réel dans la balance, et on sait à Paris en apprécier toute le valeur."

The period of which we are writing was one of so much excitement that it is not surprising to find the reputations, or rather the popularity, of public men undergoing a considerable change. The position of the ministry was precarious, and its character for indecision was not improved by the threatened defection of Lord Palmerston, and the suspicion that he had resigned in consequence of what were called "timid counsels." But more damaging still was the indecision of Lord John Russell, who seemed to have a chronic tendency towards resignation, and who, while exhibiting before the country as an uncertain figure with undefined outline, came forward with a new proposition for parliamentary reform. During the whole session he only succeeded in obtaining distinction as an example of how a high reputation may be obscured by vacillation followed by untimely action. The country was perhaps not absolutely indifferent to a new measure of parliamentary reform, but it could not entertain two great and absorbing topics at the same time. Even people who had been waiting and clamouring for another reform bill did not want it then, nor did they want a measure which, though it was elaborate, was evidently, and perhaps in consequence, imperfect.

The proposed bill, though not complete, was too wide to be hastily accepted, and the pressure and excitement of the coming war forbade due consideration being given to a scheme which involved changes in the system of representation, several of which resembled those subsequently adopted, when the country was in a temper to entertain a still larger project. Briefly stated, this bill proposed that both in counties and boroughs votes should be given to persons in receipt of salaries of not less than £100 a year, payable quarterly or half-yearly; persons in receipt of £10 a year from government, bank, or India stock; persons paying forty shillings per annum of income or assessed taxes; graduates of any university in the United Kingdom; and persons who had for three years possessed a deposit of £50 in a savings-bank.

In the counties votes were to be given also to all occupiers rated at £10 per annum residing elsewhere than in represented towns, and in the boroughs to all occupiers rated at £6 who had been resident within the borough for two years and a half.

Boroughs having fewer than 300 electors or

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than 5000 inhabitants were to be disfranchised, and of these there were 19 boroughs returning 29 members.

Boroughs having fewer than 500 electors or than 10,000 inhabitants, and returning two members, were in future to return one member only, and these amounted to thirty-three; but on the other hand, counties and divisions of counties containing a population of more than 100,000 each, and returning two members, were in future to return three members. Of these there were thirty-eight; while two divisions of counties (South Lancashire and the West Riding of York) were to be subdivided and each subdivision was to return three members.

Cities and boroughs were also to return additional members. Those containing more than 100,000 inhabitants, and returning only two members, were in future to return three; and boroughs returning only one member were to return two. Thus ten additional members would be returned, and six additional members were to be secured by giving representation by one member to Birkenhead, Burnley, Staleybridge, by two members to the Inns of Court, and one to the London University.

One clause deserves particular attention. The city of London was to continue to return four members, but each elector was to have only three votes—the effect being to give an opportunity for that representation of minorities which has been more fully recognized in recent changes in the system of parliamentary representation.

It will be seen that this scheme admitted the £10 householder to the county franchise, and at the first glance it would have seemed to make the manufacture or purchase of the right to vote both cheap and easy; but to prevent this, the building was to be rated at £5 a year unless the voter was actually resident. Lord John expressly stated that the borough franchise was made to follow a £6 municipal rating for the purpose of admitting a larger number of the working-classes of the country, for whom the Reform Act had not made sufficient provision. There would have been sixty-six vacancies under his scheme; sixty-three of these were to be apportioned as we have seen, and the other three were to be given to populous towns, and to one university in Scotland.

It soon became evident that the temper neither of the house nor of the country was in favour of passing the bill. On the 13th of February, in bringing it forward, amidst strong expressions of dissent, Lord John Russell had said: "I cannot think that there is any danger in discussing the question of reform during the excitement of a foreign war. The time that is really dangerous for such a discussion is the time of great popular excitement and dissension at home. It is said that there is no feeling on the subject; that there is a complete apathy about reform. If that really is the case, is it not the proper time to discuss questions of reform, lest in the course of the war there should be times of distress when the people should become excited, and large meetings should be assembled in every town, partly crying out for more wages and cheaper food, and partly crying out for an increase of political power? Supposing we should have the calamity of war, and with it the necessity for increasing the public burdens, is it not a fitting time to enlarge the privileges of the people when parliament is imposing fresh taxes, that in imposing them we may as far as possible impose them on those who have elected us?" There was much serious truth in this, and the fact that the bill was rejected by the house and by the country because of the war fever, no other measure being brought forward in its place, doubtless afforded a new argument for those very few persons who, at the time, were utterly opposed to fighting; but rejected it was, and what was more, the people immediately submitted to an enormous additional imposition of taxes for the purpose of carrying on the conflict which was now imminent.

On the 10th of April the proposed measure was withdrawn. The government to whom it belonged gave it but a half-hearted support, and it was evident that there was little chance of its being carried. It had been carefully prepared, and Lord John Russell had apparently intended to stake his reputation upon it, but neither the time of its presentation nor the temper of the house was favour-

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able to its reception. Probably Lord John alone felt deeply the necessity for withdrawing it, but he was much overcome, and towards the close of his remarks, in referring to the existence of some suspicion of his motives, his voice was stifled and he spoke through tears; but a simultaneous burst of cheering broke forth from all parts of the house, and was again and again repeated. "If I have done anything in the cause of reform," continued his lordship with emotion, "I trust that I have deserved some degree of confidence; but at all events, I feel if I do not possess that confidence I shall be of no use to the crown or to the country, and I can no longer hold the position I now occupy. These are times of no ordinary importance, and questions arise of the utmost difficulty. I shall endeavour to arrive at those conclusions which will be for the best interests of the crown and the country, and I trust that I may meet with support." The whole attitude of Lord John Russell at this time, conveys an impression of feebleness and uncertainty; and he may be said to have commenced the series of resignations by which this coalition ministry became distinguished; but he had done too good work for the country and was too able and gifted a statesman to be treated otherwise than with sympathy and respect. When he sat down, expressions of admiration for his character and esteem for his consistency, were numerous and genuine, and among the more prominent speakers, Mr. Disraeli, while utterly opposing many of the details of the measure which had been withdrawn, professed his cordial respect for Lord John, and declared "his character and career" to be "precious possessions of the House of Commons."

While scarcely anybody could be found in a humour for considering questions of parliamentary reform, or any other measures demanding long and careful debate, everybody was anxiously waiting for the more immediately essential statement of the chancellor of the exchequer. The question was being asked everywhere, "What will Gladstone do?" and the answer mostly was, "Oh, depend upon it, he has some original plan for raising the revenue to carry on the war."

There could scarcely have been a more anxious trial for a financial reformer than that which demanded, if not a reversal, a complete change of a budget intended to relieve the country from pressing burdens, and made it necessary to impose new taxes for the purpose of meeting sudden and almost alarming expenditure; but Mr. Gladstone was already equal to the occasion, and the country had sufficient confidence in his ability and his honesty to accept his statements and to submit without much flinching to the burdens which he reluctantly but decisively laid upon it. Indeed, his former budget, even for the short time that it had been in operation, was well calculated to inspire that confidence. He had estimated the revenue of the country for the year 1853–54, after all the reductions which had been effected, at £52,990,000, and it had reached £54,025,000, while the expenditure had been a million less than the sum at which it had been computed, so that he had two millions in hand; an amount which, small as it was, in view of the enormous estimates to be provided for, would have encouraged many ministers to devise a scheme for bringing forward a contingent budget postponing the means of payment, for what might or might not be a long-continued war, to some future period, when it would be met only by an increment of taxation, or by a permanent burden on succeeding generations. Mr. Gladstone at once emphatically repudiated any such intention, and practically announced his determination as far as possible to raise during the year the funds that would be required to meet, not only the ordinary, but the extraordinary expenses. Thoughtful and sagacious politicians truly characterized this determination as honest and courageous, and the opinion was endorsed by the nation even when, as a necessary provision for carrying that policy into effect, it was proposed to double the income-tax, to increase the duty on Scotch and Irish spirits, and to raise the malt-tax. The expenses of the war were to be paid out of current revenue, provided they did not amount to more than ten millions sterling beyond the ordinary expenditure, and £1,250,000 was to be at once voted for the expenses of

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the army of the East, a sum which was calculated to represent £50 a head for 25,000 men.

It may be very well understood that to make these large demands on the country at a time when, but for the growing demands of army and navy, he would have been looking forward to further important reductions of taxation was a deep disappointment to a statesman who shared the reluctance of Lord Aberdeen and others to enter into hostilities at all. There was, however, as he believed, no other course to adopt, as war was inevitable, than so to provide for it as to make it effectual towards the speedy settlement of a lasting peace. Probably Mr. Gladstone differed from Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright only inasmuch as he could not admit that the utmost moral interposition might be used and yet that material interference as a resort to physical force could seldom or never be justified. With regard to the approaching war with Russia for the defence of the Ottoman Porte he may reasonably have considered that whatever might have been the circumstances in the past which had led to the existing situation, the demands of Russia were such as menaced not only Turkey but the integrity of European States, and that the cause of justice as well as the observance of international obligations, made it the duty of England to oppose by strong diplomatic representations, if such might be successful, but in the last resort by determined material opposition to a gigantic physical power, the unwarrantable attempts of the czar practically to add the Turkish possessions to his empire. This perhaps would be the outline of the argument held by the large moderate section of people who deplored and would have made great sacrifices to prevent rather than to maintain the conflict. This was the position taken during negotiations which had failed one after another, and the continuance of which even after the repeated evasions and attempted overbearing of the Emperor of Russia, was now recommended by the King of Prussia in a letter to the queen, in terms which may have been intended to be pious but were singularly inappropriate.

In England the character ascribed to the King of Prussia was that of a weak and self-indulgent sovereign, with just enough culture to be *dilettante*, and with a decided liking for the pleasures of the table. He was nicknamed "Clicquot" because he was supposed to be fond of champagne, and the common caricatures represented him dividing his attention between that exhilarating beverage and Strasbourg pie or German sausage. There was no sufficient reason for this estimate of his habits, and it is pretty certain that he really possessed considerable culture and liked intellectual pursuits; but he was weak in more than one respect, and his subsequent mental disorder in 1858 was perhaps not very surprising. Had his brother William been on the throne in 1853 instead of becoming his regent in 1858 and afterwards succeeding him, there is no telling what might have happened. Probably there would have been no Crimean war, but as it was, Prussia occupied the unenviable position of alternately crouching before Russia, and endeavouring to justify the attitude by asserting a right to sustain a moral and political neutrality. After having, by his anxiety not to offend his brother-in-law, reduced Prussian influence to a mere feeble coincidence with our remonstrance against the misinterpretation of the Vienna note, Frederick William appeared to be alarmed lest the czar should suspect him of being too decidedly opposed to him. The feeling against him in England was unmistakable. "The irritation here against the Prussian court," said Prince Albert, "is very great, and not undeserved. After it had caused intimation to be made of its dread of France, and we had procured a declaration for them that no territorial aggrandizement of any kind would be accepted by that nation, they now affect a fear of Russia, as though Prussia must be swallowed up in a moment." But it was at this juncture that the King of Prussia thought he might interpose by sending two letters, one of a private and one of an official character, to the Queen of England. These were specially despatched by a cavalry officer almost immediately after the czar's proposals had been negatived at Vienna, and their avowed intention was to induce the queen to reconsider those proposals, as though she could in any sense act independently of the decisions

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of her ministers. It seemed that the King of Prussia was prepared to act outside the conference of ambassadors and of ministers of state, and he pretended to think, or was ignorant enough to think, that the English sovereign might do the same, "in a spirit of conciliation and a love of peace." He was—he said—anxious to co-operate with her majesty in every effort for the preservation of peace, and though he could not hope that war would be averted, its sphere might be restricted, and the duration of the calamity averted, by the four powers continuing to be firmly united in their policy and course of action. This was the language of the sovereign whose policy had been feeble and pusillanimous, and whose untrustworthiness had encouraged Russia and embarrassed Austria.

The more official letter was long, elaborate, and tainted with obvious duplicity. "I am informed that the Russian emperor has sent proposals for preliminaries of peace to Vienna, and that these have been pronounced by the conference of ambassadors not to be in accordance with their programme. Just there where the vocation of diplomacy ceases does the special province of the sovereign begin." Was it not most strange, he asked, that England seemed for some time past to have been ashamed of what had been the special motive for the conflagration? The war would now be one for a distant and ulterior purpose. "The preponderance of Russia is to be broken down! Well! I, her neighbour, have never yet felt this preponderance and have never yielded to it. And England in effect has felt it less than I. The equilibrium of Europe will be menaced by this war, for the world's greatest powers will be weakened by it. But above all suffer me to ask, 'Does God's law justify a war for an idea?'" The letter goes on to implore her majesty for the sake of the Prince of Peace not to reject the Russian proposals. "Order them to be probed to the bottom, and see that this is done in a desire for peace. Cause what may be accepted to be winnowed from what appears objectionable, and set negotiations on foot upon this basis! I know that the Russian emperor is ardently desirous of peace. Let your majesty build a bridge for the principle of his life—the imperial honour! He will walk over it extolling God and praising him. For this I pledge myself.

"In conclusion, will your majesty allow me to say one word for Prussia and for myself? *I am resolved to maintain a position of complete neutrality;* and to this I add, with proud elation, *my people and myself are of one mind.* They *require* absolute neutrality from me. They say (and I say), What have we to do with the Turk? Whether he stand or fall in no way concerns the industrious Rhinelanders and the husbandmen of the Riesengebirg and Bernstein. Grant that the Russian tax-gatherers are an odious race, and that of late monstrous falsehoods have been told and outrages perpetrated in the imperial name. It was the Turk and not we who suffered, and the Turk has plenty of good friends, but the emperor is a noble gentleman, and has done us no harm. Your majesty will allow that this North German sound practical sense is difficult to gainsay. . . . Should Count Gröben come too late, should war have been declared, still I do not abandon hope. Many a war has been declared, and yet not come to actual blows. God the Lord's will decides."

There is no need to analyse or to characterize this letter, but it is little to be wondered at if it was read with impatience and even with indignation. Even now, that large numbers of people are more and more convinced that the Russian war, if it were just, might have been prevented, the terms in which the letter is couched will be regarded as offensive to English notions when the words are accompanied with some knowledge of the position occupied by Prussia at that time. The very spirit of time-serving, and of a selfishness the more stupendous because it is half-unconscious, seems to pervade the language employed. There could be only one kind of reply to it. The queen wrote without delay.

"The recent Russian proposals came as an answer to the very last attempt at a compromise which the powers considered they could make with honour, and they have been rejected by the Vienna Conference, not because they were merely at variance with the language of the programme, but because they

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were directly contrary to its meaning. Your majesty's envoy has taken part in this conference and its decision, and when your majesty says, 'Where the vocation of diplomacy ends, there that of the sovereign may with propriety begin,' I cannot concur in any such line of demarcation, for what my ambassador does he does in my name, and consequently I feel myself not only bound in honour, but also constrained by an imperative obligation to accept the consequences, whatever they may be, of the line which he has been directed to adopt.

"The consequences of a war, frightful and incalculable as they are, are as distressing to me to contemplate as they are to your majesty. I am also aware that the Emperor of Russia does not wish for war. But he makes demands upon the Porte which the united European powers, yourself included, have solemnly declared to be incompatible with the independence of the Porte and the equilibrium of Europe. In view of this declaration, and of the presence of the Russian army of invasion in the principalities, the powers must be prepared to support their words by acts. If the Turk now retires into the background, and the impending war appears to you to be a 'war for an idea,' the reason is simply this, that the very motives which urge on the emperor, in spite of the protest of all Europe, and at the risk of a war that may devastate the world, to persist in his demands, disclose a determination to realize a fixed idea, and that the grand ulterior consequences of the war must be regarded as far more important than its original ostensible cause, which in the beginning appeared to be neither more nor less than the key of the back-door of a mosque.

"Your majesty calls upon me 'to probe the question to the bottom in the spirit and love of peace, and to build a bridge for the imperial honour.' . . . All the devices and ingenuity of diplomacy and also of good-will have been squandered during the last nine months in vain attempts to build up such a bridge! *Projets de notes*, conventions, protocols, &c. &c., by the dozen have emanated from the chanceries of the different powers, and the ink that has gone to the penning of them might well be called a second Black Sea. But every one of them has been wrecked upon the self-will of your imperial brother-in-law.

"When your majesty tells me 'that you are now determined to assume an attitude of complete neutrality,' and that in this mind you appeal to your people, who exclaim with sound practical sense, 'It is to the Turk that violence has been done; the Turk has plenty of good friends, and the emperor has done us no harm,'—I do not understand you. Had such language fallen from the King of Hanover or of Saxony I could have understood it. But up to the present hour I have regarded Prussia as one of the five Great Powers, which since the peace of 1815 have been the guarantors of treaties, the guardians of civilization, the champions of right, and ultimate arbitrators of the nations; and I have for my part felt the holy duty to which they were thus divinely called, being at the same time perfectly alive to the obligations, serious as these are and fraught with danger, which it imposes. Renounce these obligations, my dear brother, and in doing so you renounce for Prussia the *status* she has hitherto held. And if the example thus set should find imitators, European civilization is abandoned as a plaything for the winds; right will no longer find a champion, nor the oppressed an umpire to appeal to.

"Let not your majesty think that my object in what I have said is to persuade you to change your determination. . . . So little have I it in my purpose to seek to persuade you, that nothing has pained me more than the suspicion expressed through General von der Gröben in your name, that it was the wish of England to lead you into temptation by holding out the prospect of certain advantages. The groundlessness of such an assumption is apparent from the very terms of the treaty which was offered to you, the most important clause of which was that by which the contracting parties pledged themselves *under no circumstances to seek to obtain from the war any advantage to themselves.* Your majesty could not possibly have given any

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stronger proof of your unselfishness than by your signature to this treaty.

"But now to conclude! You think that war might even be declared, yet you express the hope that, for all that, it might still not break out. I cannot, unfortunately, give countenance to the hope that the declaration will not be followed by immediate action. Shakspere's words:—

> 'Beware
> Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,
> Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee'—

have sunk deeply into every Englishman's heart. Sad that they should find their application here, where, in other circumstances, personal friendship and liking would alone prevail! What must be your majesty's state of mind at seeing them directed against a beloved brother-in-law, whom yet, much as you love him, your conscience cannot acquit of the crime of having, by his arbitrary and passionate bearing, brought such vast misery upon the world!"

This reply is a fair representation of the situation as it appeared, not only to English ministers, but to the majority of thoughtful Englishmen at the time; but there were other thoughtful Englishmen—beside Richard Cobden and John Bright—who, though they were not *on the side* of the czar, and would not have endorsed either the conduct or the mode of expression of the King of Prussia, would not accept these representations as sufficient reasons for a war which they believed was neither necessary, justifiable, nor even expedient for the country.

The attitude of the queen and of the ministry with regard to the Emperor of Russia may well be attributed to the knowledge, that while professing to be anxious to conclude a treaty with England after failing to induce its government to conspire with him against the existence of Turkey, he was using efforts with Austria, Prussia, and France, to prevent them from maintaining an alliance with us. Lord John Russell had spoken in parliament implying the bad faith of the Russian government, and this had led to an article in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*, which evidently came from the Russian chancery, repudiating the implied charge of bad faith, and appealing to the confidential communications between the two governments to show how open and sincere were the intentions of the czar. This was too much. As the challenge was given it was accepted, and the memoranda were published. They led to other revelations, for directly the French government learned with surprise what had been the course Russia had pursued, they informed their representatives throughout Europe, that, from the moment Russia saw that England would not fall in with her views, she had tried to sow discord between England and France. Prince Gortschakoff had, in November, 1853, proposed to Count Béarn, the French minister at Stuttgart, a solution of the Eastern question by means of an understanding between Russia and France. In the course of what passed Prince Gortschakoff had declared, that he knew England would throw over the Eastern question as soon as she had got France fairly committed. "She will in fact have helped you to compromise yourselves, and will leave you all the embarrassment of a false and difficult position. We have all grievances of our own against this power. What a nice trick to play her would it be to come to an arrangement among ourselves without her! Trust me! Distrust perfidious Albion!" This language, and much more to the same effect, Prince Gortschakoff stated that he was officially authorized to hold. "I need not say," M. Drouyn de Lhuys writes in the circular note from which these quotations are made, "that our loyalty towards England and towards Europe forbade us to lend an ear to these insinuations."[1]

But there was nearly an end to all thought of negotiations or of further parley when on the 6th of March, 1854, Mr. Gladstone rose to propose what was in reality a war budget. His position was in many respects a painful one, for both on financial and on much higher grounds he had a real objection to the war; but at the same time he could not take the view of Mr. Cobden or of Mr. Bright, nor, the grounds of England's intervention being

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Sir Theodore Martin.

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at the time what they were, could he dissociate himself from the government on account of it. Of course Mr. Kinglake, in his narrative of the exciting events connected with the invasion of the Crimea, has something to say about Mr. Gladstone's position, and the words are neither altogether true, nor, as they have been often quoted, are they any longer new. "He had once," says the pungent historian of the war, "imagined it to be his duty to quit a government and to burst through strong ties of friendship and gratitude by reason of a thin shade of difference on the subject of white or brown sugar. It was believed that if he were to commit even a little sin or to imagine an evil thought he would instantly arraign himself before the dread tribunal which awaited him within his own bosom, and that his intellect being subtle and microscopic, and delighting in casuistry and exaggeration, he would be very likely to give his soul a very harsh trial, and treat himself as a great criminal for faults too minute to be visible to the naked eyes of laymen. His friends lived in dread of his virtues as tending to make him whimsical and unstable, and the practical politicians perceiving that he was not to be depended upon for party purposes, and was bent upon none but lofty objects, used to look upon him as dangerous, used to call him behind his back a good man,—a good man in the worst sense of the term."

After all, this criticism, when analysed, amounts to little other than an admission that Mr. Gladstone was constantly influenced by conscientious motives, against which neither ambition, nor the desire for place, nor the supposed claims of party, had any abiding influence. There are readers who will see in the smart estimate of the satirist something which may remind them of the utterances of the prophet, who, going out to curse, used what was really the language of blessing. At all events when the chancellor of the exchequer rose to propose the new budget there was no paltering with the difficulties which were presented to him, though he had to abandon the hopes that he had entertained of a policy of retrenchment and the further relief of the country from taxation. He utterly repudiated the "convenient, cowardly, and perhaps popular" course, as it was afterwards called, of making up for the coming extra expenditure by extensive borrowing.

It was impossible to say that the estimate for the war would suffice for the wants of the whole year. That was the reason for proposing to vote for extraordinary military expenditure a sum of £1,250,000. There was a deficiency of nearly three millions to provide for, and even this did not exhaust the whole cost of the war. But while he hoped that this sum might be raised without returning to the higher duties, which had recently been diminished on various articles, he urged strongly that it should not be raised by resorting to a loan, and so throwing the burden on posterity. Such a course was not required by the necessities of the country, and was therefore not worthy of its adoption. No country had played so much as England at this dangerous game of mortgaging the industry of future generations. It was right that those who make war should be prepared to make the sacrifices needed to carry it on; the necessity for so doing was a most useful check on mere lust of conquest, and would lead men to make war with the wish of realizing the earliest prospects of an honourable peace.

We had entered upon a great struggle, but we had entered upon it under favourable circumstances. "We have proposed to you to make great efforts, and you have nobly and cheerfully backed our proposals. You have already by your votes added nearly 40,000 men to the establishments of the country; and taking into account changes that have actually been carried into effect with regard to the return of soldiers from the colonies, and the arrangements which, in the present state of Ireland, might be made—but which are not made—with respect to the constabulary force, in order to render the military force disposable to the utmost possible extent, it is not too much to say that we have virtually an addition to the disposable forces of the country, by land and by sea, at the present moment, as compared with our position twelve months ago, to the extent of nearly 50,000 men. This looks like

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an intention to carry on your war with vigour, and the wish and hope of her majesty's government is, that that may be truly said of the people of England, with regard to this war, which was, I am afraid, not so truly said of Charles II. by a courtly but great poet, Dryden—

> 'He without fear a dangerous war pursues,
> Which without rashness he began before.'

That, we trust, will be the motto of the people of England; and you have this advantage, that the sentiment of Europe, and we trust the might of Europe, is with you. These circumstances—though we must not be sanguine, though it would be the wildest presumption for any man to say, when the ravages of European war had once begun, where and at what point it would be stayed—these circumstances justify us in cherishing the hope that possibly this may not be a long war."

The plan was, as we have seen, to increase the income-tax, levying the whole addition for and in respect of the first moiety of the year, which was in effect to double the tax for the half year. The amount of the tax for 1854–55 was calculated at £6,275,000, and a moiety of that sum was £3,137,500; but as the cost of collection diminished in proportion to the amount obtained the real moiety would be £3,307,000, so that the whole produce of the income-tax would be £9,582,000. The aggregate income for the year would be £56,656,000, and as the expenditure was estimated at £56,186,000 this would leave a small probable surplus of £470,000. There were other changes of commercial importance, one of which was to abolish the distinction between home and foreign drawn bills, which were thenceforward to pay the same rate of duty. As the additions to the revenue could not be realized before the end of the year, and a large sum was immediately required to meet the expenses of the war, he brought forward a resolution for a vote of £1,750,000 for an issue of exchequer bills. It was not expected that it would be necessary to exercise this permission to its full extent, but should the necessity arise the unfunded debt would only stand as it stood twelve months before, when its amount was £17,750,000, as compared with £16,000,000, to which it had been reduced for the current period.

This financial scheme, bold, simple, and effectual, met with the support of men who were keen judges of finance, and among them was Joseph Hume, who accepted it on the ground that those who had urged the government to a war, the propriety of which could not yet be judged, should bear their share of its burdens. This was one of the latest votes of the veteran reformer, financier, and political economist. He was seventy-eight years old, and died in February of the following year (1855) after a parliamentary career of forty-four years, during which he did the country inestimable service in watching the national expenditure and pointing out the means of reducing taxation. The resolution for doubling the income-tax was passed without discussion or division, but on the following day an amendment was moved by Sir H. Willoughby to the effect that the collection of the additional moiety should extend over the whole year; and Mr. Disraeli, who had previously stated that he should not oppose the vote, as the house was bound to support her majesty in all just and necessary wars, came forward with a contention that the government was only justified in levying increased taxes if they could prove the war to be unavoidable. It was of course pointed out that this argument was equivalent to an expression of want of confidence and should have been followed by a proposed vote to that effect, but the leader of the opposition would not listen to this argument, urged that the government apparently had no confidence in the house or in themselves, quoted ministerial utterances to show what divergence of opinion had existed on the question whether there should be peace or war, and declared that these differences had in fact produced the present state of affairs. The war, he said, was "a coalition war," and had the cabinet been united it would have been prevented altogether. Obviously if these arguments were potent against voting in favour of the budget they more than justified want of confidence, and Mr. Gladstone, in reply, challenged that issue, saying that Mr. Disraeli

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defended his omission to propose a vote of want of confidence on the very grounds that should have prompted it, and that his argument had therefore reached an "illogical and recreant" conclusion. He concluded by defending the various provisions of his financial scheme, which was agreed to, the amendment being negatived.

But war had not yet been actually declared, and the caution which he had exercised in pointing out that the provisions might be only temporary was soon afterwards justified. On the 8th of May, almost directly after the rejection of Lord John Russell's Reform Bill, Mr. Gladstone had to bring forward additional proposals for meeting the enormous expenditure which it was seen would be necessary for equipping and maintaining our army in the Crimea. It had been known that the first demand made on the country would not be adequate, and now it was evident that there must be a further claim made in order to meet the daily increasing cost, if we were to carry on the struggle upon which the nation had entered with such unanimous determination. Again Mr. Disraeli opposed the means that were proposed to augment the revenue, and took the opportunity of defending the financial scheme of the former government when he was chancellor of the exchequer. With no little acerbity he attacked Mr. Gladstone with an accusation of having been mistaken in paying off the South Sea stock, and with having doubled the malt-tax to the detriment of those whose interests he had deserted; but these accusations were not altogether new, and some of them had been met already. That which it was necessary to consider was that a computed extra expenditure of £6,800,000 had to be provided for, of which £500,000 was for the militia. In a speech which lasted three hours, and aroused the ministry and the house to the fact that this was more than a mere supplementary budget, and that it rose to the height of a new masterly plan for meeting the extraordinary expenditure, the chancellor of the exchequer explained his scheme. He proposed to repeat the augmentation of the income-tax, which had already yielded from this source £9,582,000, and the addition would give £3,250,000, amounting altogether to £12,832,000. This augmentation would last during the continuance of the war, and should the war terminate during the existence of the tax under the Act of 1853, the augmentation would cease. The difficulty was to raise the remainder without either proposing any other direct tax or reimposing taxes which had been removed. To meet this difficulty, and to go to the consumer in the least oppressive and injurious way, it was proposed to repeat the operation of the previous year on Scotch and Irish spirits, and to augment the duty in Scotland by 1*s.* per gallon, and in Ireland by 8*d.* This would be a gain to the exchequer of £450,000. By a readjustment of the sugar duties and a postponement of their reduction £700,000 would be raised. To the proposal to augment the duty on malt considerable antagonism was manifested by the opposition; but Mr. Gladstone went on to say that he considered we might fairly come upon the wealthy for the first charges of the war, but that a national war ought to be borne by all classes. This (ignoring the first part of the remark) Mr. Disraeli afterwards referred to as a kind of communism. The argument in favour of increasing the malt-tax, however, was that it pressed on all, and as it was easily collected, and required no increased staff for the purpose, it seemed to fulfil the conditions which should be sought for. The malt-tax stood, in round figures, at 2*s.* 9*d.* per bushel, and Mr. Gladstone proposed to raise it to 4*s.*, which would still leave it lower than it was in 1810, and less than half what it was from 1804 to 1816, during the great war struggle. Taking the consumption at forty million bushels, this would give £2,450,000. The united amounts thus to be obtained by increased income-tax, spirit duty, sugar duty, and malt duty, would be £6,850,000, which was the required sum. Mr. Gladstone next stated that it was necessary to have a resource for extraordinary contingencies, and for a possible rapid increase in the rate of war expenditure. He explained and vindicated his policy with regard to the issue of exchequer bonds, and unfolded his plan for providing the further *interim* funds which would be

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required. He would take authority to confirm the contracts for the exchequer bonds of the Class A, and power to issue a second series. He would also take power to issue two millions of exchequer bills, and so many more as should not be taken on the four millions of exchequer bonds. This would give a command of £5,500,000, and the total sum of £66,746,000 of revenue, set against £63,039,000 of expenditure, would show for the year a margin which he would for safety put at three millions and a half.

Among the charges brought against him by his rival was that of want of foresight in originally bringing forward a peace budget where many useful and perhaps necessary means of obtaining revenue were abandoned—when war was so near as to seem inevitable. To this it was replied that it was hardly necessary for the government to meet so absurd an accusation as that of the want of foresight, or to defend themselves for having believed that a sovereign of Europe was a man of honour. He met the charge of having abandoned public revenue, however, by asking in what state the government found the revenue when the income-tax itself was in peril because Mr. Disraeli had thought it consistent with his duty to his sovereign and his country to promise to remodel that tax without any plan for the purpose. The man who did that was the one who surrendered public revenue. In concluding his speech, he said that such was the vigour and elasticity of our trade, that even under the disadvantages of a bad harvest, and under the pressure of war, the imports from day to day and almost from hour to hour were increasing, and the very last papers laid on the table showed that within the closing three months of the year there were £250,000 increase in the exports. In the subsequent discussion Sir John Pakington, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, and other speakers strongly opposed the government policy, and Lord John Russell rose to reply briefly, but effectively.

Mr. Disraeli again declared that he supported the policy of the war, but that he objected to the malt-tax, since it was not merely unjust and unnecessary, but hampered the industry, crippled the progress, and in every way injured the agricultural interest of the country. The financial proposals were, however, carried by a large majority. There was yet another sharp discussion between Mr. Disraeli and the chancellor of the exchequer. A few days afterwards, on the subject of the resolution empowering the government to issue £2,000,000 of exchequer bonds, which was opposed by Mr. Baring, Mr. Disraeli charged the government with mismanagement, which had culminated in the necessity for a loan of six millions; and this war in its turn had been so mismanaged that the chancellor of the exchequer had offered four per cent. for the money and yet could not get it. "He had shown himself incompetent to deal with the *bulls* and *bears*, and had been forced to appeal to the *stags* of the Stock Exchange. And now came a last shift for raising a loan in masquerade." To this it was answered that the exchequer bonds were for repayment at a short period, and it had been the opposition who had really advocated the borrowing system and loans in masquerade.

The scheme proposed to the house was evidently too sound to be seriously affected by this kind of opposition. The government had a majority of 104, or 290 votes, while the opposition only gained 186; and though, on the 26th of July, when Lord John Russell moved a vote of credit for £3,000,000, Mr. Disraeli again attacked the government, declaring that there would have been no war if the former administration had remained in power, and again complaining that it was largely due to the evil of a coalition government; the question of a vote of credit had become identified with that of a vote of confidence, and no one ventured to take such decided steps as might lead to the defeat and resignation of the ministry at such a critical moment.

Mr. Gladstone had been one of the foremost to advocate the maintenance of peace by means of negotiations, and unlike many who were of the same mind he had very little belief either in the soundness or the future progress and improvement of the Turkish institutions and government. His opinions on that subject in 1854 differed little (though they

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were perhaps not fully developed), from those which he has expressed in later years. But, on the other hand, he could not consent that the ill condition of Turkey should be a reason for submitting to the treachery or the tyranny of Russia, directed to the acquisition of a complete control of the Ottoman Empire and the achievement of a colossal preponderance in Europe. He had already spoken of the almost hopeless expectation of the reform of Turkey and its development into a state which could demand the respect of Europe; and at a later period, when the war was nearly over and a treaty of peace was debated, he declared: "If I thought this treaty was an instrument which bound this country and our posterity to the maintenance of a set of institutions in Turkey which you are endeavouring to reform, if you can, but with respect to which endeavour few can be sanguine, I should look for the most emphatic word in which to express my condemnation of a peace which bound us to maintain the laws and institutions of Turkey as a Mohammedan state." Whilst regretting that more had not been done for the principalities, he defended the war which he and his colleagues of the Aberdeen cabinet had been accused of precipitating, on the grounds that the danger of the encroachment upon, and absorption of Turkey by Russia, was one calculated to bring upon Europe evils none the less formidable than those already existing, and which, as threatening the peace, liberties, and privileges of all, they were called upon to resist with all the means in their power.

In his attitude with regard to the relative claims of Russia and Turkey he was, and he continued to be, consistent, for we find him at a recent date comparing the conditions of the Crimean war with those of the Russo-Turkish contest of 1877, and saying:—

"There was in each case an offender against the law and peace of Europe; Turkey, by her distinct and obstinate breach of covenant, taking, on the latter occasion, the place which Russia had held in the earlier controversy. The difference was that, in 1854–55, two great powers, with the partial support of a third, prosecuted by military means the work they had undertaken; in 1877 it was left to Russia alone to act as the hand and sword of Europe, with the natural consequence of weighting the scale with the question what compensation she might claim, or would claim, for her efforts and sacrifices."

Again in August, 1877, writing on the subject of various proposals for the occupation of Egypt, he says, "It is most singular that the propagandism of Egyptian occupation seems to proceed principally from those who were always thought to be the fastest friends to the formula of independence and integrity, and on whom the unhappy Turk was encouraged to place a blindfold reliance. I have heard of men on board ship thought to be moribund, whose clothes were sold by auction by their shipmates. And thus, in the hearing of the Turk we are now stimulated to divide his inheritance." Speaking of a proposition to purchase the Egyptian tribute, he says, "I admit that we thus provide the sultan with abundant funds for splendid obsequies. But none the less would this plan sever at a stroke all African territory from an empire likely enough to be also shorn of its provinces in Europe. It seems to me, I own, inequitable, whether in dealing with the Turk or with any one else, to go beyond the necessity of the case. I object to our making him or anybody else a victim to the insatiable maw of these stage-playing British interests. And I think we should decline to bid during his lifetime for this portion of his clothes. It is not sound doctrine that for our own purposes we are entitled to help him downwards to his doom."

We shall have again to refer to Mr. Gladstone's view of the conditions which, if they did not necessitate, completely justified the Crimean war, but it will be seen that he had no leanings towards Turkey, nor did he believe in its development into a healthy state. He could also sympathize with the deep and unalterable feelings which made both Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright the conscientious opponents of a conflict which they believed to be entirely mischievous. But he could not join them. It may be said, indeed, that these two men at that time stood alone in England. They were not in reality (although they were com-

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monly reported to be) identified with those members of the peace party among the Society of Friends who fancied that they might be able to beg a peace of Nicholas of Russia, and whose efforts did much to make war ultimately more certain by impressing the emperor with the notion that it was not desired by the majority of the English people. When in February, 1854, a deputation consisting of Mr. Sturge of Birmingham, Mr. Charlton of Bristol, and Mr. Pease of Darlington, waited on the emperor at St. Petersburg to present an address expressing the sorrow which filled their hearts at the approaching conflict, he was ready enough to reply that he also abhorred war and was ready to forget the past and forgive Turkey if only she would discharge the obligations imposed on her by treaties. Of course it was on the interpretation which Russia, as opposed to the other powers of Europe, placed upon those obligations that the war was about to turn, and did turn. Cobden and Bright contended that the war upon which England had entered was wholly unnecessary, as one with which she had no business, and that even the treaty might have reached a stage of interpretation reasonably acceptable if the country had not been misguided and had neither been hurried nor drifted into hostilities for which there was no justification even on the doubtful grounds of a probable future advantage either to this country or to Europe in general. It would perhaps have been impossible to give stronger proof of an earnest conviction of the truth of their opinions than by the firm attitude which they maintained. They had been the recognized leaders of a great and popular movement, they had achieved a high position and were regarded as the chiefs of a large and influential party, and Cobden at all events had been listened to with profound respect and admiration not only among large bodies of thoughtful politicians in England, but in other countries, where, in theory at least, his doctrines on commercial policy had been widely accepted. Now they saw the faces of these former friends and supporters averted. The public meetings which had formerly been the prompt and effectual means by which they moved the opinion and raised the enthusiasm of the country, would no longer have responded to their summons, even if they had ventured to call them. Yet they stood, as it were, side by side, strong, dignified, and although they were sorrowful, not without the hope that sustains men who act on a deep and immovable principle, that the time will at last come when that principle will be recognized and their convictions and even their denunciations be endorsed by the national verdict. Alike in aim, swayed by the same powerful impulses, and using much the same arguments, they each appealed in a different and characteristic manner. Cobden was calm, logical, in a certain sense philosophical; Bright was logical, scarcely what would be called philosophical, and certainly not always calm. He was fervid, prone to the kind of oratorical intensity which when dealing with an object of aversion is apt to exaggerate its hateful qualities by admitting no extenuating circumstances. To him war, or in other words physical force as an outcome of moral force, was utterly repulsive, or at all events it is difficult to imagine that he would have endorsed any modern war as being either necessary or excusable. It would be a curious metaphysical inquiry how far a man, religious, thoughtful, humane, energetic, and with a sincere and unswerving love of liberty, could demand the right of opposing moral force and of uttering strong protest and fierce denunciation against evil and injustice, and yet deny that there are conditions where the only effectual demonstration of moral opposition would be physical antagonism. We need not enter into so difficult a question. It may suffice to say that Mr. Bright has been called, and not without truth as regards his public addresses and appeals, the most belligerent advocate of peace that ever lived. It has probably been often said that it was a very good thing that he obstinately held war to be almost always indefensible and unlawful, as otherwise his great ability might have gained him an influential position in the government, and his pugnacity in conjunction with that of Lord Palmerston would have left us few chances of maintaining peace. From their point of view, however, the arguments of both

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JOHN BRIGHT.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

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Cobden and Bright were forcible and their reasoning cogent, while it is to be noted that they were often far-reaching and embraced many other matters of advanced political significance which have since that date come to the front not only in theoretical but in practical politics. It need scarcely be said that Cobden had been an advocate of peace as a necessary means of retrenchment and material and social progress before the topic became concreted by the outbreak of the Crimean war. It was remarkable that that war, which he thought, and justly thought, should emphasize all these utterances, was the occasion of the whole nation becoming deaf to his representations, and even retorting upon him with suspicion and with indignant accusations.

Cobden at that time may be said to have retired to his new home at Dunford, near Midhurst, where he spent all his time (and he had little leisure) which was not occupied in parliament, in attending meetings, or in making journeys to advocate or explain those principles in which he was constantly interested. His business had not been successful and had therefore been closed, a considerable proportion of the sum of money subscribed for him as a national testimonial having been devoted to the payment of outstanding claims. The house which he had purchased with part of the remaining amount was no mansion nor was the domain extensive. On one occasion, when addressing a meeting at Aylesbury on the relations of landlord and tenant, he illustrated some remark by referring to his own small property. A man in the crowd interrupted him by shouting the inquiry how he had got his property. The answer was unhesitating and simple enough:—"I am indebted for it to the bounty of my countrymen. It was the scene of my birth and infancy; it was the property of my ancestors; and it is by the munificence of my countrymen that this small estate, which had been alienated from my father by necessity, has again come into my hands and enabled me to light up afresh the hearth of my father, where I spent my own childhood. I say that no warrior-duke who owns a vast domain by the vote of the imperial parliament holds his property by a more honourable title than I possess mine."

This was, of course, before the death of the Duke of Wellington; and though his reference to the enormous rewards conferred on the great soldier may at first seem somewhat harsh, it was not intended to have a special personal application. In 1852, after the funeral of Wellington, he wrote to Mr. Sturge:—"The death of the duke would, one thinks, tend to weaken the military party. But if the spirit survive it will find its champions. After all, if the country will do such work as Wellington was called on to perform, I don't know that it could find a more honest instrument. He hated jobs and spoke the truth (the very opposite of Marlborough), and although he grew rich in the service it was by the voluntary contributions of the parliament and government. If he had been told to help himself at the exchequer his modesty and honesty would never have allowed him to take as much as was forced upon him. I who saw with what frenzy of admiration he was welcomed by all classes at the Exhibition can never honestly admit that, in what the legislature and government had done for him, they had exceeded the wishes of the nation."[1]

These few words are singularly suggestive, and naturally lead to a deeper consideration of Cobden's political views than would be occasioned by many a longer but more superficial extract from his speeches. He also seems to have mellowed, and his views to have become wider if not clearer, amidst the rural pleasures and repose which he was able to enjoy at Dunford, before he was for a time almost prostrated by a great domestic calamity—the sudden death of his eldest son, and the painful condition to which the shock of that bereavement reduced Mrs. Cobden. It is worth while to pause for a moment to read his own description of the place which he had made his home during the summer months, for it shows not only the gentle nature of the man, but how simply and yet

[1] The reader who would learn more fully the character and opinions of the eminent free-trader and peace advocate will best find them displayed in Mr. John Morley's excellent work, *The Life of Richard Cobden*, where the biography of the man is furnished no less by selections from his speeches, letters, and conversation than by the careful comments which accompany them.

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with what genuine graphic force he wrote even in ordinary correspondence. It occurs in a letter to Mr. Ashworth:—"I have been for some weeks in one of the most secluded corners of England. Although my letter is dated from the quiet little close borough of Midhurst, the house in which I am living is about one and a half mile distant, in the neighbouring rural parish of Heyshott. The roof which now shelters me is the one under which I was born, and the room where I now sleep is the one in which I first drew breath. It is an old farm-house, which had for many years been turned into labourers' cottages. With the aid of the whitewasher and carpenter we have made a comfortable, weather-proof retreat for summer; and we are surrounded with pleasant woods and within a couple of miles of the summit of the South Down Hills, where we have the finest air and some of the prettiest views in England. At some future day I shall be delighted to initiate you into rural life. A Sussex hill-side village will be an interesting field for an exploring excursion for you. We have a population under three hundred in our parish. The acreage is about 2000, of which one proprietor, Colonel Wyndham, owns 1200 acres. He is a non-resident, as indeed are all the other proprietors. The clergyman is also non-resident. He lives at the village of Sledham, about three miles distant, where he has another living and a parsonage-house. He comes over to our parish to perform service once on Sundays alternately in the morning and afternoon. The church is in a ruinous state, the tower having fallen down many years ago. The parson draws about £300 a year in tithes, besides the produce of a few acres of glebeland. He is a decent man with a large family, spoken well of by everybody, and himself admits the evils of clerical absenteeism. We have no school and no schoolmaster, unless I give that title to a couple of cottages where illiterate old women collect a score or two of infants while their parents are in the fields. Thus 'our village' is without resident proprietors, or clergyman, or schoolmaster. Add to these disadvantages that the farmers are generally deficient of capital and do not employ so many labourers as they might. The rates have been up to this time about six shillings in the pound. We are not under the new poor-law but in a Gilbert's Union, and almost all our expense is for outdoor relief. Here is a picture which will lead you to expect, when you visit us, a very ignorant and very poor population. There is no post-office in the village. Every morning an old man aged about seventy goes into Midhurst for the letters. He charges a penny for every despatch he carries, including such miscellaneous articles as horse-collars, legs of mutton, empty sacks, and wheel-barrows. His letter-bag for the whole village contains on an average from two to three letters daily, including newspapers. The only newspapers which enter the parish are two copies of *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, a sound old Tory Protectionist much patronized by drowsy farmers. The wages paid by the farmers are very low, not exceeding eight shillings a week. I am employing an old man nearly seventy, and his son about twenty-two, and his nephew about nineteen, at digging and removing some fences. I pay the two former nine shillings a week and the last eight shillings, and I am giving a shilling a week more than anybody else is paying. What surprises me is to observe how well the poor fellows work and how long they last. The South Down air, in the absence of South Down mutton, has something to do with the healthiness of these people, I dare say. The labourers have generally a garden and an allotment of a quarter of an acre; for the latter they pay 3*s.* 9*d.* a year rent. We are in the midst of woods and on the border of common land, so that fuel is cheap. All the poor have a right to cut turf on the common for their firing, which costs 2*s.* 3*d.* per thousand. The labourers who live in my cottages have pigs in their sties, but I believe it is not so universally. I have satisfied myself that however badly off the labourers may be at present, their condition was worse in the time of high-priced corn. In 1847, when bread was double its present price, the wages of the farm labourers were not raised more than two to three shillings a week. At that time a man with a family spent all that he

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earned for bread, and still had not enough to sustain his household. I have it both from the labourers themselves and the millers from whom they buy their flour that they ran so deeply in debt for food during the high prices of 1847 that they have scarcely been able, in some cases up to the present, to pay off their score. The *class feeling* among the agricultural labourers is in favour of a cheap loaf. They dare not say much about it openly, but their instincts are serving them in the absence of economical knowledge, and they are unanimously against Chowler and the Protectionists. I can hardly pretend that in this world's-end spot we can say that any impulse has been given to the demand for agricultural labourers by the free-trade policy. Ours is about the last place that will feel its good effects. But there is one good sign that augurs well for the future. Skilled labourers, such as masons, joiners, blacksmiths, painters, and so on, are in very great request, and it is difficult to get work of that kind done in moderate time. I am inclined to think that in more favourable situations an impulse has likewise been imparted to unskilled labour. It is certain that during the late harvest-time there was a great difficulty in obtaining hands on the south side of the Downs towards the sea-coast, where labour is in more demand than here under the north side of the hills. I long to live to see an agricultural labourer strike for wages!"

Without reference to the opinions expressed it will be seen how large a number of important topics is included in this extract from a simple friendly letter, and the ready ease with which each of those topics is in turn made strongly suggestive. The whole quotation may stand for an example of Cobden's style and manner of writing and speaking—the only difference being the added strength of terse and often vivid illustration, and earnest though quiet emphasis when he was addressing an audience. But we must look at him for a moment in relation to the war.

Cobden had strong and mostly positive opinions on those subjects which were agitating political circles. For Irish difficulties he had but one plan, though he confessed he did not know how it could be enforced. He would have cut up the land into small properties, leaving no estates so large as to favour absenteeism even from the parish. In order to provide the means of reducing taxation he would have proposed a "people's budget," an outline of which he sketched in a letter to Mr. Bright, and the provisions of which were doubtless in accord with the efforts of the Financial Reform Association. "I have been thinking and talking," he said, "about concocting a national budget" to serve for an object for financial reformers to work up to and to prevent their losing their time upon vague generalities. The plan must be one to unite all classes and interests, and to bring into one agitation the counties and the towns. I propose to reduce the army, navy, and ordnance from £18,500,000 to £10,000,000, and thus save £8,500,000. Upon the civil expenditure in all its branches, including the cost of collecting revenue and the management of crown-lands, I propose to save £500,000. I propose to lay a probate and legacy duty on real property to affect both entailed and unentailed estates, by which would be got £1,500,000. Here is £11,500,000 to be used in reducing and abolishing duties, which I propose to dispose of as follows:—

"*Customs.*—Tea, reduce duty to 1*s.* per lb.; wood and timber, abolish duties; butter and cheese, abolish duties.

"Upwards of 100 smaller articles of the tariff to be abolished. (I would only leave about fifteen articles in the tariff paying customs duties.)

"*Excise.*—Malt, paper, soap, and hops, all duty abolished; window-tax and advertisement duty, all off.

"All these changes could be effected with £11,500,000. There are other duties which I should prefer to remove instead of one or two of them; but I have been guided materially by a desire to bring all interests to sympathize with the scheme. Thus the tea is to catch the merchants and all the old women in the country; the wood and timber, the shipbuilder; the malt and hops, the farmers; paper and soap, the Scotch anti-excise people; the window-tax, the shopocracy of London, Bath, &c.; the advertisements, the press."

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It is not to be supposed that Cobden had any strong expectations that his proposals to open negotiations with other countries for the reduction of armaments would be accepted. He firmly believed that the principles on which he had always opposed war were true, and he doubtless hoped that they would one day receive full recognition. He had persisted in advocating free-trade, and the corn-laws had been repealed, while there was a continued tendency to abolish or to diminish taxes on articles of necessary consumption. The same result might ultimately be achieved with regard to the mitigation of one of the chief causes of the burdens on the people of England and of other countries, and it was his duty not to let the subject rest whenever he had an opportunity of reviving it. When everybody was talking about the "Palace of Peace," and the results that might be expected from the Great International Exhibition, he estimated such probabilities at a lower value than many of those who two years afterwards were among the foremost advocates of war. What he did was to propose that the foreign minister should take advantage of the favourable opportunity to open negotiations with France for reducing the armed forces, and so setting an example to Europe. It was admitted that it would be a glorious consummation of the great peace congress, and one devoutly to be wished. Lord Palmerston and the majority of the government and the houses of parliament were ready to endorse the sentiment warmly enough, but to carry it into practice was quite another matter. The maxim that the best security for peace was to be always prepared for war had been too long accepted to be easily relinquished, although as a matter of fact England was not prepared for the war with Russia, and had to adopt a foreign enlistment bill in order to meet the sudden call for men to go to the Crimea. Cobden's complete doctrine condemned the recent subscription to foreign loans for military purposes. He had in 1848 declared that if Lord Palmerston had firmly protested against the Russian invasion of Hungary the czar would never have given his aid to Austria, and he denounced with all his energy the Austrian and Russian loans, amounting respectively to seven and five and a half millions of exported capital to be lost in foreign wars. Such a course he contended was contrary not only to the principles of political economy but to the claims of morality. What paradox could be more flagrant than for a citizen to lend money to be the means of military preparations on the part of a foreign power when he knew, or ought to have known, that these very preparations for which he was providing would in their turn impose upon himself and the other tax-payers of his own country the burden of counter-preparations to meet them? What man with the most rudimentary sense of public duty could pretend that it was no affair of his to what use his money was put, so long as his interest was high and his security adequate? Austria with Russia had been engaged in a cruel and remorseless war, and then came stretching forth her blood-stained hand to honest Dutchmen and Englishmen, asking them to furnish the price of that hateful devastation. Not only was such a system a waste of national wealth, an anticipation of income, a destruction of capital, the imposition of a heavy and profitless burden on future generations; but it was a direct connivance at acts and a policy which the very men who were thus asked to lend their money to support it, professed to dislike and condemn, and had good reason for disliking and condemning. The system of foreign loans for warlike purposes by which England, Holland, Germany, and France were invited to pay for the arms, clothing, and food of the belligerents was a system calculated to perpetuate the horrors of war. Those who lent money for such purposes were destitute of any of those excuses by which men justify a resort to the sword. They could not plead patriotism, self-defence, or even anger, or the lust of military glory. They sat down coolly to calculate the chances to themselves of profit or loss in a game in which the lives of human beings were at stake. They had not even the savage and brutal gratification which the old pagans had, after they had paid for a seat in the amphitheatre, of witnessing the bloody combats of gladiators in the circus.

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Such emphatic declarations were not likely to be palatable to city capitalists, nor to those who could not or would not go deeply enough into the question to prevent their asking why, if money was a commodity, they might not trade with it without asking the purpose for which it was to be used, looking only to the mercantile value to be placed upon it. This question, it will be seen, did not really touch Cobden's position, since he could have replied by denying the moral right so to deal with any commodity whatever; but there was a far different question which men who agreed with many of his political and most of his moral principles had to ask, What were the circumstances which justified interposition in foreign affairs, and what were the grounds for refusing material aid in money or in arms for the support of a just cause? Both Cobden and Bright would have answered this question by referring to those wars in which we had interposed for the alleged purpose of preventing the tyranny of a stronger over a weaker power, and by showing that in such cases prompt and decided expression of opinion would have prevented hostilities which mostly arose from the neglect of such an arrangement of just interests as could be effected by wise and truly moral arbitration. It may perhaps be said that supposing the *grounds* of interference had been the same, the difference between Cobden's and Palmerston's policy was that one would have been a serious and emphatic appeal to moral obligations, and the other a strong representation of the demands of international law with a threat of punishment for the breach of it. One represented the serious remonstrances of the onlooker ready to arbitrate; the other the sharp protest of the policeman with his hand on a truncheon.

Of course the inevitable inquiry was how would a ruler like the czar receive a moral remonstrance unaccompanied by the implied threat, that in case of refusal it might be followed by a resort to compulsion? Cobden himself gave some colour to this question by representing that had the proper steps been taken at first Russia would have receded, because she would not have dared to provoke hostilities. "I look back with regret," he said in 1855, "to the vote which changed Lord Derby's government. I regret the result of that motion, for it has cost the country a hundred millions of treasure, and between thirty and forty thousand good lives." This was a strong declaration, but it has since been endorsed by a large number of thoughtful men who never acknowledged that the results of the Crimean campaign were other than extravagantly purchased. Cobden, however, was not of course opposed to a protective force, or as he said in a letter to Colonel Fitzmayer, "to the maintenance of a disciplined force to serve as a nucleus in case of war, around which the people might rally to defend their country. But there is," he continued, "hardly a case to be imagined or assumed in which I would consent to send out a body of land forces to fight the battles of the Continent; and last of all would I agree to send such an expedition to the shores of Russia."

Cobden, although he advocated peace, had a very shrewd notion of the way in which we might have commenced war. He was quite opposed to Palmerston's opinion that 60,000 French and English troops would, with the co-operation of the navy, take Sebastopol in six weeks, and he also stated, even if the fortress were to be taken and destroyed, it would neither give a disastrous blow to Russia nor prevent future attacks upon Turkey. He said truly enough that we knew nothing about the real strength or strategical importance of Sebastopol, and added that he thought he could have obtained full information on the subject at an earlier period of the war for the cost of a few thousand pounds. If we were to defend Turkey against Russia it should be by the use of the navy and not by sending a land force to the Crimea. It will be seen, therefore, that he was not only opposed to Lord Palmerston and those who supported his policy in believing that these hostilities might have been prevented, but in the opinion that they had been misconducted. This kind of opposition was irritating enough no doubt, and probably Palmerston felt it to be so. At any rate it seems to have given occasion for an exhibition of that "patrician bullying from the treasury bench" to which Disraeli

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once alluded with telling sarcasm. Cobden during a debate had said that under certain conditions he would fight, or if he could not fight would work for the wounded in the hospitals. "Well," was Palmerston's retort, "there are many people in this country who think that the party to which he belongs should go immediately into a hospital of a different kind, and which I shall not mention."

This was no uncommon manner of treating the representations of Cobden among the war party outside the House of Commons. During the whole of the time during which the war was prosecuted with an enthusiasm that was afterwards followed by a demand for searching inquiry, he was spoken of with derision or dislike even among people who had once regarded him as their political leader. The newspapers were filled with abuse of "Cobden, Bright, & Co.," as Palmerston once designated them in a letter, and Mr. Bright was burned in effigy. At the best they were regarded as doctrinaires or fanatics. Neither of these men swerved from their first assertions, however. Cobden held precisely the same opinions when, four years later, Lord Palmerston invited him to become a member of the cabinet. His views on public questions had undergone little or no change. Both he and Mr. Bright had learned that though to offer what they deemed to be explanations, appeals, or exhortations during the time when the nation was urging or was urged in the direction of war might be followed by good results, such endeavours were useless amidst the tumult of the conflict. It increased their hatred of war to believe that it had the effect of making men reckless of such appeals. "It is no use to argue," said Cobden, when speaking some years afterwards of the war in America, "It is no use to argue as to what is the origin of the war, and no use whatever to advise the disputants. From the moment the first shot is fired or the first blow is struck in a dispute, then farewell to all reason and argument; you might as well reason with mad dogs as with men when they have begun to spill each other's blood in mortal combat. I was so convinced of the fact during the Crimean war, I was so convinced of the utter uselessness of raising one's voice in opposition to war when it has once begun, that I made up my mind that so long as I was in political life, should a war again break out between England and a great power, I would never open my mouth upon the subject from the time the first gun was fired until the peace was made."

But by the time of the American war the principles which both Cobden and Bright had enunciated were much better understood. The peace party failed to make the Crimean invasion serve as an immediate illustration of their policy, but it is by no means certain that it did not assume to many minds the force of an example of the value of their principles. At any rate there began the development of a feeling that armed intervention, and even the threat of it, should no longer be regarded as the foremost British influence in relation to European quarrels and supposed "British interests."

The mention of "British interests" may well give us occasion to hear Mr. Gladstone on the subject of the origin and reasons of the Crimean war. His words are perhaps even more worthy of attention from the fact that they were written in 1878, twenty-four years after the period to which they relate. They occur in a review of that *Life of the Prince Consort* by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Theodore Martin, already quoted in these pages.

Mr. Gladstone says it would be curious to ascertain the precise date at which the idea was first broached that British interests required the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, and states his belief that it is later than 1828, when we were engaged in a policy of coercion against Turkey, out of which, just before, had grown the battle of Navarino. In that debate Lord Holland delivered a speech which appeared to show that we had ancient alliances with Russia, that we had no treaty at all with Turkey before 1799, that the treaty concluded was only for seven years, that it was simply part and parcel of our military measures against France, and that it began with these words:—"His Britannic majesty, connected already with his majesty the Em-

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peror of Russia by the ties of the strictest alliance, accedes by the present treaty to the defensive alliance which has just been concluded between his majesty the Ottoman emperor and the Emperor of Russia." The doctrine of upholding the Ottoman Empire for the sake of British interests was far from being generally recognized by statesmen of the last generation, and Mr. Gladstone distinctly says:—"It may be boldly affirmed that it was not the avowed doctrine of the British government in the proceedings immediately anterior to the Crimean war." He believes the idea "may probably be traced in the policy of 1840 and the armed assistance lent to the decrepit empire against its Egyptian vassal," and that it "grew with rapidity, fostered by the rather womanish suspicions and alarms on behalf of India of which Russia gradually became the object." It has, he says, "grown with greater rapidity since the Crimean war in proportion to the increased susceptibility of the country, which has almost learned to regard political alarm as standing in the first class of its luxuries—those, namely, which are daily and indispensable." Mr. Gladstone puts the case distinctly enough; and whatever may have been the necessity for actual hostilities, it is a vindication of the position assumed by England. At the outset the quarrel was one between Russia and France in regard to ecclesiastical privileges at the holy places. England was but an *amicus curiæ*, and in that capacity she thought Russia in the right. As, however, communications went on the czar unfortunately committed his case to a special envoy, Prince Menschikoff, whose demands upon the Porte appeared to the British government to render harmony in the Turkish Empire, if they should be accepted, thenceforth impossible. In the further stages of the correspondence, which had thus shifted its ground, we found ourselves in company with France, and not with France only but with Europe. At one particular point it must in fairness be allowed that Russia, with her single rapier, had all her antagonists at a disadvantage. They had collectively accepted, and they proposed to her a note known as the Vienna Note, which she also accepted; and they afterward receded from it upon objection being taken by Turkey. Russia, however, covered the miscarriage of her opponents by sustaining the Turkish interpretation of the words, and thus sheltered their retreat from the support of the document they themselves had framed. But it was not upon this miscarriage that the dispute came to a final issue. The broken threads of the negotiation were pieced together, and about the time when the year expired a new instrument of a moderate and conciliatory character was framed at Constantinople and approved by the cabinets of the five powers still in unbroken union. It was the rejection of this plan by the Emperor Nicholas, when it was presented to him in January, 1854, and not his refusal of Turkish amendments of the Vienna Note, that brought about the war in the following March. This, Mr. Gladstone affirms, vindicates the British policy against the accusation of selfishness. As against the charge of Quixotry he says:—"If it is wholly unwise and unwarrantable for one power to constitute itself the judge and the avenger of European law, is it wholly wise and reasonable for two? So far as a question of this kind can be answered in the abstract, undoubtedly it is not. It is a precedent by no means free from danger: a couple of states cannot claim for themselves European authority. But this was not the enterprise on which France and England advisedly set out. They began their work say from the time of the Menschikoff mission in close association with Austria and with Prussia; and the four together were the only powers who, by established usage, could represent the concert of Europe in a case where the fifth, an only remaining power of the first order, was itself the panel in the dock. They pursued their work in harmony through the whole of the year 1853. With March, 1854, came the crisis. Austria urged the two leading states, England and France, to send in their *ultimatum* to Russia, and promised it her decided support. She redeemed the pledge, but only to the extent of a strong verbal advocacy. Without following out the subsequent detail of her proceedings, she rendered thereafter to the allies but equivocal and uncertain service; without,

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however, disavowing their policy either in act or word. It was Prussia which, at the critical moment, to speak in homely language, bolted; the very policy which she had recommended, she declined unconditionally to sustain, from the first moment when it began to assume the character of a solid and stern reality. In fact, she broke up the European concert, by which it was that France and England had hoped, and had had a right to hope, to put down the stubbornness of the czar, and to repel his attack upon the public law of Europe. The question that these allies had now to determine was whether, armed as they had been all along with the panoply of moral authority, they would, upon this unfortunate and discreditable desertion, allow all their demands, their reasonings, their professions, to melt into thin air. . . . Would such a retreat by two such powers have been for the permanent advantage of European honour, or legality, or peace?"

We must now turn to the occurrences of which both parliamentary proceedings and expressions of public opinion were indications, and we shall have to look back a little in order to measure the progress of events. Probably the departure of our fleet for the Baltic was in the public eye the most significant of the preparations for an arduous struggle, and at the time it was made much of, although it was afterwards found to be of little practical importance so far as naval operations were concerned. There had already been a grand naval review at Spithead. The Grenadier and the Coldstream Guards had been cheered by an enthusiastic concourse as they departed from Waterloo Station for Southampton, the Fusiliers had marched from Wellington Barracks, and as they passed had been cheered by the queen and the royal family from a balcony at Buckingham Palace. On the 11th of March (1854) the Baltic fleet, under Admiral Sir Charles Napier, had left Spithead, having been visited by her majesty and (so to speak) led out to sea by the royal yacht, which kept its place at the head for some distance and then stopped till the great armada had swept by.

The sailing of the Baltic fleet had been heralded by a banquet given to its commander Admiral Sir Charles Napier at the Reform Club; Lord Palmerston presided and made an after-dinner speech, which has since been characterized as the kind of oration in which a jocular elderly gentleman would propose the bride and bridegroom at a wedding-breakfast. This is not an exact description of it; but it was not in the best of taste, considering that the occasion was one which was sufficiently serious to make grave statesmen anxious, and it came to be singularly out of tune with the results of Napier's expedition, about which the gallant admiral had six months afterwards a bitter dispute with Sir James Graham, who, as first lord of the admiralty, called his judgment and energy in question. The immediate result of Lord Palmerston's vivacity was a grave remonstrance by Mr. Bright in the House of Commons. It may be interesting to give a passage or two of what the home secretary really did say, or at all events of the portion which displeased others who were perhaps neither so earnest nor so serious as Mr. Bright. As an after-dinner speech it was doubtless amusing enough, and Lord Palmerston was perhaps not altogether inexcusable in resenting any public comment upon such a matter in the House of Commons; but his retort on Mr. Bright was even in worse form than the speech itself.

"There was," said his lordship when he rose to propose the toast of the evening, "a very remarkable entertainer of dinner company called Sir R. Preston, who lived in the city, and who, when he gave dinners at Greenwich, after gorging his guests with turtle, used to turn round to the waiters and say, 'Now bring dinner.' Gentlemen, we have had the toasts which correspond with the turtle, and now let's go to dinner. Now let us drink the toast which belongs to the real occasion of our assembling here. I give you 'The health of my gallant friend Sir Charles Napier,' who sits beside me. If, gentlemen, I were addressing a Hampshire audience consisting of country gentlemen residing in that county, to which my gallant friend and myself belong, I should introduce him to your notice as an eminent agri-

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culturist. It has been my good fortune, when enjoying his hospitality at Merchistoun Hall, to receive most valuable instructions from him while walking over his farm about stall-feeding, growing turnips, wire-fencing, under-draining, and the like. My gallant friend is a match for everything, and whatever he turns his hand to he generally succeeds in it. However, gentlemen, he now, like Cincinnatus, leaves his plough, puts on his armour, and is prepared to do that good service to his country which he will always perform whenever an opportunity is afforded to him.

"I pass over those earlier exploits of his younger days which are well known to the members of his profession; but perhaps one of the most remarkable exploits of his life is that which he performed in the same cause of liberty and justice in which he is now about to be engaged. In the year 1833, when gallantly volunteering to serve the cause of the Queen of Portugal against the encroachments and the usurpations of Don Miguel—to defend constitutional rights and liberties against arbitrary power—he took command of a modest fleet of frigates and corvettes, and at the head of that little squadron he captured a squadron far superior in force, including two line-of-battle ships, one of which my gallant friend was the first to board. But on that occasion my gallant friend exhibited a characteristic trait. When he had scrambled on the deck of this great line-of-battle ship, and was clearing the deck of those who had possession of it, a Portuguese officer ran at him full dart with his drawn sword to run him through. My gallant friend quietly parried the thrust, and, not giving himself the trouble to deal in any other way with his Portuguese assailant, merely gave him a hearty kick and sent him down the hatchway. Well, gentlemen, that victory was a great event. I don't mean the victory over the officer who went down; but the victory over the fleet, which my gallant friend took into port; for that victory decided a great cause then pending. It decided the liberties of Portugal; it decided the question between constitutional and arbitrary power—a contest which began in Portugal, and which went on afterwards in Spain, when my gallant friend Sir De Lacy Evans lent his powerful aid in the same cause, and with the same success. My gallant friend Sir Charles Napier, however, got the first turn of fortune, and it was mainly owing to that victory of his that the Queen of Portugal afterwards occupied the throne to which she was rightfully entitled, and the Portuguese nation obtained that constitution which they have ever since enjoyed. A noble friend of mine, now no more, whose loss I greatly lament, for he was equally distinguished as a man, as a soldier, and as a diplomatist, the late Lord William Russell—an honour to his country as to his family—told me that one day he heard that my gallant friend Sir Charles Napier was in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Valenza, a Portuguese fortress some considerable distance from the squadron which he commanded. Lord W. Russell and Colonel Hare went to see my gallant friend, and Lord W. Russell told me that they met a man dressed in a very easy way, followed by a fellow with two muskets on his shoulders. They took him at first for Robinson Crusoe; but who should these men prove to be but the gallant admiral on my right, and a marine behind him. 'Well, Napier,' said Lord W. Russell, 'what are you doing here?' 'Why,' said my gallant friend, 'I am waiting to take Valenza.' 'But,' said Lord William, 'Valenza is a fortified town, and you must know that we soldiers understand how fortified towns are taken. You must open trenches; you must make approaches; you must establish a battery in breach; and all this takes a good deal of time, and must be done according to rule.' 'Oh,' said my gallant friend, 'I have no time for all that. I have got some of my blue jackets up here and a few of my ship's guns, and I mean to take the town with a letter;' and so he did. He sent the governor a letter to tell him he had much better surrender at discretion. The governor was a very sensible man; and so surrender he did. So the trenches and the approaches, the battery, breach, and all that, were saved, and the town of Valenza was handed over to the Queen of Portugal. Well, the next great occasion in which my gallant friend took a prominent and distinguished

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part—a part for which I can assure you that I personally in my official capacity, and the government to which I had the honour to belong, felt deeply indebted and obliged to him—was the occasion of the war in Syria. There my gallant friend distinguished himself as usual at sea and on shore. All was one to him, wherever an enemy was to be found; and I feel sure that when the enemy was found the enemy wished to Heaven he had not been found. Well, my gallant friend landed with his marines, headed a Turkish detachment, defeated the Egyptian troops, gained a very important victory, stormed the town of Sidon, captured three or four thousand Egyptian prisoners, and afterwards took a prominent part in the attack and capture of the important fortress of Acre. I am bound to say that the government to which I belonged in sending those instructions which led to the attack upon Acre were very much guided by the opinions which we had received of the practicability of that achievement in letters from my gallant friend."

Whether the effects of the banquet still remained in a touch of gout which made him unusually irritable, or whether he felt it to be a monstrous proceeding to attack him for words uttered at "the social board," and perhaps intended to infuse spirit and cheerfulness into an otherwise dull assembly, cannot be easily determined; but it is certain that Lord Palmerston resented with quite unwonted bitterness the reference made to the tone and temper of his remarks at the Napier banquet. Mr. Bright's expressions were certainly strong; he had, he said, read the proceedings with pain and humiliation, the reckless levity displayed being in his opinion discreditable to the grave and responsible statesmen of a civilized and Christian nation. Palmerston rose to reply, and commenced in his jaunty manner, "Sir, the honourable and *reverend* gentleman"—upon which Cobden stood up to call the attention of the speaker to the phrase as flippant, undeserved, and not justified by the rules of the house. "I will not quarrel about the words," retorted Palmerston; "but as the honourable gentleman has been pleased to advert to the circumstance of my being chairman at the dinner to which allusion has been made, and as he has been kind enough to express an opinion as to my conduct on that occasion, I deem it right to inform the honourable gentleman that any opinion he may entertain either of me personally or of my conduct private or political is to me a matter of the most perfect indifference." This was received with some laughter and a good deal of cheering, and Palmerston continued, "I am further convinced that the opinion of this country with regard to me and to my conduct will in no way be influenced by anything that the honourable gentleman may say; I therefore treat the censure of the honourable gentleman with the most perfect indifference and contempt." The laughter and cheering were repeated at this; but they were mingled with cries of remonstrance. "Is that parliamentary or not?" said the veteran gladiator. "If it is not I do not insist on the expression."

Surely there must have been a kind of answering note of defiance or of pugnacity between Lord Palmerston and Mr. Bright, and this, the first unmodified expression of it, came from the elder antagonist. But Palmerston could scarcely have felt either the contempt or the indifference of which he almost boastfully protested. The opinions enforced by an orator of Mr. Bright's power,—by the successful advocate of free-trade,—would not always fall on the ears of a community dull with the roar of war; and it is pretty certain that though they may not have affected the public estimate with regard to Lord Palmerston personally, they had much to do with the change which came over English policy after Palmerston's death and with the impossibility of repeating a personal influence such as Palmerston's, even had there been another statesman possessing his peculiar abilities and qualifications. But what were Mr. Bright's opinions? The country was not altogether a stranger to them, and whatever they may have been, they were not, could not be, contemptible. Many of his declarations may have been founded on an erroneous impression of the facts of the case; his conclusions may have been drawn from imperfect information of diplomatic movements, exact knowledge of

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which could scarcely be obtained outside the cabinet; he may entirely have mistaken the causes and the claims by which the attitude of England had been determined; but at least he had something to say worth listening to, and men had listened already. Far beyond the meeting of the Peace Society, at whose conference in Edinburgh he had spoken in October in the previous year, many of his words on the then impending struggle had been effectual in arousing serious attention to what war really meant for the people of a country. Perhaps nobody could venture to contradict that portion of his declarations; but his representations of the reasons for which wars were undertaken, and the principle on which they were maintained, at once challenged denial, and were of course utterly repudiated by his opponents.

"What is it," he asked, "that we really want here? We wish to protest against the maintenance of great armaments in times of peace; we wish to protest against the spirit which is not only willing for war but eager for war; and we wish to protest, with all the emphasis of which we are capable, against the mischievous policy pursued so long by this country, of interfering with the internal affairs of other countries, and thereby leading to disputes, and often to disastrous wars.

"I mentioned last night what it was we were annually spending on our armaments. Admiral Napier says that the hon. member for the West Riding, who can do everything, had persuaded a feeble government to reduce the armaments of this country to 'nothing.' What is 'nothing' in the admiral's estimation? Fifteen millions a year! Was all that money thrown away? We have it in the estimates, we pay it out of the taxes; it is appropriated by parliament, it sustains your dockyards, pays the wages of your men, and maintains your ships. Fifteen millions sterling paid in the very year when the admiral says that my honourable friend reduced the armaments of the country to nothing! But take the sums which we spent for the past year in warlike preparation—seventeen millions, and the interest on debt caused by war—twenty-eight millions sterling, and it amounts to £45,000,000. What are our whole exports? Even this year, far the largest year of exports we have ever known, they may amount to £80,000,000. Well, then, plant some one at the mouth of every harbour and port in the United Kingdom, and let him take every alternate ship that leaves your rivers and your harbours with all its valuable cargo on board, and let him carry it off as tribute, and it will not amount to the cost that you pay every year for a war, that fifty years ago was justified as much as it is attempted to justify this impending war, and for the preparations which you now make after a peace which has lasted for thirty-eight years.

"Every twenty years—in a nation's life nothing, in a person's life something—every twenty years a thousand millions sterling out of the industry of the hard-working people of this United Kingdom are extorted, appropriated, and expended to pay for that unnecessary and unjust war, and for the absurd and ruinous expenditure which you now incur. A thousand millions every twenty years! Apply a thousand millions, not every twenty years, but for one period of twenty years, to objects of good in this country, and it would be rendered more like a paradise than anything that history records of man's condition, and would make so great a change in these islands that a man having seen them as they are now, and seeing them as they might then be, would not recognize them as the same country, nor our population as the same people. But what do we expend all this for? Bear in mind that admirals, and generals, and statesmen defended that great war; and that your newspapers, with scarcely an exception, were in favour of it, and denounced and ostracised hundreds of good men who dared, as we dare now, to denounce the spirit which would again lead this country into war. We went to war that France should not choose its own government; the grand conclusion was that no Bonaparte should sit on the throne of France; yet France has all along been changing its government from that time to this, and now we find ourselves with a Bonaparte on the throne of France, and, for anything I know to the contrary, likely to

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remain there a good while. So far, therefore, for the calculations of our forefathers, and for the results of that enormous expenditure which they have saddled upon us.

"We object to these great armaments as provoking a war spirit. I should like to ask what was the object of the Chobham Exhibition? There were special trains at the disposal of members of parliament, to go down to Chobham the one day, and to Spithead the other. What was the use of our pointing to the President of the French Republic two years ago, who is the emperor now, and saying that he was spending his time at playing at soldiers in his great camp at Satory, and in making great circuses for the amusement of his soldiers? We, too, are getting into the way of playing at soldiers, and camps, and fleets, and the object of this is to raise up in the spirit of the people a feeling antagonistic to peace, and to render the people—the deluded, hard-working, toiling people—satisfied with the extortion of £17,000,000 annually, when, upon the very principles of the men who take it, it might be demonstrated that one-half of the money would be amply sufficient for the purposes to which it is devoted. What observation has been more common during the discussion upon Turkey than this—'Why are we to keep up these great fleets if we are not to use them? Why have we our Mediterranean fleet lying at Besika Bay, when it might be earning glory and adding to the warlike renown of the country?' This is just what comes from the maintenance of great fleets and armies. There grows up an *esprit de corps*—there grows a passion for these things, a powerful opinion in their favour, that smothers the immorality of the whole thing, and leads the people to tolerate, under those excited feelings, that which, under feelings of greater temperance and moderation, they would know was hostile to their country, as it is opposed to everything which we recognize as the spirit of the Christian religion.

"Then we are against intervention. Now this question of intervention is a most important one, for this reason, that it comes before us sometimes in a form so attractive that it invites us to embrace it, and asks us by all our love of freedom, by all our respect for men struggling for their rights, to interfere in the affairs of some other country. And we find now in this country that a great number of those who are calling out loudest for interference are those who, being very liberal in their politics, are bitterly hostile to the despotism and exclusiveness of the Russian government. But I should like to ask this meeting what sort of intervention we are to have? There are three kinds—one for despotism, one for liberty; and you may have an intervention like that now proposed, from a vague sense of danger which cannot be accurately described.

"What have our interventions been up to this time? It is not long since we intervened in the case of Spain. The foreign enlistment laws were suspended; and English soldiers went to join the Spanish legion, and the government of Spain was fixed in the present queen of that country, and yet Spain has the most exclusive tariff against this country in the world, and a dead Englishman is there reckoned little better than a dead dog. Then take the case of Portugal. We interfered, and Admiral Napier was one of those employed in that interference to place the Queen of Portugal on the throne; and yet she has violated every clause of the charter which she had sworn to the people; and in 1849, under the government of Lord John Russell, and with Lord Palmerston in the foreign office, our fleet entered the Tagus and destroyed the Liberal party by allowing the queen to escape from their hands, when they would have driven her to give additional guarantees for liberty; and from that time to this she has still continued to violate every clause of the charter of the country. Now let us come to Syria; what, as Admiral Napier said, about the Syrian war? He told us that the English fleet was scattered all about the Mediterranean, and that if the French fleet had come to Cherbourg and had taken on board 50,000 men and landed them on our coasts, all sorts of things would have befallen us. But how happened it that Admiral Napier and his friends got up the quarrel with the French? Because we

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interfered in the Syrian question when we had no business to interfere whatever. The Egyptian pasha, the vassal of the sultan, became more powerful than the sultan, and threatened to depose him and place himself as monarch upon the throne of Constantinople; and but for England he would assuredly have done it. Why did we interfere? What advantage was it to us to have a feeble monarch in Constantinople, when you might have an energetic and powerful one in Mehemet Ali? We interfered, however, and quarrelled with France, although she neither declared war nor landed men upon our coast. France is not a country of savages and banditti. The admiral's whole theory goes upon this, that there is a total want of public morality in France, and that something which no nation in Europe would dare to do or think of doing, which even Russia would scorn to do, would be done without any warning by the polished, civilized and intelligent nation across the Channel."

In reading this speech delivered six months before the Napier banquet, who can avoid the suspicion that Lord Palmerston had it in his memory when he eulogized the admiral, and that his resentment of Mr. Bright's remonstrances was sharpened by the recollection.

"But," Mr. Bright asked in continuation, "if they are the friends of freedom who think we ought to go to war with Russia because Russia is a despotic country, what do you say to the interference with the Roman Republic three or four years ago? What do you say to Lord John Russell's government, Lord Palmerston with his own hand writing the despatch, declaring that the government of her majesty the Queen of England entirely concurred with the government of the French Republic in believing that it was desirable and necessary to re-establish the pope upon his throne? The French army, with the full concurrence of the English government, crossed over to Italy, invaded Rome, destroyed the republic, banished its leading men, and restored the pope; and on that throne he sits still, maintained only by the army of France.

"My honourable friend has referred to the time when Russia crossed through the very principalities we hear so much about, and entered Hungary. I myself heard Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons go out of his way needlessly, but intentionally, to express a sort of approbation of the intervention of Russia in the case of Hungary. I heard him say in a most unnecessary parenthesis, that it was not contrary to international law or to the law of Europe for Russia to send an army into Hungary to assist Austria in putting down the Hungarian insurrection. I should like to know whether Hungary had not constitutional rights as sacred as ever any country had—as sacred, surely, as the sovereign of Turkey can have upon his throne. If it were not contrary to international law and to the law of Europe for a Russian army to invade Hungary, to suppress there a struggle which called for, and obtained too, the sympathy of every man in favour of freedom in every part of the world,—I say, how can it be contrary to international law and the law of Europe for Russia to threaten the Sultan of Turkey, and to endeavour to annex Turkey to the Russian Empire?

"I want our policy to be consistent. Do not let us interfere now, or concur in or encourage the interference of anybody else, and then get up a hypocritical pretence on some other occasion that we are against interference. If you want war, let it be for something that has at least the features of grandeur and of nobility about it, but not for the miserable, decrepit, moribund government which is now enthroned, but which cannot last long, in the city of Constantinople.

"They tell us that if Russia gets to Constantinople Englishmen will not be able to get to India by the overland journey. Mehemet Ali, even when Admiral Napier was battering down his towns, did not interfere with the carriage of our mails through his territory. We bring our overland mails at present partly through Austria and partly through France, and the mails from Canada pass through the United States; and though I do not think there is the remotest possibility or probability of anything of the kind happening, yet I do not think that in the event of war with these countries we should have our mails stopped or our persons arrested in passing through these countries. At any rate it would be a much

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more definite danger that would drive me to incur the ruin, guilt, and suffering of war.

"But they tell us further that the Emperor of Russia would get India. That is a still more remote contingency. If I were asked as to the probabilities of it, I should say that, judging from our past and present policy in Asia, we are more likely to invade Russia from India than Russia is to invade us in India. The policy we pursue in Asia is much more aggressive, aggrandizing, and warlike than any that Russia has pursued or threatened during our time. But it is just possible that Russia may be more powerful by acquiring Turkey. . . . But I should like to ask whether, even if that be true, it is a sufficient reason for our going to war, and entering on what perhaps may be a long, ruinous, and sanguinary struggle with a powerful empire like Russia?

"What is war? I believe that half the people that talk about war have not the slightest idea of what it is. In a short sentence it may be summed up to be the combination and concentration of all the horrors, atrocities, crimes, and sufferings of which human nature on this globe is capable. But what is even a rumour of war? Is there anybody here who has anything in the funds, or who is the owner of any railway stock, or anybody who has a large stock of raw material or manufactured goods? The funds have recently gone down 10 per cent. I do not say that the fall is all on account of this danger of war, but a great proportion of it undoubtedly is. A fall of 10 per cent. in the funds is nearly £80,000,000 sterling of value, and railway stock having gone down 20 per cent. makes a difference of £60,000,000 in the value of the railway property of this country. Add the two—£140,000,000—and take the diminished prosperity and value of manufactures of all kinds during the last few months, and you will understate the actual loss to the country now if you put it down at £200,000,000 sterling. But that is merely a rumour of war. That is war a long way off—the small cloud no bigger than a man's hand; what will it be if it comes nearer and becomes a fact? And surely some men ought to consider whether the case is a good one, the ground fair, the necessity clear, before they drag a nation of nearly 30,000,000 of people into a long and bloody struggle for a decrepit and tottering empire, which all the nations in Europe cannot long sustain. And mind, war now would take a different aspect from what it did formerly. It is not only that you send out men who submit to be slaughtered, and that you pay a large amount of taxes; the amount of taxes would be but a feeble indication of what you would suffer. Our trade is now much more extensive than it was, our commerce is more expanded, our undertakings are more vast, and war will find you all out at home by withering up the resources of the prosperity enjoyed by the middle and working classes of the country. You would find that war in 1853 would be infinitely more perilous and destructive to our country than it has ever yet been at any former period of our history. There is another question which comes home to my mind with a gravity and seriousness which I can scarcely hope to communicate to you. You who lived during the period of 1815 to 1822 may remember that this country was probably never in a more uneasy position. The sufferings of the working-classes were beyond description, and the difficulties, and struggles, and bankruptcies of the middle classes were such as few persons have a just idea of. There was scarcely a year in which there was not an incipient insurrection in some parts of the country, arising from the sufferings which the working-classes endured. You know very well that the government of the day employed spies to create plots, and to get ignorant men to combine to take unlawful oaths, and you know that in the town of Stirling two men, who but for this diabolical agency might have lived good and honest citizens, paid the penalty of their lives for their connection with unlawful combinations of this kind.

"Well, if you go into war now you will have more banners to decorate your cathedrals and churches. Englishmen will fight now as well as they ever did, and there is ample power to back them if the country can be but sufficiently excited and deluded. You may raise up great generals. You may have another Wellington and another Nelson too; for this

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country can grow men capable for every enterprise. Then there may be titles, and pensions, and marble monuments to eternize the men who have thus become great; but what becomes of you and your country and your children? For there is more than this in store. That seven years to which I have referred was a period dangerous to the existence of government in this country, for the whole substratum, the whole foundations of society were discontented, suffering intolerable evils, and hostile in the bitterest degree to the institutions and the government of the country."

It is scarcely necessary to point out how illustrative this speech is of the difference between the manner of Mr. Bright and that of Mr. Cobden. Nor can we omit to notice that want of discrimination in the application of the statements brought forward to illustrate his argument which laid the speaker open to more than adverse criticism, and excited a feeling stronger than mere contradiction.

It was unfortunate that the laudations bestowed on Sir Charles Napier and the intended operations of the first division of the Baltic fleet should have been so overdone. The spectacle of the departure of that fleet had aroused a large amount of public enthusiasm, for it was the most important naval force which had ever gone forth from the chief maritime station of the kingdom, and a vast multitude of people had left London and various large towns and assembled at Portsmouth for the purpose of witnessing the warlike show — almost the last naval display before iron-clads and their successors, with rams and turrets, had superseded the old "wooden walls"—the first in which the principal vessels were propelled by steam-power. Three large ships remained behind to form the nucleus of a second division. The expectations of the nation ran high —so high that the admiral possibly foresaw the disappointment which must follow. If he did so, however, the address which he signalled to the fleet before commencing operations seems to have been rather impolitic:— "Lads! war is declared. We are to meet a bold and numerous enemy; should they offer us battle, you know how to dispose of them. Should they remain in port, we must try to get at them. Success depends on the quickness and precision of your fire. Lads, sharpen your cutlasses and the day is your own." Now this was much in the vein of the oratory at the dinner at the Reform Club, and Sir James Graham began to fear that the ardour of the admiral might outrun his discretion, or that he might be tempted to make some sudden venture and endanger the fleet for the purpose of satisfying public expectation. He advised Sir Charles Napier in the first instance to feel his way and to make good his hold in the Gulf of Finland. "When I say this," he added, "I by no means contemplate an attack either on Sweaborg or on Cronstadt. I have a great respect for stone walls, and have no fancy for running even screw line-of-battle ships against them. Because the public here may be impatient, you must not be rash; because they, at a distance from danger, are foolhardy, you must not risk the loss of a fleet in an impossible enterprise." Sir James continued that he believed both Sweaborg and Cronstadt to be all but impregnable from the sea — Sweaborg more especially — and that none but a very large army could co-operate by land efficiently in the presence of such a force as Russia could readily concentrate for the immediate defence of the approaches to her capital. He advised the admiral, if he had none but naval means at his command, to pause long and consider well before he attempted any attack on the Russian squadrons in their strongholds, and he impressed these cautions upon him lest, "to satisfy the wild wishes of an impatient multitude," he should "yield to some rash impulse and fail in the discharge of one of the noblest duties, which is the moral courage to do what you know to be right at the risk of being accused of having done wrong."

There was much "mounting the high horse" in all this, and Sir James Graham either succeeded beyond his intention in impressing the ardent admiral with his own caution, or he was altogether mistaken in believing such solemn warnings to be necessary. The truth seems to have been, that Sir Charles Napier knew very well what he might be able to do

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and what he would not be able to do with a fleet which was after all insufficient for any such attempts as were feared by the first lord of the admiralty and expected by the public. The operations began with the bombardment by two ships, the *Arrogant* and the *Hecla*, of a little fort called Eckness on the coast of Finland and the capture of a merchant vessel. Then followed the bombardment of Gustafsvaern and the blockade of the forts in the Gulf of Finland. On the 16th of August (1854) the fortress of Bomarsund, with its garrison of 2235 men, surrendered to the severe cannonade of the allied fleet; and as this was the first success in the war, the news was received with enormous enthusiasm, but that was nearly the last of it as regarded this fleet. The Russian ships had been kept in durance, but had not been injured or even attacked. What had been possible at Bomarsund had been unattainable at Sweaborg and Cronstadt. By the end of August a correspondence had begun between Sir Charles Napier and Sir James Graham, which was painfully recriminatory, and was not good for the reputation of the country. Sir James Graham had sent letters to the admiral which the latter interpreted to refer to a termination of active operations in the Baltic for the approaching winter; but Sir James refused to accept this responsibility, and replied by saying:—"I was not prepared even at that time for the immediate departure of the French army after the capture of Bomarsund, and I pointed out to you Abo, Sweaborg, and Revel as points which with military aid were open to attack. Much less was I prepared for the withdrawal of the French squadron from the combined naval operations almost instantaneously with the departure of the army so soon as Bomarsund had been destroyed." Evidently the first lord of the admiralty had begun to recede from his former advice, because he had made the mistake (a very common one at that time) of computing probable successes from data which were imperfect or which had been entirely falsified by events. The admiral had followed what he believed to be his instructions; the weather was bad even for that late season, and if he was to take care of the fleet it would be of little use to make any attempts which even under more favourable conditions would have been open to the charge of undue temerity after he had been emphatically ordered by his superiors to exercise caution. Even this reason might have been sufficient defence for Sir Charles, but he declared that the whole matter was an attempt to prejudice him. The truth appears to be that there was a complete misunderstanding, and that the admiral, who had been made a hero, and was undoubtedly brave enough and perhaps rash enough to have justified Lord Palmerston's praise and Sir James Graham's advice, became angrily suspicious that his letters had been purposely misinterpreted because the admiralty needed "a scape-goat" on whom to turn the indignation which was succeeding the impatience of the public. "Had people considered one moment," he wrote, "they would have seen the impracticability of the attempt; but they thought Sebastopol was taken, and I must take Sweaborg, Revel, and Cronstadt." There had been "a great cry and little wool;" and the admiralty and the admiral were engaged in endeavouring to place on each other the responsibility of not having achieved what became impossible after the French troops and the French squadron parted company with the Baltic fleet. Sir James Graham declared that he was not aware of their departure, and that he understood Sir Charles to have asked for reinforcements. Sir Charles accused the first lord of expecting him to attack almost impregnable strongholds under conditions which would probably have been fatal to a small force making the attempt. The controversy was unpleasantly prolonged.

Speaking at a dinner at the Mansion House in February, 1855, the admiral made a vehement attack upon Sir James Graham, which he wound up by saying—"I state it to the public, and I wish them to know, that, had I followed the advice of Sir J. Graham, I should most inevitably have left the British fleet behind me in the Baltic." This he undertook to prove before all the world—a pledge which he was never allowed, and would probably have found it hard, to redeem. The attack was

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made in terms so unseemly that the government were asked in the House of Commons a few nights afterwards (16th February) if they intended to take proceedings against the rebellious admiral. "He has proclaimed himself a hero," was Sir James Graham's answer; "but it is not my intention to allow the gallant officer to dub himself a martyr as well as a hero; and therefore it is not my intention to advise the crown to take any further notice of the matter." Replying to a taunt about his speech at the Reform Club Sir James Graham remarked on the same occasion, "I underwent due correction in this house on the subject of that speech; since that correction was made I hope I have improved in prudence." The honour of Grand Cross of the Bath was offered a few months afterwards to Sir Charles Napier; but he declined it, stating in a letter to Prince Albert (6th July, 1855) as his reason for doing so, that having demanded a court-martial from the admiralty to investigate his conduct, and this having been refused, "he did not feel he could accept an honour till his character was cleared."

Sir Charles had returned from the Baltic with his fleet, and though he received no warm welcome, he did not for any long time remain under the suspicion of not having done his duty. He had, as was written at the time by an admirer, caused the thirty sail composing the powerful Russian fleet to shrink like rats into their holes; he had taken Bomarsund, caused Hango to be blown up, interrupted the Russian commerce; and for six months had kept in a state of inaction certainly 80,000 or 90,000 good troops, namely, 20,000 at Helsingfors, 15,000 at Abo, and 40,000 at Cronstadt, besides smaller corps protecting Revel and other places. He had restored and enlarged the knowledge of the Finland Gulf to navigation; had ascertained what large vessels could do there and what they could not do, when they could act alone and when with troops, and when gun-boats could be used with effect. He had carried out an ill-manned and ill-disciplined fleet, and had brought back unharmed a well-organized, well-disciplined one, with crews exercised in gunnery and seamanship. These encomiums were not undeserved, and the country afterwards acknowledged them and vindicated the veteran, who always had on his side a large number of people who knew and admired his courage, and many of whom looked not without distrust upon Sir James Graham in the still lingering recollection of the opened letters at the post-office, the remembrance of which stuck in the popular mind in spite of often repeated explanations.

But the country was in the midst of war by the time that Napier was disputing in London, and another Baltic fleet under Admiral Dundas, provided with the necessary gun-boats and mortars, went out and bombarded Sweaborg. Our troops were advancing towards Sebastopol. At home people were in a state of wild excitement about the want of preparation by the war-office and the alleged break-down of our commissariat and transport system.

The "peace at any price" party, as they had been dubbed, were unmoved. They abated nothing of their condemnation of the whole of the action, or rather the inaction, of the cabinet which had led to hostilities. What Mr. Bright had said at the meeting of the peace congress at Edinburgh he was ready to repeat, and to repeat with considerable additions, when he rose to speak in the House of Commons after the royal message announcing the declaration of war. Referring to one of the epigrammatic phrases used by Disraeli he said:—

"The right hon. gentleman the member for Buckinghamshire, on a recent occasion, made use of a term which differed considerably from what he said in a former debate; he spoke of this war as a 'just and unnecessary war.' I shall not discuss the justice of the war. It may be difficult to decide a point like this, seeing that every war undertaken since the days of Nimrod has been declared to be just by those in favour of it; but I may at least question whether any war that is unnecessary can be deemed to be just. I shall not discuss this question on the abstract principle of peace at any price, as it is termed, which is held by a small minority of persons in this country, founded on religious opinions which are not generally received, but I shall discuss it entirely on principles which are accepted by all the

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members of this house. I shall maintain that when we are deliberating on the question of war, and endeavouring to prove its justice or necessity, it becomes us to show that the interests of the country are clearly involved; that the objects for which the war is undertaken are probable, or, at least, possible of attainment; and, further, that the end proposed to be accomplished is worth the cost and the sacrifices which we are about to incur.

"The house shall bear in mind that at this moment we are in intimate alliance with a neighbouring government, which was, at a recent period, the originator of the troubles which have arisen at Constantinople. I do not wish to blame the French government, because nothing could have been more proper than the manner in which it has retired from the difficulty it had created; but it is nevertheless quite true that France, having made certain demands upon Turkey with regard to concessions to the Latin Church, backed by a threat of the appearance of a French fleet in the Dardanelles, which demands Turkey had wholly or partially complied with; Russia, the powerful neighbour of Turkey, being on the watch, made certain other demands having reference to the Greek Church; and Russia at the same time required (and this I understand to be the real ground of the quarrel) that Turkey should define by treaty, or convention, or by a simple note or memorandum, what was conceded, and what were the rights of Russia, in order that the government of Russia might not suffer in future from the varying policy and the vacillation of the Ottoman government.

"Now it seems to me quite impossible to discuss this question without considering the actual condition of Turkey. The honourable member for Aylesbury (Mr. Layard) assumes that they who do not agree in the policy he advocates are necessarily hostile to the Turks and have no sympathy for Turkey. I repudiate such an assumption altogether. I can feel for a country like that if it be insulted or oppressed by a powerful neighbour; but all that sympathy may exist without my being able to convince myself that it is the duty of this country to enter into the serious obligation of a war in defence of the rights of that country. The noble lord the member for Tiverton is one of the very few men in this house, or out of it, who are bold enough to insist upon it that there is a growing strength in the Turkish Empire. There was a gentleman in this house sixty years ago, who in the debates in 1791 expressed the singular opinion which the noble lord now holds. There was a Mr. Stanley in the house at that period who insisted on the growing power of Turkey, and asserted that the Turks at that day 'were more and more imitating our manners, and emerging from their inactivity and indolence; that improvements of every kind were being introduced among them, and that even printing-presses had been lately established in their capital.' That was the opinion of a gentleman anxious to defend Turkey, and speaking in this house more than sixty years ago; we are now living sixty years later, and no one now but the noble lord seems to insist upon the fact of the great and growing power of the Turkish Empire.

"If any one thing is more apparent than another, on the face of all the documents furnished to the house by the government of which the noble lord is a member, it is this, that the Turkish Empire is falling, or has fallen, into a state of decay, and into anarchy so permanent as to have assumed a chronic character. The noble lord surely has not forgotten that Turkey has lost the Crimea and Bessarabia, and its control over the Danubian Principalities; that the Kingdom of Greece has been carved out of it; that it has lost its authority over Algiers, and has run great risk of being conquered by its own vassal the Pasha of Egypt; and from this he might have drawn the conclusion that the empire was gradually falling into decay, and that to pledge ourselves to effect its recovery and sustentation is to undertake what no human power will be able to accomplish. I only ask the house to turn to the statements which will be found nearly at the end of the first of the blue books recently placed on the table of the house, and they will find that there is scarcely any calamity which can be described as afflicting any country which is not there

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proved to be present and actively at work in almost every province of the Turkish Empire. And the house should bear in mind when reading these despatches from the English consuls in Turkey to the English ambassador at Constantinople, that they give a very faint picture of what really exists, because what are submitted to us are but extracts of more extended and important communications. It may fairly be assumed that the parts which are not published are those which described the state of things to be so bad that the government has been unwilling to lay before the house and the country and the world, that which would be so offensive and so injurious to its ally the Sultan of Turkey.

"But if other evidence be wanting, is it not a fact that Constantinople is the seat of intrigues and factions to a degree not known in any other country or capital in the world? France demands one thing, Russia another, England a third, and Austria something else. For many years past our ambassador at Constantinople has been partly carrying on the government of that country and influencing its policy, and it is the city in which are fought the diplomatic contests of the great powers of Europe. And if I have accurately described the state of Turkey, what is the position of Russia? It is a powerful country under a strong executive government, it is adjacent to a weak and falling nation, it has in its history the evidences of a succession of triumphs over Turkey, it has religious affinities with a majority of the population of European Turkey which make it absolutely impossible that its government should not, more or less, interfere, or have a strong interest in the internal policy of the Ottoman Empire. Now if we were Russian—and I put the case to the members of this house—is it not likely, according to all the theories I have heard explained when we have been concerned in similar cases, that a large majority of the house and the country would be strongly in favour of such intervention as Russia has attempted? and if I opposed it, as I certainly should oppose it, I should be in a minority on that question more insignificant than that in which I have now the misfortune to find myself with regard to the policy of the government on the grave question now before us."

Mr. Bright boldly asserted that if Russia made certain demands on Turkey this country insisted that Turkey should not consent to them; and defied any one to read the despatches of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe without coming to the conclusion that, from the beginning to the end of the negotiations the English ambassador had insisted in the strongest manner that Turkey should refuse to make the slightest concession on the real point at issue in the demands of the Russian government. In proof of that statement he referred to the account given by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in his despatch of the 5th May, 1853, of the private interview he had with the sultan, the minister of the sultan having left him at the door that the interview might be strictly private. In describing that interview Lord Stratford had said, "I then endeavoured to give him a just idea of the degree of danger to which his empire was exposed." This Mr. Bright interpreted to mean, "The sultan was not sufficiently aware of his danger, and the English ambassador 'endeavoured to give him a just idea of it;' and it was by means such as this that he urged upon the Turkish government the necessity of resistance to any of the demands of Russia, promising the armed assistance of England whatever consequences might ensue. From the moment that promise was made, or from the moment it was sanctioned by the cabinet at home, war was all but inevitable; they had entered into a partnership with the Turkish government (which, indeed, could scarcely be called a government at all) to assist it by military force; and Turkey, having old quarrels to settle with Russia, and old wrongs to avenge, was not slow to plunge into the war, having secured the co-operation of two powerful nations, England and France, in her qaarrel."

Speaking of the celebrated "Vienna note" Mr. Bright said, "I am bound here to say that nobody has yet been able clearly to explain the difference between the various notes Turkey has been advised to reject, and this and other notes she has been urged to accept. With respect to this particular note, nobody seems

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to have understood it. There were four ambassadors at Vienna, representing England, France, Austria, and Prussia; and these four gentlemen drew up the Vienna note, and recommended it to the Porte as one which she might accept without injury to her independence or her honour. Louis Napoleon is a man knowing the use of language, and able to comprehend the meaning of a document of this nature, and his minister of foreign affairs is a man of eminent ability; and Louis Napoleon and his minister agree with the ambassadors at Vienna as to the character of the Vienna note. We have a cabinet composed of men of great individual capacity; a cabinet, too, including no less than five gentlemen who have filled the office of secretary for foreign affairs, and who may therefore be presumed to understand even the sometimes concealed meaning of diplomatic phraseology. These five foreign secretaries, backed by the whole cabinet, concurred with the ambassadors at Vienna and with the Emperor of the French and his foreign secretary in recommending the Vienna note to the sultan as a document which he might accept consistently with his honour and with that integrity and that independence which our government is so anxious to secure for him. What was done with this note? Passing by the marvellous stupidity, or something worse, which caused that note not to be submitted to Turkey before it was sent to St. Petersburg, I would merely state that it was sent to St. Petersburg, and was accepted in its integrity by the Emperor of Russia in the most frank and unreserved manner. We were then told—I was told by members of the government—that the moment the note was accepted by Russia we might consider the affair to be settled, and that the dispute would never be heard of again. When, however, the note was sent to Constantinople after its acceptance by Russia, Turkey discovered, or thought or said she discovered, that it was as bad as the original or modified proposition of Prince Menschikoff, and she refused the note as it was, and proposed certain modifications. And what are we to think of these arbitrators or mediators—the four ambassadors at Vienna, and the governments of France and England—who, after discussing the matter in three different cities and at three distinct and different periods, and after agreeing that the proposition was one which Turkey could assent to without detriment to her honour and independence, immediately afterwards turned round and declared that the note was one which Turkey could not be asked to accede to, and repudiated in the most formal and express manner that which they themselves had drawn up, and which only a few days before they had approved of as a combination of wisdom and diplomatic dexterity which had never been excelled?"

It might be said that in making these statements Mr. Bright either knew too much or not enough of the actual conditions which were influencing the cabinet, and there is no need to comment on them, as they are quoted to show what was his expressed opinion at that time—an opinion, as we have seen, which differed essentially from that of many others who yet deplored the war and the occasion of it, and would have made any sacrifice for the sake of restoring peace, except that which they deemed would involve the national honour and lead to a tacit abandonment of international obligations undertaken apart from any selfish motive or for the maintenance of "British interests" in any material sense. But Mr. Bright had at least "the courage of his convictions" when he went on to say he very much doubted whether Count Nesselrode placed any meaning upon the note which it did not fairly warrant, and that it was impossible to say whether he really differed at all from the actual intentions of the four ambassadors at Vienna. Mr. Bright's explanation of the course taken by the Russian minister was this:—"Seeing the note was rejected by the Turk, and considering that its previous acceptance by Russia was some concession from the original demand, he issued a circular, giving such an explanation or interpretation of the Vienna note as might enable him to get back to his original position, and might save Russia from being committed and damaged by the concession, which, for the sake of peace, she had made. This circular, however, could make no real difference in the note itself; and

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notwithstanding this circular, whatever the note really meant, it would have been just as binding upon Russia as any other note will be that may be drawn up and agreed to at the end of the war. Although, however, this note was considered inadmissible, negotiations were continued; and at the conference at Olmutz, at which the Earl of Westmoreland was present, the Emperor of Russia himself expressed his willingness to accept the Vienna note—not in the sense that Count Nesselrode had placed upon it, but in that which the ambassadors at Vienna declared to be its real meaning, and with such a clause as they should attach to it, defining its real meaning."

It will of course be seen that this explanation is founded on assumptions directly contrary to the declarations then and subsequently made by ministers who, like Mr. Gladstone, were in a position to know what had actually transpired, but Mr. Bright had come to entirely different conclusions, and having made up his mind that his interpretation of Count Nesselrode's intentions was the right one, went on to argue:—"It is impossible from this fairly to doubt the sincerity of the desire for peace manifested by the Emperor of Russia. He would accept the note prepared by the conference at Vienna, sanctioned by the cabinets in London and Paris and according to the interpretation put upon it by those by whom it had been prepared—such interpretation to be defined in a clause to be by them attached to the original note. But in the precise week in which these negotiations were proceeding apparently to a favourable conclusion, the Turkish council, consisting of a large number of dignitaries of the Turkish Empire—not one of whom, however, represented the Christian majority of the population of Turkey, but inspired by the fanaticism and desperation of the old Mohammedan party—assembled; and, fearful that peace would be established, and that they would lose the great opportunity of dragging England and France into a war with their ancient enemy the Emperor of Russia, they came to a sudden resolution in favour of war; and in the very week in which Russia agreed to the Vienna note in the sense of the Vienna conference the Turks declared war against Russia, the Turkish forces crossed the Danube and began the war, involving England in an inglorious and costly struggle, from which this government and a succeeding government may fail to extricate us.

"The course taken by Turkey in beginning the war was against the strong advice of her allies; but notwithstanding this, the moment the step was taken they turned round again, as in the case of the Vienna note, and justified and defended her in the course she had adopted in defiance of the remonstrances they had urged against it." Lord John Russell had contended that Turkey was fully justified in declaring war. Mr. Bright declared, "I should say nothing against that view if Turkey were fighting on her own resources; but that if she was in alliance with England and France the opinions of those powers should at least have been heard, and that in case of her refusal to listen to their counsel they would have been justified in saying to her, 'If you persist in taking your own course we cannot be involved in the difficulties to which it may give rise, but must leave you to take the consequences of your own acts.' But this was not said, and the result was that we were dragged into a war by the madness of the Turk, which, but for the fatal blunders we have committed, we might have avoided."

"This 'balance of power' is in reality the hinge on which the whole question turns. But if that is so important as to be worth a sanguinary war, why did you not go to war with France when she seized upon Algiers? That was a portion of Turkey not quite so distinct, it is true, as are the Danubian principalities; but still Turkey had sovereign rights over Algiers. When, therefore, France seized on a large portion of the northern coast of Africa, might it not have been said that such an act tended to convert the Mediterranean into a French lake—that Algiers lay next to Tunis, and that, having conquered Tunis, there would remain only Tripoli between France and Alexandria, and that the 'balance of power' was being destroyed by the aggrandizement of France? All this might have been said, and the government might easily have

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plunged the country into war on that question. But happily the government of that day had the good sense not to resist, and the result had not been disadvantageous to Europe; this country had not suffered from the seizure of Algiers, and England and France had continued at peace.

"Take another case—the case of the United States. The United States waged war with Mexico—a war with a weaker state—in my opinion an unjust and unnecessary war. If I had been a citizen of the American Republic I should have condemned that war; but might it not have been as justly argued that, if we allowed the aggressive attacks of the United States upon Mexico, her insatiable appetite would soon be turned towards the north—towards the dependencies of this empire—and that the magnificent colonies of the Canadas would soon fall a prey to the assaults of their rapacious neighbour? But such arguments were not used, and it was not thought necessary to involve this country in a war for the support of Mexico, although the power that was attacking that country lay adjacent to our own dominions.

"If this phrase of the 'balance of power' is to be always an argument for war, the pretence for war will never be wanting, and peace can never be secure. Let any one compare the power of this country with that of Austria now and forty years ago. Will any one say that England, compared with Austria, is not now three times as powerful as she was thirty or forty years ago? Austria has a divided people, bankrupt finances, and her credit is so low that she cannot borrow a shilling out of her own territories; England has a united people, national wealth rapidly increasing, and a mechanical and productive power to which that of Austria is as nothing. Might not Austria complain that we have disturbed the 'balance of power,' because we are growing so much stronger from better government, from the greater union of our people, from the wealth that is created by the hard labour and skill of our population, and from the wonderful development of the mechanical resources of the kingdom which is seen on every side? If this phrase of the 'balance of power,' the meaning of which nobody can exactly make out, is to be brought in on every occasion to stimulate this country to war, there is an end to all hope of permanent peace.

"There is, indeed, a question of a 'balance of power' which this country might regard, if our statesmen had a little less of those narrow views which they sometimes arrogantly impute to me and to those who think with me. If they could get beyond those old notions which belong to the traditions of Europe, and cast their eyes as far westward as they are now looking eastward, they might see a power growing up in its gigantic proportions which will teach us before very long where the true 'balance of power' is to be found. This struggle may indeed begin with Russia, but it may end with half the states of Europe; for Austria and Prussia are just as likely to join with Russia as with England and France, and probably much more so; and we know not how long alliances which now appear very secure may remain so; for the circumstances in which the government has involved us are of the most critical character, and we stand upon a mine which may explode any day. Give us seven years of this infatuated struggle upon which we are now entering, and let the United States remain at peace during that period, and who shall say what will then be the relative positions of the two nations? Have you read the reports of your own commissioners to the New York Exhibition? Do you comprehend what is the progress of that country as exhibited in its tonnage, and exports, and imports, and manufactures, and in the development of all its resources and the means of transit? There has been nothing like it hitherto under the sun. The United States may profit to a large extent by the calamities which will befall us; whilst we, under the miserable and lunatic idea that we are about to set the worn-out Turkish Empire on its legs and permanently to sustain it against the aggressions of Russia, are entangled in a war. Our trade will decay and diminish; our people, suffering and discontented as in all former periods of war, will emigrate in increasing numbers to a country

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whose wise policy is to keep itself free from the entanglement of European politics—to a country with which rests the great question whether England shall for any long time retain that which she professes to value so highly—her great superiority in industry and at sea.

"This whole notion of the 'balance of power' is a mischievous delusion which has come down to us from past times; we ought to drive it from our minds, and to consider the solemn question of peace or war on more clear, more definite, and on far higher principles than any that are involved in the phrase, the 'balance of power.' What is it the government propose to do? Let us examine their policy as described in the message from the crown, and in the address which has been moved to-night. As I understand it we are asked to go to war to maintain the 'integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire,' to curb the aggressive power of Russia, and to defend the interests of this country.

"But what is the condition of that empire at this moment? I have already described to the house what it would have been if my policy had been adopted—if the thrice modified note of Prince Menschikoff had been accepted, or if the Vienna note had been assented to by the Porte. But what is it now under the protection of the noble lord and his colleagues? At the present moment there are no less than three foreign armies on Turkish soil: there are 100,000 Russian troops in Bulgaria; there are armies from England and France approaching the Dardanelles to entrench themselves on Turkish territory and to return nobody knows when. All this can hardly contribute to the 'independence' of any country. But more than this; there are insurrections springing up in almost every Turkish province, and insurrections which must from the nature of the Turkish government widely extend; and it is impossible to describe the anarchy which must prevail, inasmuch as the control hitherto exercised by the government to keep the peace is now gone, by the withdrawal of its troops to the banks of the Danube, and the license and demoralization engendered by ages of bad government will be altogether unchecked. In addition to these complicated horrors, there are 200,000 men under arms; the state of their finances is already past recovery, and the allies of Turkey are making demands upon her far beyond anything that was required by Russia herself. Can anything be more destructive of the 'integrity and independence' of Turkey than the policy of the noble lord?"

This then was the position taken by the man who may be said to be in absolute opposition—representing a minority, as he himself implied, too insignificant even to be called a party; but he and the coadjutor who stood by his side in this as they had stood together in a question where they at last had the country at their back, were not among the men who were likely to yield to a compromise.

There was, as we have since seen, a good deal of force in the objection that we were undertaking to repress and to curb Russian aggression. These were catching words; they had been amplified in newspapers, and had passed from mouth to mouth, and had served to blind the eyes of multitudes wholly ignorant of the details of this question. If Turkey had been in danger from the side of Russia heretofore, would she not be in far greater danger when the war was over? "Russia is always there. You do not propose to dismember Russia, or to blot out her name from the map and her history from the records of Europe. Russia will be always there—always powerful, always watchful, and actuated by the same motives of ambition, either of influence or of territory, which are supposed to have moved her in past times. What, then, do you propose to do? and how is Turkey to be secured? Will you make a treaty with Russia and force conditions upon her? But if so, what security have you that one treaty will be more binding than another? It is easy to find or make a reason for breaking a treaty when it is the interest of a country to break it."

But Mr. Bright could not let the question of "British interests" alone. "How are the interests of England involved in this question? This is, after all, the great matter which we, the representatives of the people of England, have to consider. It is not a question of

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sympathy with any other state. I have sympathy with Turkey; I have sympathy with the serfs of Russia; I have sympathy with the people of Hungary, whose envoy the noble lord the member for Tiverton refused to see, and the overthrow of whose struggle for freedom by the armies of Russia he needlessly justified in this house; I have sympathy with the Italians, subjects of Austria, Naples, and the pope; I have sympathy with the three millions of slaves in the United States; but it is not on a question of sympathy that I dare involve this country, or any country, in a war which must cost an incalculable amount of treasure and of blood. It is not my duty to make this country the knight-errant of the human race, and to take upon herself the protection of the thousand millions of human beings who have been permitted by the Creator of all things to people this planet.

"I hope no one will assume that I would invite—that is the phrase which has been used—the aggressions of Russia. If I were a Russian, speaking in a Russian parliament, I should denounce any aggression upon Turkey, as I now blame the policy of our own government; and I greatly fear I should find myself in a minority, as I now find myself in a minority on this question. But it has never yet been explained how the interests of this country are involved in the present dispute. We are not going to fight for tariffs, or for markets for our exports. In 1791 Mr. Grey argued that, as our imports from Russia exceeded £1,000,000 sterling, it was not desirable that we should go to war with a country trading with us to that amount. In 1853 Russia exported to this country at least £14,000,000 sterling, and that fact affords no proof of the increasing barbarism of Russia, or of any disregard of her own interests as respects the development of her resources. What has passed in this house since the opening of the present session? We had a large surplus revenue, and our chancellor of the exchequer is an ambitious chancellor. I have no hope in any statesman who has no ambition; he can have no great object before him, and his career will be unmarked by any distinguished services to his country.

"When the chancellor of the exchequer entered office, doubtless he hoped, by great services to his country, to build up a reputation such as a man may labour for and live for. Every man in this house, even those most opposed to him, acknowledged the remarkable capacity which he displayed during the last session, and the country has set its seal to this—that his financial measures in the remission and readjustment of taxation were worthy of the approbation of the great body of the people. The right honourable gentleman has been blamed for his speech at Manchester, not for making the speech, but because it differed from the tone of the speech made by the noble lord, his colleague in office, at Greenock. I observed that difference. There can be no doubt that there has been, and that there is now, a great difference of opinion in the cabinet on this eastern question. It could not be otherwise; and government has gone on from one step to another; they have drifted—to use the happy expression of Lord Clarendon to describe what is so truly unhappy—they have drifted from a state of peace to a state of war; and to no member of the government could this state of things be more distressing than to the chancellor of the exchequer, for it dashed from him the hopes he entertained that session after session, as trade extended and the public revenue increased, he would find himself the beneficent dispenser of blessings to the poor, and indeed to all classes of the people of this kingdom. Where is the surplus now? No man dare even ask for it, or for any portion of it.

"With regard to trade I can speak with some authority as to the state of things in Lancashire. The Russian trade is not only at an end, but it is made an offence against the law to deal with any of our customers in Russia. The German trade is most injuriously affected by the uncertainty which prevails on the Continent of Europe. The Levant trade, a very important branch, is almost extinguished in the present state of affairs in Greece, Turkey in Europe, and Syria. All property in trade is diminishing in value, whilst its burdens are increasing. The funds have fallen in value to the amount of about £120,000,000 sterling, and railway property is quoted at about

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£80,000,000 less than was the case a year ago.

"But we are sending out 30,000 troops to Turkey, and in that number are not included the men serving on board the fleets. Here are 30,000 lives! There is a thrill of horror sometimes when a single life is lost, and we sigh at the loss of a friend—or of a casual acquaintance! But here we are in danger of losing—and I give the opinions of military men, and not my own merely—10,000, or it may be 20,000 lives, that may be sacrificed in this struggle. I have never pretended to any sympathy for the military profession; but I have sympathy for my fellow-men and fellow-countrymen, wherever they may be. I have heard very melancholy accounts of the scenes which have been witnessed in the separation from families occasioned by this expedition to the East. But it will be said, and probably the noble lord the member for Tiverton will say, that it is a just war, a glorious war, and that I am full of morbid sentimentality, and have introduced topics not worthy to be mentioned in parliament. But these are matters affecting the happiness of the homes of England, and we who are the representatives and guardians of those homes, when the grand question of war is before us, should know at least that we have a case—that success is probable, and that an object is attainable which may be commensurate with the cost of war."

No wonder, we might almost say, if Lord Palmerston felt restless and took the first opportunity of letting so hard-hitting an antagonist have it back; but it was to be deplored that on the occasion already referred to "the Tipton Slasher," as his lordship was sometimes nicknamed by the lower satirists, after a once famous pugilist, did not hit fair. Probably Palmerston would have said that he took so entirely different a point of view that he would not attempt to controvert the statements of his opponent, who had misapprehended, if not misrepresented, the circumstances which alone would explain the situation.

It may be noted that Mr. Bright spoke differently with regard to Mr. Gladstone. He knew, as we have said, that he at least deplored the war, and that all his calculations were upset, and his hopes of achieving a great financial measure were frustrated by it. But Mr. Gladstone could give no practical support to Mr. Bright's arguments against interposition, and it was too late for such moral support as he could show to be of any immediate avail. In fact there has been no more emphatic, and perhaps unanswerable reply to Mr. Bright's contention than that given by Mr. Gladstone, part of which has been already noted.

"The design of the Crimean war," he wrote in 1878, "was in its groundwork the vindication of European law against an unprovoked aggression. It sought, therefore, to maintain intact the condition of the menaced party against the aggressor, or, in other words, to defend against Russia the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. The condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte in general was a subject that had never before that epoch come under the official consideration of Europe. The internal government of a country, it may safely be laid down, cannot well become the subject of effective consideration by other states except in cases where it leads to consequences in which they have a true *locus standi*, a legitimate concern on their own particular account, or on account of the general peace. In the case of Greece an insurrection growing into a civil war, and disturbing the Levant, had created this *locus standi;* and the interference of the three powers, led by Great Britain, had redressed the mischief. No like door had been opened in the other Christian provinces of Turkey. The dispute upon the holy places in 1853 had very partially opened it when Russia demanded for herself exclusively an enlarged right of intervention on behalf of the Oriental Christians. It thus became necessary, in determining the policy of the future, to take notice of the condition of the subject races. The greatest authorities, and pre-eminently Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, believed in the capacity of the Porte by internal reforms to govern its subjects on the principle of civil equality. The resolution, therefore, was taken to pursue this end, but without that infringement of the Porte's sovereign rights which Russia had

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attempted; and this resolution was formally embodied in a protocol at the outbreak of the war by the allies and by Austria. The conclusion of the peace in 1856 fell to the lot of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues. In the interest of the Porte and of the general peace of Europe they cancelled the rights of separate interference previously possessed and claimed by Russia. They took the principalities under a direct European protection. On behalf of the subject races generally they embodied in the treaty the record of the Hatti-humayoum, or edict issued by the sultan, which purported to establish securely the civil equality of all races and religions in Turkey. This was undoubtedly a covenant on the part of the sultan. But it was a covenant without penalty for breach; for the powers expressly renounced any right to call him to account—not, however, generally, but only as growing out of the communication he had made. It was thus, in cancelling the Russian treaties with the Porte, that the powers of Europe first became, by the treaty of Paris in 1856, responsible in the last resort for securing the government of the subject races in Turkey on principles of civil equality. The terms demanded from Russia before the war had been exceedingly moderate. When the war had broken out the allies justly availed themselves of their understood right to enlarge these terms. Now in July, 1854, appeared on the ground for the first time the celebrated Four Points. After the fall of Sebastopol they were again enlarged; a territorial cession, the extinction and not merely the limitation of naval power in the Black Sea, and some provisions relating to the Baltic, were exacted from Russia."

A "day of prayer and supplication" for the success of our arms by sea and land had been held on the 26th of April, 1854. It would have been called, according to precedent, a "day of humiliation;" but to this the queen had objected in a letter to the prime minister, which said: "Were the services selected for these days of a different kind from what they are, the queen would feel less strongly about it; but they always select chapters from the Old Testament and Psalms, which are so totally inapplicable that all the effect such occasions ought to have is entirely done away with. Moreover, to say (as we probably should) that *the great sinfulness of the nation* has brought about this war, when it is the selfishness and ambition and want of honesty of *one man* and his servants which has done it, while our conduct throughout has been actuated by unselfishness and honesty, would be too manifestly repulsive to the feelings of every one, and would be a mere bit of hypocrisy. Let there be a prayer expressive of our great thankfulness for the immense benefits we have enjoyed, and for the immense prosperity of the country, and entreating God's help and protection in the coming struggle. In this the queen would join heart and soul. If there is to be a day set apart, let it be for prayer in this sense."

In a second letter on the same subject her majesty wrote: "The queen had meant to speak to Lord Aberdeen yesterday about this day of 'prayer and supplication,' as she particularly wishes it should be called, and not 'fast and humiliation,' as after a calamity. Surely it should *not* be a day of *mourning*. The queen spoke very strongly about it to the archbishop, and urged great care in the selection of the service. Would Lord Aberdeen inculcate the queen's wishes into the archbishop's mind, that there be *no* Jewish *imprecations* against our enemies, &c., but an earnest expression of thankfulness to the Almighty for the immense blessings we have enjoyed, as well as of entreaty for protection of our forces by land and sea, and to ourselves in the coming struggle? If Lord Aberdeen will look at the service to be used at sea he will find a beautiful prayer, 'To be used before a fight at sea,' which the queen thinks (as well as other portions of that fine service) would be very applicable to the occasion, as there is no mention of the sea."

This opinion was supported by the national feeling, and the prayers used on the occasion were such as were deemed suitable for a people entering upon a great conflict which they believed to be justifiable, and the issues of which they desired humbly to leave to the divine wisdom and to Him who judgeth

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righteously. At the end of the year the determination for war had not abated. There was a general demand that a blow should be struck at Russia by direct invasion of the Crimea for the purpose of seizing Sebastopol. This was the course recommended by the Emperor of the French, and Lord Palmerston had by a circular addressed to the cabinet considerably influenced the action of the government. He believed that some heavy blow should be struck at the naval power and territorial dimensions of Russia, and that if that were not done during the year it would become much more difficult, and that the reputation of England and France would materially suffer. It had become evident enough that the whole brunt of conflict would be left to the two nations. Prince Albert, deploring the war in a letter to his stepmother, the Dowager-duchess of Coburg, said, "If there were a *Germany* and a *German* sovereign in Berlin it could never have happened." And the opinion was probably shared by the majority of the people of England.

The invasion of the Crimea would have appeared less difficult but for the necessity to support Omar Pacha in raising the siege of Silistria, which had been invested by the Russians. The garrison of that place was suffering from the effects of a prolonged resistance, but the allied forces were not able at that time to transport troops to the scene of action, and Lord Raglan was expecting to hear that the defenders had been compelled to surrender. Palmerston had, as Cobden implied, miscalculated the defensive strength of the Russian fortifications. He thought there were not more than 40,000 of the troops of the czar in the Crimea, and that if 25,000 English and 35,000 French could be landed somewhere in the large bay to the north of Sebastopol, they would be able to take the fort on the hill on the north side of the harbour, and would then command the harbour, fleet, and town. The capture or destruction of the Russian fleet would of course imply the surrender of the Russian troops forming the garrison of the place, or their evacuation of the Crimea by capitulation; but if the attack were deferred the Russian government would have time to strengthen the defences of the place and to increase the garrison. The allied troops, he argued, were fresh, eager, and ready for enterprise. If they remained inactive till the following spring their health might give way, their spirits flag, their mutual cordiality and good understanding be cooled down by intrigues, jealousies, and disputes; while public opinion, which now stood by the two governments and bore up the people of the two countries to make the sacrifices necessary for the war, might take another turn, and people might grow tired of the burdens which had produced no sufficient and satisfactory result. Palmerston's firm conclusion was that our only chance of bringing Russia to terms was by offensive and not by defensive operations. We and the French ought to go to the Crimea and take Sebastopol and the Russian fleet the moment our two armies were in a position to go thither. Sixty thousand English and French troops would accomplish the object in six weeks after landing. There was, he said, not the slightest danger of the Russians getting to Constantinople. The Turks were able to prevent that; but even if they could not, the Austrians would be compelled by the force of circumstances to do so. Austria had, as usual, been playing a shabby game. When she thought the Russians likely to get on, and while she fancied England and France needed hastening, she bragged of her determination to be active against Russia. As soon as she found our troops at Varna she changed her tone, and according to a despatch received by Lord Clarendon, stated that she should not enter the principalities, and that the Russians must be driven out by the English and French. She could hardly think us simple enough to do her work for her; but the best way to force her to act would be to send our troops off to the Crimea.

These were Palmerston's conclusions, but they were not altogether accurate—he had not received an intimation of the latest events. When the czar refused to retire from the principalities, Austria had concluded a convention with the Porte, by which she began to move a large and well-disciplined army into the

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principalities for the purpose of restoring there the state of affairs which had existed previous to the Russian invasion. This was followed by two striking and unexpected events. The resistance of the Turks to the continued assaults of the Russian forces had excited a good deal of surprise and admiration. The whole efforts of the Russian generals were now directed against Silistria, and at the very time when its fall was considered to be imminent, and after the Duke of Newcastle here received intelligence that it was about to surrender, there came news that the garrison there had repeatedly repulsed the besiegers. Urgent representations had come from Silistria itself that the place must be taken unless the defending force could be supported by the allied forces, but Lord Raglan had found it impossible for want of the means of land transport to move any of his troops from Varna to the scene of action. As many as 70,000 Russians were engaged under Prince Paskiewitsch in the siege and bombardment of Silistria, and tremendous preparations had been made for taking a place which was in reality the gate through which Turkey was to have been invaded. The chief fortifications of Silistria were earthworks, the principal of which was about 2000 yards in advance of the ramparts, while about midway was another. All the conventional resources of a siege were brought against them, but were ineffectual. As often as the enemy entered they were driven back in spite of mines and a storm of artillery, and the works were repaired almost as soon as they were destroyed. Nothing could overcome the dogged obstinacy of the fighting Turks. Omar Pacha, fully alive to the importance of the position, sent reinforcements to the almost overwhelmed garrison, and on the 4th of June 30,000 men went to the rescue, broke through the Russian lines, and entered the outworks. Four days afterwards 1000 Turkish soldiers stole in at midnight over the corpses of the Russians who had fallen in heaps during the repulse. The end was near, and it was perhaps to be attributed to the presence of two British officers to whom the Turks yielded the command when their own general Mussa Pacha was slain by a cannon-ball, that the result was so speedily effectual. These officers, Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, both belonged to the East India Company's service, and had offered themselves at Silistria as volunteers. Their services were at once accepted as invaluable, and to their abilities no less than to their courage the defenders owed the success of the defence. The Russians had to prepare their own defences against the expected attack of the allied forces from Varna, and they had so to concentrate their troops as to be able to retreat in case of not holding their ground. They therefore determined on a grand assault on the 13th of June, and after a tremendous cannonade and the explosion of mines, the Russian order was given to advance; but the men were suffering from sickness, they were dispirited and unwilling, and the assault was postponed to the following day. When the time came they were twice driven back from the earthworks. In vain their commanders threw themselves in front of the wavering and halting troops. Prince Paskiewitsch was slightly and Prince Gortschakoff seriously wounded, and so were Count Orloff, General Luders, and General Schilders, who had taken Silistria in the war of a quarter of a century before. Nearly all the leaders were struck down, and others had to take the command when, on the 18th, the Russians advanced to the assault towards a gap twelve yards long which had been made in the Turkish parapet. The breach seemed to promise a successful attack, but on reaching it they discovered that a new wall had been constructed behind it, manned by ready troops and bristling with guns. They fell back, and as they retreated the Turks rushed out and repaired the damage on the outer wall amidst a heavy fire of musketry. With all the enormous appliances for a regular siege, and with the loss of 12,000 men either during the assaults or by disease, the Russians had not been able to get beyond even the first earthwork. They were disheartened, and the siege was raised without much further attempt. Lieutenant Nasmyth survived the terrible conflict to receive the rewards of his gallantry, but his fellow-officer Captain Butler died of the exhaustion of endemic fever brought on by his exertions and

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the privations which he in common with the rest of the garrison had to endure.

No one was more surprised than Lord Raglan at the news that the siege of Silistria had been raised, and soon afterwards another reverse was given to the Russian arms by the complete defeat of General Soimonoff at Giurgevo on the 7th of July, after which the whole of the Russian forces precipitately retired beyond the Pruth, their movements having probably been accelerated by the preparations made by Austria, added to the necessity for giving all their resources to the defence of Sebastopol and the prevention of the advance of the allied armies in the Crimea.

The retreat of the Russians from Silistria made the invasion of the Crimea easier, because the Turkish garrison was released, and there was no longer need to send troops from Varna to their assistance. In any case an attack on Sebastopol would have taken place; all England seemed to be crying out for it, and the popular voice was represented in the House of Lords by no less a personage than the aged Lord Lyndhurst, who spoke with much fire and enthusiasm, his words being hailed with repeated cheering.

"Look," he said, "at her whole conduct, and then, if any person can be credulous enough to trust in any statement of Russia, or in any engagement into which she may enter contrary to her own interests, all I can say is, that I admire the extent of his faith. Let me recall to your lordships' recollection what took place at St. Petersburg. . . . Sir H. Seymour heard that Russian troops were being collected on the Russian frontier: he was satisfied with his authority, and he mentioned the circumstance to Count Nesselrode. The count contradicted the statement; he said to Sir H. Seymour: 'Do not believe what you hear, believe only what you see; all that is taking place is only a change in the position of our armies, which is usual at this season of the year. I assure you, you are mistaken. . . .' Is this the system, and are these the persons on whose assurances we are to depend. . . .?

"When the interests of millions are at stake, when the liberties of mankind are at issue, away with confidence. Confidence generally ends in credulity. This is true of statesmen as of individuals. My lords, the history of Russia, from the establishment of the empire down to the present moment, is a history of fraud, duplicity, trickery, artifice, and violence. The present emperor has proclaimed himself protector of the Greek Church in Turkey, just as the Empress Catherine declared herself protector of the Greek Church in Poland. By means of that protectorate she fomented dissensions and stirred up political strife in the country. She then marched into Poland under the pretence of allaying tumults, and stripped the kingdom of some of its fairest provinces. We know the ultimate result; it is too familiar to require more particular reference.

"Look at another instance of Russian policy of more recent occurrence. Russia agreed to a treaty with Turkey, by which she recognized the independence of the Crimea. Nevertheless she stirred up insurrections in that country, under the old pretence of protecting one party against another, and when the opportunity offered she sent Suwaroff, one of her most barbarous generals, into the Crimea, who murdered the inhabitants and despoiled them of their territory, while a line of Russian ships invested the coast, and cut off all communication with Constantinople. At the very moment when this was being done Russia was not only at peace with Turkey, but was actually negotiating a treaty of commerce with her. . . . Russia has doubled her European territories within the last fifty years, and yet she is bent on possessing herself of Khiva. The loss of two armies does not deter her from prosecuting this purpose, although the place cannot be of the slightest value to her, except as affording her the means of annoying us in respect to our Eastern possessions. In this way does Russia go on for ever. Take the most recent instance. While Nicholas was pretending to act the part of protector of Turkey, and trying to cajole the sultan with professions of friendship and esteem, he was at the time planning the partition of his empire. This is the emperor with whom you are now dealing, and on whose statements and representations we are to rely."

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On the subject of the object of the war and of material guarantees he said:—

"This will depend a good deal on the events of the war. This, however, I unhesitatingly declare, that in no event, except that of extreme necessity, ought we to make peace without previously destroying the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and laying prostrate the fortifications by which it is defended. . . . My lords," said the old orator in conclusion, "I feel strongly on this subject, and I believe that if this barbarous nation, this enemy of all progress except that which tends to strengthen and consolidate its own power, this state which punishes education as a crime, should once succeed in establishing itself in the heart of Europe, it would be the greatest calamity that could befall the human race."

This was strong enough, and it roused Lord Clarendon into the declaration on the part of the government, that all Europe was not to be disturbed, great interests were not to be injured, the people were not to have fresh burdens imposed upon them, great social and commercial relations were not to be abruptly torn asunder, and all the greatest powers of Europe were not to be united in arms for an insignificant result.

The effect of these declarations was somewhat damaged by what followed. Lord Derby rose and delivered a violent harangue, which was little more than a repetition of the emphatic protest of Lord Lyndhurst, and the Earl of Aberdeen then thought fit to reply in terms so mild and reluctant, that they increased the suspicion that he was coldly prosecuting a war, which, as it was now unavoidable, must be prompt and effective. So quick were the indignant remonstrances at his supposed desire to defer hostile operations, that he had to defend himself by references to his expressed opinions at the time of the treaty of Adrianople. There were still so many men who held moderate views, and who deplored the war, that the prime minister was able for a time to convince the house that he had acted throughout only with a desire to avoid war as long as possible, and with no intention of abating the demands or the just claims of the nation against Russia. The bitter attacks on his personal sincerity (for he was accused of acting under a sentiment of friendship for the czar) or his honest patriotism he would not stoop to reply to. Of his attitude with respect to the war he said:—

"It is true, my lords, that I have, perhaps more than any other man in this country, struggled to maintain a state of peace. I have done so because I thought it a duty to the people of this country, a duty to God and man, first to exhaust every possible measure to obtain peace before we engaged in war. I may own, though I trust my conscience acquits me of not having done the utmost, that I only regret not having done enough, or lest I may have lost some possible means of averting what I consider the greatest calamity that can befall a country. It has been said that my desire for peace unfits me to make war; but how and why do I wish to make war? I wish to make war in order to obtain peace, and no weapon that can be used in war can make the war so sure and speedy, to attain peace, as to make that war with the utmost vigour and determination."

A plan for the attack of Sebastopol had been sketched by the Emperor of the French, and received by the Duke of Newcastle, who stated that it met with his approval as well as that of Lord Raglan, Lord de Ros, and Lord Clarendon. It could not be carried out in the early part of the campaign, while Constantinople had to be protected by the whole force, but now it became more feasible, and at a cabinet council at Lord John Russell's house at Richmond it was determined to adopt a draft of instructions, urging a prompt attack upon Sebastopol and the Russian fleet. It was understood that the final decision was to be left to Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud after they had consulted with Omar Pacha; but, perhaps with the peculiar indefinite blundering which characterized so many of the immediately practical details in relation to the war, this decision does not seem to have been very clearly expressed. The document may have been drawn with anxious care and attention, but if we are to believe Mr. King-

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lake's account of the meeting of the cabinet, all its members except a small minority were asleep. At any rate, Lord Raglan regarded the message as little short of an absolute order from the secretary of state, and on that ground would have prepared to obey it.

He replied, indeed, that he intended to attack Sebastopol more in deference to the views of the British government, and to the known acquiescence of the Emperor Napoleon in those views, than to any information in the possession of the naval and military authorities, either as to the extent of the enemy's forces or their state of preparation. "The fact," he said, "must not be concealed, that neither the English nor the French admirals have been able to obtain any intelligence on which they can rely, with respect to the army which the Russians may destine for operations in the field, or to the number of men allotted for the defence of Sebastopol; and Marshal St. Arnaud and myself are equally deficient in information upon these all-important questions, and there would seem to be no chance of our acquiring it." The English commander would not take more than his share of so great a responsibility, and though he determined to proceed at once to move against Sebastopol, he afterwards received precise instructions to take that course. Hostile preparations had gone almost too far now to be recalled, even if a reaction had set in, but there were no signs of reaction, and only a few people contended that arbitration might still be possible.

"Parliament," says Mr. Kinglake, "was sitting, and it might be imagined that there was something to say against the plan for invading a province of Russia at a moment when all the main causes of dispute were vanishing. But parliament had shown that it did not consider, any more than did the country, that 'the main causes of the dispute were vanishing;' while the response awakened by Lord Lyndhurst's words showed conclusively enough how eager it was for the invasion of the Crimea. The destruction of Sebastopol, indeed, was the thought uppermost in men's minds, and between this time and the period when it was known that the expedition with that object had been decided upon, the press rang with reproaches on the supineness of the government in not hurling the allied forces at the great naval stronghold of the czar."

To the same end the *Times* insisted (and it represented the general voice of the country): —"We are now approaching the sixth month of actual hostilities, and as yet not a shot has been fired by the land forces of England. . . . The broad policy of the war consists in striking at the very heart of the Russian power in the East, and that heart is at Sebastopol. . . . To destroy Sebastopol is nothing less than to demolish the entire fabric of Russian ambition in those very regions where it is most dangerous to Europe. This feat, and this only, would have really promoted the solid and durable objects of the war."

But there was another powerful incentive to further action. The troops at Varna were dying of cholera, which was most fatal in the French camp, where it increased with such rapidity that it was said fifteen died out of every twenty-five who were attacked with the pestilence, and fatigue parties were constantly engaged in burying the dead. Varna, with environs lovely to the eye, was just the town which, when crowded with soldiery, was liable to such a fearful mortality. Standing in Bulgaria on the shores of the Black Sea, 160 miles north-west of Constantinople, and containing ordinarily about 14,000 inhabitants, it was about as ill calculated as any other Turkish fortified town to receive a large accession to the number of those who dwelt in its vicinity, or took up quarters in the ill-drained, irregular, and neglected streets. Forty thousand men were encamped around the walls, and those streets were crowded with soldiery in all the disorder of a camp where there is little space to move. The British troops had their camp at Aladyn amidst a beautiful landscape a few miles distant; but there was hearty fellowship between the forces. The English and French soldiers, as well as the officers, were always ready to show that they regarded each other as good comrades, and to prove by deeds of kindness and mutual help that they desired a lasting friendship. They had one common

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grievance, which increased after the raising of the siege of Silistria till it almost overcame discipline. Why were they not led against the enemy? The impatience of some of the French regiments, like the Zouaves, those agile soldiers from Africa, who had been used to be foremost in active assaults, was extreme. It may be imagined what were the feelings of the men when the cholera was so thinning their ranks that they began to ask themselves how many of the army would be left to meet the foe when it pleased their governments and their generals to take them into action. The French hospital at Varna soon became incapable of receiving the number of sick, and the sufferers had to be treated in field hospitals. A dark cloud of gloom and depression fell upon the men. The change from their former gaiety and light-heartedness made the effects of the calamity more conspicuous than it was in the British camp. The English troops suffered less at first; but the malady increased, and fifteen to sixteen deaths a day were the hospital returns. Aladyn, where the camp had been pitched, was known (to the inhabitants) as a hotbed of malaria, and Devus, the neighbouring beautiful valley, where a number of the tents had been placed, had long been named by the Turks "the Valley of Death." This title had been too sadly justified before our decimated troops were removed and spread over a larger space in a wider encampment. The vicinity of the late encampment became a cemetery, so numerous were the graves; and the men who recovered, like those 600 of the 3000 guards, the flower of the army, who took two days to march ten miles into Varna, though they had their packs carried for them, moved about like sickly shadows of their former selves. It may easily be imagined how the ordinary men suffered; and the mortality and sickness was increased by the strange reckless excess which has so often followed the first terror of pestilence. Discipline was necessarily less strict, and many of the men, French and English, often clubbed together to procure extras, consisting too frequently of coarse and unwholesome stimulants, or of improper articles of food. The epidemic reached the fleet, and so increased that the English and French ships in Baltchik Bay and the harbour of Varna stood out to sea. As is frequently the case fire followed plague, and Varna was threatened with destruction by the lighting of a spirit-shop near the French commissariat stores. For ten hours the sailors were using every effort to avert the progress of the flames which ran from street to street, and were not extinguished till a fourth part of the town and a very large quantity of military rations and stores were consumed. Had the fire not been suppressed the whole place might have been burned, and the armies left to famine. The catastrophe was attributed to the Greeks, one of whom was seen to set light to the spirits with a torch as they flowed into the streets. He was cut down, and six or seven of his countrymen were bayoneted by the French soldiers.

Not only the men but many officers were suffering from the effects of cholera or dysentery. Marshal St. Arnaud was himself among the number, and his condition was serious. But the order to leave Varna and embark for the Crimea was heard with delight by the soldiers. Their comrades had been falling around them attacked by a foe against whom they seemed to be powerless. Now orders came to move forward to assault a tangible enemy. They had not all been inactive. Lord Cardigan with the light cavalry had been sent to ascertain the position of the Russian army; but though he had explored the country as far as Trajan's Wall on the border of the Dorbrudscha, he had only learned that the siege of Silistria was raised and the Russian army in retreat towards Bessarabia. Sir George Brown, General Canrobert, and several French and English officers had been on board the *Fury* to explore the Crimean coast and search for a proper landing-place for the army near Sebastopol; but they were discovered and fired upon from the ramparts. Then Marshal St. Arnaud sent a division under Canrobert for another expedition to the Dorbrudscha, expecting that they would meet with a Russian force; but nothing came of it except a slight cavalry skirmish and an alarming number of deaths by cholera, which the troops took with them on their march, and

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of which seven thousand of them perished. No large force of the Russians was encountered, and it was afterwards known that the Emperor of the French was exceedingly displeased at so fruitless an expedition having been undertaken. The voyage to the Crimea could not and need not be any longer delayed. On the 7th of September the allied forces, consisting of 24,000 English, 22,000 French, and 8000 Turks, sailed from Varna, and on the evening of the 14th were landed at the "Old Fort," some distance from the town of Eupatoria. It was a tremendous movement, in which 600 vessels were employed, protected by a fleet carrying 3000 cannon. Some blunders and a good deal of confusion would have been excusable, and there were more than could well be excused; but once landed, the troops recovered their spirits, military discipline and efficiency were restored, and the two armies were ready to act in concert. No enemy opposed them. The town of Eupatoria, formidable as it appeared from the sea, surrendered at the first summons. It would appear from the fact of the armies being suffered to land, and then meeting with no resistance, that the czar and his generals thought they could keep them in the Crimea like rats in a trap, and so allow them to come on, only to annihilate them as they approached. A Russian officer and four mounted Cossacks were seen, the officer taking notes of the debarkation of the troops; but the reconnoitering steam-vessels reported that the Russian army was encamped on the heights to the south of the river Alma. Thither the two armies commenced their march on the 19th of September, 1854. During the night bivouac the allied commanders arranged the plan of the engagement. On the morning of the 20th a thick mist obscured the heights and nothing could be seen. It was thought that the Russians had retired; but a breeze stirred, the haze lifted like a curtain, and there were the Muscovite troops with formidable batteries and strong natural ramparts of rock and ravine. The allied inshore squadron of vessels, headed by the *Agamemnon*, were to keep close to the coast and cover an advance and attack by Bosquet's division, which was to advance along the sea-shore, force the heights, and turn the enemy's left flank. The *Agamemnon* took up a position at the mouth of the Alma, and General Bosquet's men with a contingent of Turks descended from the heights of Bouljavak, followed and supported further inland by the divisions of Prince Napoleon and Generals Canrobert and Forey.

General Bosquet's division crossed the river near the mouth about 11·30, the Turkish battalion passing at the same time close to the bar and within musket-range of the beach. This movement was unopposed. With inconceivable rapidity the Zouaves swarmed up the cliff, and it was not till they formed on the height and deployed from behind a mound there that the Russian batteries opened upon them. Waiting the development of the French attack, Lord Raglan caused our infantry for a time to lie down and remain quite passive; but, wearying of this inactivity and anticipating a little in a military point of view the crisis of action, he gave orders for our whole line to advance. "Up rose those serried masses," wrote the *Times'* correspondent, "and, passing through a fearful shower of round case-shot and shell, they dashed into the Alma and floundered through the waters, which were literally torn into foam by the deadly hail. At the other side of the river were a number of vineyards occupied by Russian riflemen. Three of the staff were here shot down; but, led by Lord Raglan in person, they advanced, cheering on the men. And now came the turning-point of the battle, in which Lord Raglan, by his sagacity and military skill, probably secured the victory at a smaller sacrifice than would have been otherwise the case. He dashed over the bridge followed by his staff. Then commenced one of the most bloody and determined struggles in the annals of war. The 2d division, led by Sir De Lacy Evans, in the most dashing manner crossed the stream on the right. The 7th Fusiliers, led by Colonel Yea, were swept down by fifties. The 55th, 30th, and 95th, led by Brigadier Pennefather (who was in the thickest of the fight cheering on his men), again and again were checked, indeed, but never drew back in their onward progress, which was marked by

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a fierce roll of Minié musketry; and Brigadier Adams, with the 41st, 47th, and 49th, bravely charged up the hill and aided them in the battle. Sir George Brown, conspicuous on a gray horse, rode in front of his light division, urging them with voice and gesture. The 7th, diminished by one half, fell back to reform their columns lost for the time; the 23d, with eight officers dead and four wounded, were still rushing to the front, aided by the 15th, 33d, 77th, and 88th. Down went Sir George in a cloud of dust in front of the battery. He was soon up, and shouted, '23d, I'm all right,' be sure I'll remember this day,' and led them on again; but in the shock produced by the fall of their chief the gallant regiment suffered terribly while paralysed for the moment. Meantime the guards on the right of the light division and the brigade of the Highlanders were storming the heights on the left. Their line was almost as regular as though they were in Hyde Park. Suddenly a tornado of round and grape rushed through from the terrible battery, and a roar of musketry from behind it thinned their front ranks by dozens. It was evident that our troops were just able to contend with the Russians, favoured as they were by a great position. At this very time an immense mass of Russian infantry were seen moving down towards the battery. They halted. It was the crisis of the day. Sharp, angular, and solid, they looked as if they were cut out of the solid rock. It was beyond all doubt that if our infantry, harassed and thinned as they were, got into the battery, they would have to encounter a formidable fire, which they were but ill calculated to bear. Lord Raglan saw the difficulties of the situation. He asked if it would be possible to get a couple of guns to bear on these masses. The reply was 'Yes;' and an artillery officer brought up two guns to fire on the Russian squares. The first shot missed, but the next, and the next, and the next cut through the ranks so cleanly, and so keenly, that a clear lane could be seen for a moment through the square. After a few rounds the columns of the square became broken, waved to and fro, broke, and fled over the brow of the hill, leaving behind them six or seven distinct lines of dead lying as close as possible to each other, marking the passage of the fatal messengers. This act relieved our infantry of a great incubus, and they continued their magnificent and fearful progress. The Duke of Cambridge encouraged his men by voice and example, and proved himself worthy of his proud command, and of the royal race from whence he comes. 'Highlanders,' said Sir Colin Campbell, ere they came to the charge, 'I am going to ask a favour of you; it is, that you will act so as to justify me in asking permission of the queen for you to wear a bonnet! Don't pull a trigger till you're within a yard of the Russians!' They charged, and well they obeyed their chieftain's wish. Sir Colin had his horse shot under him; but he was up immediately and at the head of his men, shouting, 'We'll hae nane but Highland bonnets here!' but the guards passed on abreast, and claimed with the 33d the honour of capturing a cannon. They had stormed the right of the battery ere the Highlanders had got into the left, and it is said the Scots Fusilier Guards were the first to enter. The 2d and light division crowned the heights. The French turned the guns on the hill against the flying masses, which the cavalry in vain tried to cover. A few faint struggles from the scattered infantry, a few rounds of cannon and musketry, and the enemy fled to the south-east, leaving three generals, 700 prisoners, and 4000 killed and wounded behind them."

The allied loss was 619 killed and 2860 wounded. The Russian loss was reported to be about 8000. Soon after the commencement of the engagement it was evident that the battle would be decided by the energy and courage of our men rather than by any remarkable strategy on the part of the commanders, and this was the case throughout the Crimean campaign. It was fighting against a foe whose forces and dispositions were unknown, and of which little intelligence could be obtained. The chief orders that could be given were: "There is the enemy," or "There is the position"—"go and beat him," or "go and take it." The officers were unable to do more than to give initial directions to lead and encourage, and to share the dangers and privations

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FIELD-MARSHAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B.
LORD CLYDE.
FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR FRANCIS GRANT, P.R.A.
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of their men. Following the attack of the Alma, which had been bravely opposed by the Russians, the allies forced their way into the enemy's entrenchments, but were too much fatigued and too weak in cavalry to follow up their advantage. After resting they marched on, keeping near the sea, and it was afterwards said that had the fleet forced its way into the harbour of Sebastopol immediately upon the landing of the troops, and had the land forces attacked the north-west side of the stronghold, which was but poorly fortified, Sebastopol would have been taken. Of course there were plenty of critics at home who, after the necessary information had been obtained, found it easy to say what should have been done; but there seems to have been reason to think that Lord Raglan, old and cautious, but calmly intrepid, would have achieved or at least attempted it. He would, however, have needed the aid of his fellow commander St. Arnaud with all the French dash and daring, but St. Arnaud was dying, and would not, perhaps could not, give his concurrence. He was suffering great agony, and the enterprise which might have prevented a protracted siege was abandoned. The allied armies continued their march southwards past Sebastopol to Balaklava, where they pitched their camps near the coast, whence they would receive ammunition, provisions, and all the material supplies for carrying on an assault against a fortress-town, which the czar probably thought would be impregnable.

Meanwhile every day brought to England fresh tidings of the events of that memorable fight, when, in a few hours, the Russian army was driven from a commanding position, which Prince Menschikoff had pledged himself to the czar to hold against the invaders for three weeks. On the 8th Lord Burghersh arrived in London, bearing despatches from Lord Raglan with the details of the battle. The Duke of Newcastle, writing to the queen the same day, said the report as to the commander-in-chief was "that never for a moment did Lord Raglan evince any greater excitement or concern than he shows on ordinary occasions. Never since the days of the great Duke has any army felt such confidence in and love for its leader, and never probably did any general acquire such influence over the allies, with whom he was acting." To the same effect was the report, the day after the battle, of Brigadier-general Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn) to the Duke of Newcastle. "As my duty," he wrote, "is to report to your lordship facts, I certainly ought not to omit an important one, which ensured the success of the day. I speak of the perfect calmness of Lord Raglan under heavy fire, and his determination to carry the most difficult position in his front, a feat in arms which has excited the universal admiration of the French army."

What Lord Raglan himself had to report of the conduct of the troops was all that could be wished. Wasted for two months previously by the scourge of cholera, which "pursued them to the very battle-field . . . exposed since they had landed in the Crimea to the extremes of wet, cold, and heat . . . in the ardour of the attack they forgot all they had endured and displayed that high courage for which the British soldier is ever distinguished; and under the heaviest fire they maintained the same determination to conquer as they had exhibited before they went into action."

For some time a report that Sebastopol had been taken was widely believed, the Earl of Aberdeen being himself at last induced to give it credence; but the rumour was of course unfounded. Enough had been done, and enough remained to be done, to cause intense excitement in London. Even at the theatres and in the streets the victory of the Alma was announced and rejoiced over. The war-fever was not likely to abate then—nor did it.

The cordial co-operation between France and England had been strengthened by a visit from Prince Albert to the emperor, who had invited him to view the French army of 100,000 men established during the summer in a camp between St. Omer and Boulogne. It was the great desire of Napoleon III. at that time to secure the personal friendship of the queen and the prince consort, and he proceeded with judicious caution to inquire of Lord Cowley confidentially whether such an invitation would

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be acceptable. It was obvious enough that the interview would be of great importance, not only in removing the prejudice which still existed against the "*parvenu*," but in increasing the confidence of the French people in his position. On the other hand it would secure the firm alliance of the French nation in carrying out the war. Some emphasis was laid by the English minister on "the impression which Prince Albert's sound understanding must make upon his majesty," and on the results which it might produce. That the emperor was greatly pleased with the visit may well be understood. The King of the Belgians had also been invited, but could not remain for more than three days, and left before the arrival of the prince. The Belgian government had been so averse to his majesty's compliance with the request that they almost forbade it. Leopold, however, was not the kind of man to submit to ministerial dictation arising from mere suspicion, and paid the brief visit even though his ministry actually resigned in consequence of it. The young King of Portugal and his brother were the other imperial guests; but they had departed for England before Prince Albert's arrival. The companionship of the prince with Napoleon III. became, therefore, the more confidential, and in that sense the more complimentary. During the few days that they were together they agreed well enough, and the emperor afterwards expressed a high admiration for the knowledge possessed by the prince consort, as well as for his frank and truthful manner, which was guarded only by an evident desire to present his views with a serious and scrupulous accuracy. The liking was mutual, for the cordial courtesy and evident gratification of the emperor was flattering, and his expressed desire for information on many topics relating to the political history of the time was apparently sincere. No one ever supposed that Napoleon the Third was what the Americans call a first-class man, and Prince Albert, whose range of knowledge and mastery of political questions was very remarkable, found his imperial host surprisingly ignorant on points which should have been made of the first importance. He noticed also a barrack-room tone about his surroundings;[1] but there was politeness, unbounded hospitality, evident pleasure, and even gratitude for the distinction of a visit from the husband of the queen, and remarkable modesty of demeanour. The emperor was below the prince both in ability and in attainments, a fact which Lord Palmerston, who knew them both well, had found out already, and had expressed with his usual shrewd candour. One example of the frankness of the prince was his expression of opinion that the Belgians had a right to object to the visit of King Leopold if it was against the interests of the country; but of course he did not conclude that any such reason for objection existed. The emperor had been delighted with the conversation of the king, and now equally enjoyed the companionship of his nephew. Only four days were occupied by the visit, and they were days of fatiguing activity, for the weather was exceedingly sultry; the French were early risers, and reviewing, riding, driving, or walking occupied the time from morning till night, with intervals for necessary lunching and dining; but much conversation occurred during the rides or drives. Not a minute but seems to have been turned to some account in this respect. Napoleon the Third may well have been

[1] The prince, in the accurate memoranda which he made of this visit, said:—

"His court and household are strictly kept, and in good order, more English than French. The gentlemen composing his *entourage* are not distinguished by birth, manner, or education. He lives on a very familiar footing with them, although they seemed afraid of him. The tone was rather the *ton de garnison*, with a good deal of smoking; the emperor smoking cigarettes, and not being able to understand my not joining him in it. He is very chilly, complains of rheumatism, and goes early to bed; takes no pleasure in music, and is proud of his horsemanship—in which, however, I could discover nothing remarkable.

"His general education appeared to me very deficient, even on subjects which are of a first necessity to him—I mean the political history of modern times and political sciences generally. He was remarkably modest, however, in acknowledging these defects, and showed the greatest candour in not pretending to know what he did not. All that refers to Napoleonic history he seems to have at his fingers' end; he also appears to have thought much and deeply on politics; yet more like an 'amateur politician,' mixing many very sound and many very crude notions together. He admires English institutions, and regrets the absence of an aristocracy in France; but might not be willing to allow such an aristocracy to control his own power, whilst he might wish to have the advantage of its control over the pure democracy."

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gratified, not only by the cordial tone in which the prince consort had accepted his invitation, but by the autograph letter which he carried from the queen, and by the evident intention of her majesty to make a personal friendship with the empress. The prince, in a letter to the queen written immediately before his return, says:—

"I have in general terms expressed to the emperor your wish to see him in England, and also to make the empress's acquaintance. His answer was, he hoped on the contrary to have an opportunity of receiving you in Paris. Next year the Louvre would be completed for the Exhibition. I must leave the matter here, and unless he says, 'I will come, when can the queen receive me?' I cannot fix any date."

After reaching Osborne he wrote to the emperor:—

"The remembrance of the days I have just spent there (in France), as well as of the trustful cordiality with which you have honoured me, shall not be effaced from my memory. I found the queen and our children well, and she charges me with a thousand kind messages for your majesty."

This was effusive enough, and must have been peculiarly acceptable to a sovereign who had succeeded to power by a *coup d'état*, and had not yet obtained full recognition from the other sovereigns of Europe. The English alliance was indeed an important event to him, and Prince Albert knew it.

"The emperor's best chance," he recorded in his memoranda, "is the English alliance, which not only gives steadiness to his foreign policy, but, by predisposing in his favour the English press, protects him from the only channel through which public opinion in France, if hostile to him, could find vent. I told him that we should be glad to see him in England, and that the queen would be delighted to make acquaintance with the empress."

In reading of the cordial feeling manifested towards the Emperor of the French we can scarcely help suspecting that the mean and shifty conduct of the King of Prussia gave it greater emphasis since the emperor's manner and avowed policy contrasted favourably with the attitude assumed by the self-excusing sovereign, who had written another long and rather whining letter, to again receive a very direct and reproachful reply. The emperor, if he played diplomatically for the good-will of the queen and the prince, did it so well that nobody discovered he was playing at all, and the friendship which ensued between the royal and imperial acquaintances apparently continued undiminished. Napoleon the Third always used warmly appreciative language in speaking of the ability and the character of Prince Albert. The letter which he sent back to the queen after this first visit said: "The presence of your majesty's estimable consort in the midst of a French camp is a fact of the utmost political significance, since it demonstrates the intimate union of the two countries. But to-day I prefer not to dwell on the political aspect of this visit, but to tell you in all sincerity how happy it has made me to be for several days in the society of a prince so accomplished, a man endowed with qualities so seductive, and with knowledge so profound. He may feel assured that he carries with him my sentiments of high esteem and friendship. But the more I have been enabled to appreciate Prince Albert, the more it behoves me to be touched by the kindness of your majesty in agreeing on my account to part with him for several days." The return visit of the emperor and empress to England was, as we know, paid in the following year, and was marked by the warm reception given to the sovereign who had shown himself to be our firm ally in the war which was then at a point that caused the gravest anxiety, since Sebastopol was not taken, and the two armies in the Crimea seemed to have been committed to an indefinitely protracted campaign. It is well known that the emperor was impatiently desirous of going out himself to the camp, and the representations which were made to him in England no less than the remonstrances of his ministers and his own generals in command delayed the resolve until the fall of Sebastopol rendered further military operations unnecessary. This determination had been made known to England through a letter

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to Lord Palmerston. Napoleon III. was, like the rest of the world in Paris and London, restless while the allied armies were inactive; and he conceived that a more decisive movement would be made if he went in person and in conference with Lord Raglan and General Canrobert took the undivided command for the purpose of securing necessary unity of view and of action. Obviously the camp at St. Omer and the army which had been gathered there were not without purpose, and here was the opportunity; but such a proposition was not to be received without grave representations from England as well as from France, although the emperor emphatically stated that should he go to the Crimea the honour of the British flag would be his first consideration even beyond that of his own. This was said after Lord Clarendon had gone to Boulogne for the purpose of discussing the whole question and laying before him the objections to his proposed assumption of military leadership in the Crimea. It did not appear to have occurred to him that such serious objections would exist. He had argued that Sebastopol could not, as matters stood, be taken except at an immense sacrifice of life. The army defending it, reinforced from time to time as it was from without, was in a position of immense advantage. The army from which it drew its reinforcements, on the contrary, was badly placed for meeting any vigorous attack on the part of the allies. Let them succeed in that attack, and Sebastopol must fall into their hands upon comparatively easy terms. For this purpose two things were necessary:—first, a plan of action conceived in secret and executed promptly; next certain reinforcements in men, with an adequate transport service of horses and mules. He was prepared to find the additional men if England on her part would find the vessels to carry what was wanted in the way of horses and mules to the Crimea. Leaving a sufficient force at Sebastopol for the purposes of the siege, he expected to be able to take into the field 62,000 French and the 15,000 Piedmontese, who, under a convention concluded in the previous January with the King of Sardinia, were then upon their way to support the allies in the Crimea. "With these forces at the disposal of the allies, all the chances would be on their side, for the Russians had only 30,000 men at Sebastopol, and 45,000 echeloned between it and Simpheropol, and very probably they would not receive much in the way of reinforcements before the 1st of April." "Strike quickly," he said, "and Sebastopol will be ours before the 1st of May."

"You will tell me, perhaps," he had written to Lord Palmerston, "that I might intrust some general with this mission. Now, not only would such a general not have the same moral influence; but time would be wasted, as it always has been, in memorandums between Canrobert and Lord Raglan, between Lord Raglan and Omar Pasha. The propitious moment would be lost, the favourable chances let slip, and we should find ourselves with a besieging army unable to take the city, and with an active army not strong enough to beat the army opposed to it."

There was much in these representations; but the objection to the emperor's proposals were as strong in Paris as in London, and Lord Clarendon put the matter plainly before him, that should he go at once to the Crimea his presence could not expedite the transport of men nor the coaling of the ships which were to convey 10,000 additional French troops and the Sardinian contingent. After the emperor left France he would have to wait inactive for about a month, and it would be six or perhaps eight weeks before the reinforcements arrived. Would it not be better for him to wait till all was ready, and then to go and give only the *dernier coup de main*—the finishing stroke? This was a happy phrase, and it took. "That is the word," said the emperor; "the finishing stroke." It was good advice, and he yielded. He must inevitably have been away from Paris for four months even under favourable conditions; and should he have failed at first he must have carried on the campaign till he succeeded. It would never have done for him to return to France carrying a defeat, nor could he venture to be away from France for any long time. He must be there by the beginning of May. The representation that the alliance would be in instant danger if it began to be supposed that England was merely

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to be the carrier for the French and Sardinian troops, and that her men were to be allowed to go on rotting in the trenches while the honour and glory of a new campaign would be allotted to the French with the emperor in supreme command, affected him keenly, and he protested with much emphasis that he hoped nobody considered him capable of entertaining any such intention for a moment. To support the alliance and the honour of the English flag was his desire and his unvarying determination. However, the imperial expedition to the Crimea was postponed on the 16th of April, and he came on a visit to England, accompanied by the empress. They arrived at Dover in a dense fog, in which two steamers of the French squadron had run aground near the South Foreland; the fleet of English war steamers assembled off the port to add distinction to the imperial visit had become invisible, and the imperial yacht had considerable difficulty in making the admiralty pier. But the emperor was no stranger to the casual peculiarities of the English climate, and he and the empress received a compensating welcome not only at Dover, but on their arrival in London on the way to Windsor. Two significant circumstances of the visit were noted at the time. One was the scene presented by the clubs in Pall Mall which was particularly animated. Among those who watched the cortege there must have been many who had known the imperial guest in those days when he was an exile in London. He himself drew the attention of the empress to the house in which he had formerly lived in King Street. The other incident occurred at Windsor. The splendid suite of apartments prepared for the visitors, including the Rubens, the Zuccarelli and the Vandyke rooms, were the same as those formerly assigned to Louis Philippe and his family, and the emperor's bedroom was the same which had been occupied by the King of the French, and earlier still by the Emperor Nicholas. Only three days before the arrival of Napoleon III. the queen had received a visit from the deposed and widowed Queen Marie Amélie. In the royal diary the entry ran:—"It made us both so sad to see her drive away in a plain coach with miserable post-horses, and to think that this was the Queen of the French, and that six years ago her husband was surrounded by the same pomp and grandeur which three days hence would surround his successor. The contrast was painful in the extreme."

But the welcome to the coming guests was none the less simple and cordial. Indeed they were quickly regarded with feelings of friendship which appeared to be warmly reciprocated. Of the Empress Eugenie especially both the queen and the prince consort spoke with admiration and regard. The emperor seemed entirely to have lost the *ton de garnison*, or he knew how to leave it behind at St. Omer. The queen records that he was "so very quiet" that his voice was low and soft, and that instead of dealing in mere phrases he spoke with an earnestness and even an intensity of meaning which made all his serious conversation important. The grace, beauty, and gentleness of the empress is also warmly mentioned in the royal diary. One of the most important days during the visit to Windsor Castle was that on which the emperor was invested by the queen with the Order of the Garter. After the ceremony, as they were going along to the emperor's apartments he said, "I heartily thank your majesty. It is one bond the more; I have given my oath of fidelity to your majesty, and I will keep it carefully." He added a little later, "It is a great event for me, and I hope I may be able to prove my gratitude to your majesty and to your country." At dinner, among other topics, that of the French refugees in London came up. "He said that when assassination was loudly and openly advocated they should not enjoy hospitality. . . . He had the same opinion as his uncle, which was, that when there was a conspiracy that was known, and you could take your precautions, there was no danger; but that when a fanatic chose to attack you and to sacrifice his own life, you could do little or nothing to prevent it."

After dinner the queen had some conversation with Maréchal Vaillant, French minister of war, whom her majesty describes in her

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graphic, piquant manner as "tall and very large, quite in the style of Lablache, with small but fine features—a charming, amusing, clever, and honest old man who is an universal favourite." He was very much against the emperor's going to the Crimea. He hoped, however, that the council of war which had been held at Windsor had had some effect on him. Of Prince Albert the marshal said, "Le Prince votre époux a été bien net," and had always brought people back to the point when they digressed. The emperor also told the queen that if it had not been for Prince Albert nothing would have been done.

An orchestral concert closed the evening. In concluding her record of the day the queen says of the emperor, "His manners are particularly good, easy, quiet, and dignified—as if he had been born a king's son and brought up for the place."

It is certain that the hospitalities of Windsor were given with infinite tact, grace, and simplicity. It was that most complimentary reception which at once introduces the guests into the confidence of family life, and this gave greater zest to the pomp and ceremony of those public occasions, when the imperial guests were, so to speak, received by the people of England. They were greeted with great enthusiasm not only at the Windsor review but at the Crystal Palace, where about twenty thousand persons had assembled in the grounds to see the royal and imperial party, who from the balcony beheld the spectacle of a vast and loyal multitude, whose evidently hearty welcome moved even the usually impassive emperor and greatly affected his wife. Of course there were not wanting certain apprehensions that the visit of Napoleon III. to this country might become an opportunity for an attempt by some assassin among the refugees known to be in London. The queen with all her courage felt a little nervous. On returning to the Palace after luncheon the royal visitors found it filled with people, who lined the avenue of the nave, and cheered them enthusiastically as they passed along towards the balcony, whence they were to see the fountains play, the upper series of which had just been completed and were now put in motion for the first time. "Nothing," the queen writes, "could have succeeded better. Still I own I felt anxious, as we passed along through the multitude of people, who, after all, were very close to us. I felt, as I walked on the emperor's arm, that I was possibly a protection to him."

But the queen had herself introduced her guests to her people, and with a grace and confidence peculiarly her own. On the night before the visit to Sydenham a state visit was paid to Her Majesty's Theatre to hear the opera of *Fidelio*. Not only the house but the streets, which had been illuminated, were crammed with a multitude who cheered and who pressed to get near the carriage. The emperor, who seems to have had, or to have assumed, that kind of superstition which seeks for or easily discovers small omens, noticed that the letters formed by the gas jets and coloured lamps made the word "N. E. V. A." As the party entered the royal box the enthusiastic crowd in the house broke into tumultuous applause; and the queen, taking the emperor by the hand, led him forward bowing to the people, and as it were presented him, while Prince Albert led forward the empress. There can be no doubt that Napoleon III. was greatly gratified and affected by the incidents of his visit. "I tender to your majesty the feelings which one entertains for a queen and a sister, respectful devotion and tender friendship," he wrote in the queen's album where he had inscribed his signature. After his return to France he repeated this sentiment with equal emphasis and in happy phraseology when he wrote:—

"Though I have been three days in Paris I am still with your majesty in thought; and I feel it to be my first duty again to assure you how deep is the impression left upon my mind by the reception, so full of grace and affectionate kindness, vouchsafed to me by your majesty. Political interest first brought us into contact; but to-day, permitted as I have been to become personally known to your majesty, it is a living and respectful sympathy by which I am, and shall be henceforth, bound to your majesty. In truth, it is impossible to live for a few days as an inmate of your home

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without yielding to the charm inseparable from the spectacle of the grandeur and the happiness of the most united of families. Your majesty has also touched me to the heart by the delicacy of the consideration shown to the empress; for nothing pleases more than to see the person one loves become the object of such flattering attentions."

There are good reasons for dwelling at some length on these particulars, for they indicate one of the most important changes which ever took place in the history of the country. It has been seen that in these pages no favourable view is taken either of the character of Napoleon the Third, of the means by which he attained to the throne of France, or of his national policy in other respects; but even apart from the enormous advantage which it gave him, his desire to maintain a frank and complete alliance with England was sincere. He declared that he was carrying out the policy which would under similar circumstances have been adopted by his uncle, and that he had always looked forward, even when his fortunes were darkest, to the opportunity of forming an alliance between the two nations as one of his most hopeful and encouraging ambitions. Be this as it may, there was genuine emotion on both sides when the imperial guests departed from Windsor. It had been a singularly agreeable and yet a strangely suggestive visit. A grand ball in the Waterloo Room at Windsor, where the queen, of course, danced in a quadrille with the emperor, is referred to thus in her majesty's diary:—"How strange that I, the grand-daughter of George III., should dance with the Emperor Napoleon, nephew of England's great enemy, now my nearest and most intimate ally, in the *Waterloo Room*, and this ally only six years ago living in this country an exile, poor and unthought of!" A similar reflection was made on the occasion of the visit of her majesty to the tomb of the first Napoleon at the Hotel des Invalides during the return visit which was made to the emperor in August, the same year:—

"The coffin is not yet there, but in a small side chapel de St. Jérome. Into this the emperor led me, and there I stood, at the arm of Napoleon III., his nephew, before the coffin of England's bitterest foe; I, the grand-daughter of that king who hated him most, and who most vigorously opposed him, and this very nephew, who bears his name, being my nearest and dearest ally! The organ of the church was playing 'God save the Queen' at the time, and this solemn scene took place by torch-light and during a thunder-storm. Strange and wonderful indeed! It seems as if in this tribute of respect to a departed and dead foe, old enmities and rivalries were wiped out, and the seal of Heaven placed upon that bond of unity which is now happily established between two great and powerful nations. May Heaven bless and prosper it!"

There is no need to describe that return visit of the queen and the prince consort with their two elder children. Enough to say that it was throughout characterized by magnificent hospitality and a generous welcome not only on the part of the imperial hosts but on that of the French people. The concord of the two nations appeared to be complete, the alliance to be firmly established. Much had happened even during the few months that had elapsed since the first success of the armies in the Crimea.

On the czar the news of the defeat of his troops on the Alma had a terrible effect. He had expected that the attempt to invade the Crimea would be disastrous to the assailants, and waited for the pleasing intelligence that they had been overwhelmed and driven back or that they would be taken prisoners. It was said that he had already given orders for the captives, and especially the English, to be treated with kindness. Prince Menschikoff could not or dared not send despatches to St. Petersburg announcing his failure. An aide-de-camp carried the tidings. The emperor had been waiting impatiently for several days when it was announced to him that the messenger was in the ante-room, and he instantly ordered him to be brought into his presence. By brief word or eager gesture he was ordered to speak. He spoke, "Sire, your army has covered itself with glory, but——" Then instantly the czar knew that the tale to be

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told was one of disaster. With violent imprecations he drove the aide-de-camp from his presence. The aide-de-camp, however, understood that he was liable to be again called in, and in a short time he was ordered once more to present himself. The czar was changed in look. He seemed to be more composed than he had been, but was pale. When the aide-de-camp approached, the czar thrust forward his hand as though to snatch at something, and imperatively cried, "The despatch!" The aide-de-camp answered, "Sire, I bring no despatch." "No despatch?" the czar asked, his fury beginning to rekindle as he spoke. "Sire, Prince Menschikoff was much hurried, and——" "Hurried!" interrupted the czar. "What—what do you mean? Do you mean to say he was running?" Again his fury became uncontrollable, and it seems that it was some time before he was able to bear the cruel sound of the truth. When at length the czar came to know what had befallen his army he gave way to sheer despair; for he deemed Sebastopol lost, and had no longer any belief that the Chersonese was still a field on which he might use his energies.[1]

But Sebastopol was not yet taken. Probably Nicholas had feared such a movement as Lord Raglan had contemplated, and supposed that the allied forces, aided by the fleet, would be able to advance and follow up the first success.

Marshal St. Arnaud, acting on sealed orders which he had taken out with him, had before his death transferred the command of the French army to General Canrobert, who had already done distinguished service in Africa with those Zouaves, who were among the most active and conspicuous of the troops in the Crimean campaign. Canrobert, a dashing soldier with plenty of personal courage and great promptitude, was very popular with our army. The queen, who met him while she was in Paris after he had relinquished the command to General Pelissier, describes him with her usual graphic touch:—

"A large dinner party. General Canrobert, only just returned from the trenches—'I was in the trenches,' he said, 'just fifteen days back'—was the principal addition. He sat next to me. I was delighted with him, such an honest, good man, so sincere and friendly, and so fond of the English, very enthusiastic, talking with much gesticulation. He is short, and wears his hair, which is black, rather long behind, has a red face and rolling eyes, moustaches and no whiskers, and carries his head rather high. He praised our troops immensely, spoke of the great difficulty of the undertaking, the sufferings we had all undergone, the mistakes which had been made, and most kindly of our generals and troops. I said I looked upon him as an old acquaintance, from having heard so much of him. He said, 'I am almost a subject of your majesty,' from being a member of the Fishmongers' Company."

Canrobert was a brave and successful soldier and a good general, but not quite equal to the entire command of the army. His personal *élan* and the quickness with which his men responded to his orders were, however, of incalculable advantage. He was always on the look-out, cared nothing for Russian sharpshooters, and continued to wear his gold-laced hat and white feathers even when in action. From all accounts it would appear that the French troops, both officers and men, attended much more to the pomp and circumstance of war than the English did, and their camp was on the whole more gay and was provided with more amusements than ours. Canrobert had an opportunity of distinguishing himself at the battle of Inkerman, and he succeeded; though, as he afterwards said, and as both English and French officers agreed, it was truly the soldiers' battle, won by sheer hard fighting and without much exhibition of, or even occasion for, brilliant tactics or skilful generalship. Both tactics and generalship might better have been displayed before the engagement, and the result would then have been far more successful, the defeat inflicted on the enemy complete and irretrievable.

We have already seen that the news of the victory of the Alma was received in England, and especially in London, with enormous en-

[1] Kinglake.

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thusiasm. In the churches it was alluded to along with thanksgivings for the abundant harvest; it was mentioned with triumph at the theatres; and at those "monster promenade concerts" which had just then become popularized in London by M. Jullien. The word Alma in gigantic letters was seen above the great orchestra which he had erected at Covent Garden Theatre; and the Allied Armies' Quadrilles, the national and patriotic airs, and the spirited warlike music which occupied half the programme were nightly applauded by immense audiences. But the campaign in the Crimea was only beginning. The place which in 1780 had been nothing more than an insignificant Tartar village named Akhtiar was now the enormous stronghold of Sebastopol. Commenced by Catherine, continued by Alexander, and completed by Nicholas, it was an imposing fortified city, the chief naval arsenal of the Russian Empire, a mile long and three-quarters of a mile broad, occupying for its site the peninsula on the south side of the roadstead and rising in the form of an amphitheatre from the shore. Its quays, magazines, and storehouses were of vast strength and solidity. It possessed a complete system of docks constructed with great skill and at enormous expense, of solid masonry, and supplied with fresh water by an aqueduct twelve miles long, formed of immense blocks of stone. Six large batteries on the south and four on the north defended it—the former mounting from 50 to 190, and the latter from 18 to 120 guns each. To these were added a number of smaller batteries. Even before the commencement of the war the port was guarded by 850 pieces of artillery, 350 of which could be brought to bear upon a single ship entering the bay; but during the siege which was now commenced enormous additions were made to the defences. Those on the land side of the stronghold, which had been less fortified, as an invasion had scarcely been dreamed of, were rapidly multiplied; and were protected by earthworks, renewed daily according to the changes of attack, and so armed that at the commencement of the siege 25,000 rounds were fired upon us before our batteries opened upon them.

"The position occupied by the enemy," wrote Lord Raglan in one of his despatches, "is not that of a fortress, but rather that of an army in an intrenched camp on very strong ground, where an apparently unlimited number of heavy guns amply provided with gunners and ammunition are mounted." Opposed to this were the allied armies exposed, unprotected by any reserve or covering force, their very existence staked on capturing a place which seemed to be impregnable, having within it an army almost as numerous as that of the assailants; while outside lay another army more numerous still, under the command of the Russian general Prince Menschikoff. But we had beaten that army, and Sebastopol was before us. Every day's delay gave the enemy more time to pile defences and to call countless troops to swell the ranks of the host to which we were opposed; every day would increase the impatience of the people of France and England that Sebastopol had not been taken by a *coup de main*. Cobden was not altogether wrong when in January, 1856, at the time that the "four points" for concluding a peace were being debated, he said that the expedition to the Crimea had been a leap in the dark; that ministers, generals, admirals, and ambassadors were all equally ignorant of the strength of the fortress and the numbers of the enemy they were going to encounter. Cobden argued that according to the evidence of the Sebastopol Committee (of which we shall presently have to speak) Lord Raglan could obtain no information; Sir John Burgoyne believed that none of the authorities with the British army when it landed had any knowledge of the subject; and that Admiral Dundas could get no intelligence from the Greeks, who were hostile, and the "Turks knew nothing." Our authorities guessed the number of the Russian forces in the Crimea variously at from 30,000 to 120,000 men. "In this state of ignorance," wrote Cobden, "Lord Raglan, under a mild protest which threw the responsibility on the government at home, set sail from Varna for the invasion of Russia. Yet whilst confessedly without one fact on which to found an opinion, the most confident expectations were

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formed of the result. Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Sidney Herbert state that it was the general belief that Sebastopol would fall by a *coup de main*. Sir John Burgoyne was in hopes we should have taken it 'at once' until he saw it, and then he 'altered his opinion.' And according to Admiral Dundas, 'two-thirds of the people expected to be in Sebastopol in two or three days.'"

On the arrival of the allied troops at Balaklava the investment of Sebastopol was commenced by the formation of a line of earthworks, those of the English being in charge of Sir Colin Campbell with the 93d Highlanders and 3000 Turkish irregulars. The French works were more extensive, of greater strength, since they occupied better ground, and the possession of the Woronzoff road gave more facilities for constructing them. The English batteries overlooked Sebastopol, those of the French were level with its defences, and the lines had to be extended from the inlet of the sea called the harbour of Balaklava, where the English vessels lay (the French anchoring in the Bay of Kamiesch), to the encampment of the allied forces, a high bare plateau sloping gradually on the north to Sebastopol and on the west to Cape Chersonese. From our shipping at Balaklava harbour, all the provisions, ammunition, and military stores for our army had to be conveyed to the camp, an operation which took some days, especially as the great siege-guns had to be got into position, and the Russian batteries were already at work pouring a heavy fire upon the besiegers. On the 17th of October (1854) the allies made a tremendous and simultaneous attack by sea and land, but without any very successful result. The attempt to enter by the mouth of the harbour was partly frustrated by the shallowness of the water on each side which prevented the ships from acting in concert. The fortifications, too, were so strong that they resisted even the tremendous fire brought to bear upon them, and such damage as was inflicted was speedily repaired. It was much the same with the land attack. The system of earthworks, which was now for almost the first time brought into operation, gave remarkable facilities for rapid repairs and changes of position, while, though the batteries of the allies poured upon the town such a dreadful hail of bombs, rockets, and heavy balls as had never before been known in any siege, the Russians replied with almost equal vigour. At an early period of the day the explosion of a powder-magazine in the French works crippled the attack from that line, and left the Russian batteries free to concentrate their fire on the British, who were engaged in an attempt to demolish one of the batteries called the Redan, which they eventually exploded though without entirely silencing it. It was evident that the Russians did not intend their apparently impregnable fortress to be taken; but they had evidently less confidence since their recent defeat and the obvious determination of the allies. A striking proof both of the caution of the Russians and of their intention to present an obstinate resistance had already been witnessed. At the entrance to the harbour they had sunk five ships of the line and two frigates, and these added to the shallow water formed an obstacle with which the vessels of the allied fleet were unable to contend. When the seven vessels weighed anchor it was thought that they were about to go out and try conclusions with the investing fleet; but while the English were looking on, the ships began slowly to sink at their moorings, and within half an hour they lay at the bottom with nothing visible but the tops of their masts, effectually barring the entrance for many a month to come.

Our attempts to storm the Russian stronghold had failed, and it was necessary to continue the siege, and to continue it with insufficient means for making any effectual demonstrations. Two English and six French ships of the line had been so damaged by the fire from the Russian forts that they had to be sent home for repairs. Our losses were 44 killed and 266 wounded; that of the French 30 killed and 164 wounded; while it was estimated that the enemy had lost 500 men. The allies had plied their batteries with vigour, but with little effect, except to strike fortifications which resisted the light ordnance with which we were alone provided. Our artillery was inferior in calibre to that of

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the enemy; the guns had to be taken from our ships in order to complete our batteries; the supplies of gunpowder ran short, provisions were scarce, and could only be obtained at a high price. The troops, who, on their landing were still suffering from dysentery and other diseases, had found some relief by partaking of the fruit of the vineyards and orchards which they passed on their march; but privations, wounds, and incessant toil had so thinned their ranks, that out of our 35,000 men not more than 16,500 rank and file were fit for service. Large contingents of the Russian army continued to arrive, and though they too suffered greatly in the long march, and numbers fell on the way, there were countless detachments to fill their place. The battalions of their army of observation had been joined by the force under General Liprandi, who had come from the Danubian Principalities. For some days the Russian commanders had been reconnoitring the position of the allies, and now 30,000 men were ready to bear down upon our lines, cut us off from the harbour and its supplies, and place us between the fire of the land force and that of Sebastopol. That portion of the British line held by the Turks was the weakest, and there the Russians began their attack. On the night of the 24th of October they brought against four hillocks of earth, each defended by 250 men and two or three heavy ships' guns, a battery of heavy artillery placed on an opposite ridge. On the morning of the 25th, while this battery opened fire, it was seen that, at the eastern end of the valley, Liprandi's *corps d'armée* was drawn up in order of battle with a strong reserve on the Simpherophol road, while a large body of Russian cavalry was advancing steadily down the valley, and a column of Russian infantry moved along the foot of the hill towards the first Turkish redoubt. The Turks, dismayed, fired a few rounds and fled, leaving their guns to be turned against them by the enemy. If the Russians reached the ground overhanging the harbour our shipping and stores would be lost. There were but a few minutes in which to decide—but there was time for an orderly to leap into the saddle and gallop to the headquarters of Sir Colin Campbell to warn him of the advance and the attack on the redoubts. Sir George Cathcart and the Duke of Cambridge were ordered by Lord Raglan to lead their divisions to the scene of action; the division of General Bosquet was ordered to the aid of the British in holding the valley. What would become of the town of Balaklava, where the 93d Highlanders alone had to hold the approach against an overwhelming force, which consisted of two light batteries of guns playing upon the redoubts, immense bodies of cavalry and a body of infantry; while a mile behind these, coming up the valley, were six large masses of infantry marching in regular order, and in their front a regular line of artillery? The Turks, who had fled towards the Highlanders, recovered themselves and formed into companies, and the Russian cavalry in pursuit reached the high ground, and seeing the Highlanders half a mile beyond, checked the advance until the squadrons behind them had come up. About 3500 men then went thundering on in a charge towards Balaklava, the Turks fired a second volley and again fled. To oppose the impending mass there stood alone the thin red line of the 93d, who had been drawn up only two deep. It was a terrible moment. It seemed that the tremendous charge must annihilate them. The Russians approached within 250 yards, and then in front of the red line of the 93d shone a line of fire. A close volley from the Highlanders' rifles emptied scores of the saddles of the nearest Russian cavalry, who pulled up, wavered, opened their files, and fled. A shout went up from the troops who stood and watched the 93d, but there was another mass of cavalry advancing down the hill. The Scots Greys and the Inniskillen Dragoons had moved from their quarters under the command of Lord Lucan, and saw the approach of the enemy, who outnumbered them four to one, and came on confidently down the hill. Another moment and the word of command was given; the Greys and Inniskillens charged straight at the centre, broke it, and were lost in the mass. The spectators were breathless, but again there was a wild cry of victory, our troops had crashed through the first line

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of the Russians, and though many of them had fallen, were already hurling themselves against the second. If the first line had had time to rally and close upon them they must have been overwhelmed, but the 4th and 5th Dragoons were already tearing onwards, and in a single charge broke again the line through which their comrades had swept their way. The defeat was complete. But there followed another charge, the story of which has been told again and again, and not only in despatches and histories of the battle, but in those lines of the poet laureate which have become a part of our popular literature, and, if rightly read, should provoke detestation of war even while they fire the imagination and cause us to admire the daring courage which they so vividly commemorate.

"Somebody blundered!" and long afterwards the "Charge of the Light Brigade" continued to be a subject for acrimonious discussion. It had, however, furnished a fresh proof of what no one had ever denied, that Englishmen would fight against overwhelming odds, and rather than yield, would face any danger, or would obey an order to go forth and meet almost certain death.

The enemy was in retreat, but it seemed as though the guns were being taken from one of the redoubts which had first been captured, and this it was necessary to prevent if possible.

A rapidly written order from Lord Raglan to Lord Lucan to advance and pursue the retiring foe was carried by Captain Nolan of the 15th Hussars, an officer of ardent courage and great ability. Before the message had reached its destination, however, the disposition of the Russian troops had so changed, that, instead of having merely to follow and charge a hastily retreating body of men, encumbered as they appeared to be with the guns which they had seized, the Light Brigade would have found itself engaged in a rapid onslaught upon the main body of Liprandi's *corps d'armée* drawn up ready to receive it at the bottom of the valley, with the batteries of the two redoubts in advance, with another battery on the Tchernaya ridge, and with the steep hill sides lined with riflemen supported by columns of infantry. It was 600 light horsemen against an army occupying a regular defensive position. The order of Lord Raglan was, "Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns; troops of horse artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." Was this order to be obeyed under all conditions—at any hazard? Lord Lucan thought that it was,—that the message was imperative. In his despatch afterwards Lord Raglan said, "From some misconception of the instruction to advance, the lieutenant-general considered that he was bound to attack *at all hazards*." But there the order was, and the aide-de-camp spoke (or so it was afterwards said) in an authoritative and, if not in a disrespectful, in a significant manner, when Lord Lucan stated the objections—in which he concurred with Lord Cardigan—to an attack which would then expose the brigade to probable destruction. It was Lord Raglan's orders that the cavalry should attack immediately "Where and what to do?" was the question for neither the enemy nor the guns were i sight. "There, my lord, is your enemy an there are your guns," was Nolan's retort, as I pointed to the further end of the valley. The was no more to be said but "forward;" ar the Light Brigade, summoned hastily to th charge, swept on towards the "valley of death, with Captain Nolan at their head. The shout by which he cheered on those who followed him was turned into a death cry. The fragment of a shell had struck him to the heart. His uplifted arm dropped to his side, but horse, unchecked, galloped forward, a some seconds the charge was led officer who still sat in the saddl ward sped that devoted force, t yards from the enemy the fire fr cannon and a murderous hail of b the Russian infantry opened Without drawing rein, but wit determination of men who see th comrades falling around them, they plunge at the rampart of steel that lies in front—a rampart of steel amidst a volcano of fire. Breathlessly the French and English troops watch them

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from the ridges. They are lost in the vortex, and men groan and clench their hands. How is it possible that they can come out alive? Yet at that moment it is seen that they have hewn their way through the serried ranks of the enemy, have cleft the Russian army from front to rear, and those who still live emerge on the other side. Their sabres, hacked and bloody, still flash in the air, as with renewed cheers the men wheel round, and again with desperate valour plunge into the Russian masses, to come out, few indeed in number, fighting hand to hand with the cavalry sent to intercept them, or falling from the cannon shot of the Russian gunners, who are now firing upon them, indiscriminately mowing down friend or foe in the determination to destroy the remnant of opponents whose terrible courage may well have caused them to fear, as they certainly cannot comprehend it. "It is magnificent, but it is not war," said Bosquet, as he gazed with surprise and admiration at the returning horsemen. All that remained of the 607 who had gone to that unequal, and, so far as the material result was concerned, useless encounter, were 198, the rest having been killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Even this remnant would not have reached the British lines alive but for their return being covered by the Heavy Brigade—which was to have followed them in the charge, but which had been halted, as a support, beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, —and for the prompt action of the French general, Bosquet, who ordered his Chasseurs d'Afrique to go and silence the battery that was pouring destruction from the ridge of the Tchernaya. Only one squadron of the brave fellows could be spared to charge the Russian artillerymen, but they went at their work with a fierce determination and an activity which swept the battery of its gunners, and maintained the position against all odds, till the British Light Brigade had passed.

Among the many disputes on the subject of the order given by Lord Raglan, and the action of Lord Lucan, was one which involved a censure upon Lord Cardigan for having allowed his men to gallop to the charge too rapidly for the heavy cavalry to follow them. To this he retorted, that each commander had to do only with his own men, and his only duty was to obey orders as promptly as possible.

Lord Lucan was so little satisfied with the reference made to his misconception of the orders given him, that he afterwards brought the matter before the House of Lords, and Lord Raglan then declared that a previous order had been given, saying, that the cavalry was to advance and would be supported by infantry, that this order was not attended to, and that the second was only dependent on the first, and was not intended to be separately obeyed at all hazards. Lord Lucan demanded an inquiry by court martial, but the contention ended in recriminations, and the death of Lord Raglan, no less than the events which engrossed public attention, caused the dispute to sink into the long catalogue of grievances of which the war was so fruitful a source.

The Earl of Cardigan had shared the blame for the misdirection of the light cavalry under his command. What was worse, he had been accused of neglecting to *lead* his men in that desperate charge, and imputations were whispered of a want of courage, which were altogether unfounded. But Lord Cardigan was a man who, by his arrogant bearing, quarrelsome temper, and unnecessary and unequal strictness to his men, had caused a widely spread dislike and suspicion. It was true that when he had succeeded to his title he spent large sums of money in completing and perfecting all the arrangements connected with his regiment, but he was popular neither with his own officers and the men under his command, nor with the world outside military discipline. It was not forgotten that at an earlier part of his career, when he was Lieutenant-colonel James Thomas Brudenell of the 8th Hussars, he had left his regiment because a captain, whom he had charged with insubordination on a more or less private quarrel, was acquitted after trial by court martial; that when, as Lord Cardigan, he commanded the 11th Hussars, he had fastened another quarrel on a Captain Tuckett, in resentment of an alleged insult, consisting of the appearance on the mess table of a "black bottle" when the wine should have been in a decanter.

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This led to a duel, and he was tried before the House of Peers and acquitted. Four years afterwards, in 1840, he had fallen foul of another of his officers, a Captain Reynolds, charging him with writing an improper and intemperate letter, which it appears was one strongly remonstrating against Lord Cardigan for using language at a party reflecting on the captain's character, and implying that his conduct had excluded him from visiting his superior officer. This caused much adverse comment, since Captain Reynolds was dismissed the service, and almost directly afterwards, by order of the commander-in-chief, the adjutant-general read a memorandum to the officers of the regiment, in which it was distinctly said of Lord Cardigan, "he must recollect that it is expected from him not only to exercise the military command over the regiment, but to give an example of moderation, temper, and discretion. Such a course of conduct would lead to far less frequent reference to his lordship from the 11th Hussars than has been the case in the last few months."

This did not prevent the agreeable officer and gentleman from causing a hundred lashes to be inflicted on one of the soldiers of the regiment in the riding-school at Hounslow immediately after divine service on a Sunday morning, before the rest of the men could return to barracks. Such were the antecedents of the officer whose conduct in the Crimean war was impugned, whose character was regarded with dislike and distrust, and who, though he had certainly kept up a high degree of efficiency in his regiment, was scarcely likely to be either loved or trusted by those over whom he had control. A man of violent temper and overweening pretensions, he was perhaps justly regarded as a tyrant whose own conduct was unworthy of respect; but it was probably a still greater injury to his pride to be stigmatized as a coward. This charge was afterwards abandoned, for there was nothing to sustain it, and if he suffered for the want of that self-control which is necessary for a commander, he did not go altogether unrewarded, though it is possible that he felt himself shelved when he came to be appointed inspector-general of cavalry.

The attacks of the Russians were constantly directed against the British position, and the enemy seemed to possess singularly accurate information of our weak points. On the very morning after the battle of Balaklava a sortie was made from Sebastopol by a force of about 6000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in another attempt to take the town, where they expected the co-operation of the Russian army outside. It appeared as though their intention was to join the force of General Liprandi by the road through the Inkerman valley, or as its name implies, "the fortress of caves," but they suddenly turned to the right towards a weak part of our defences approached from the ravines of the Tchernaya and overlooking the valley. This was held by the division under Sir de Lacy Evans, who had long seen the need of a stronger force at that particular spot, and had made representations to headquarters that it was not sufficiently secured. But the general was on the alert, and though the Russians came rapidly down the hill, the pickets, on whom their first onslaught was made, opposed their advance until Sir de Lacy had time to draw up his lines in advance of the camp. At the sound of the cannonade the Duke of Cambridge with the brigade of guards and General Bosquet with five French battalions came rapidly to support the division; but before they could render any decided assistance eighteen of our guns had been placed in position and opened a fire which drove back the Russian artillery and then ploughed through their infantry. This was followed by a charge with the bayonet, which utterly routed them. They fled, pursued by our men, over the ridges, and hurried back to the shelter of the citadel, losing 600, who were dead or wounded. This success, achieved by one division of only about 1200 men, was one of the most decisive achievements of the campaign, and for that and his subsequent services Sir de Lacy Evans afterwards received the thanks of parliament. But the Russians still contemplated a grand *coup*. The allies, unable to take the citadel, were scarcely capable, with the diminishing force at their disposal, to hold the position which they had

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taken up. With an apparently impregnable fortress and its unceasing cannonade on one hand and an encamped army on the other;—half-starved, insufficiently clothed, badly sheltered, and suffering not only from the inclemency of the weather but from the effects of disease;—they maintained a spirit which was the wonder of their commanders and of those who at home were anxiously awaiting intelligence. Meanwhile Prince Menschikoff was preparing for one great effort which should annihilate them between the fortress, where fresh troops, artillery, and provisions were arriving from the Russian base of operations at Perekop, and the army, numbering something like 60,000 men, which occupied the heights of Inkerman. The allies must now be vanquished at any cost, and there was no other way than to overwhelm them by a furious attack from the Russian vessels in the harbour, from the heavy artillery of the town itself, and from the converging forces that might assail the British at once at the point which was known to be weakest, while Liprandi could so engage the French as to prevent their coming to the rescue. It would be strange, indeed, if an army 50,000 strong, with parks of artillery, aided by a continuous discharge of the heavy ordnance from Sebastopol and the harbour could not at length avenge previous defeats. "A terrible calamity impends over the invaders of your dominions," wrote Menschikoff to the Emperor Nicholas. "In a few days they will perish by the sword or be driven into the sea. Let your majesty send your sons here, that I may render up to them untouched the priceless treasure which your majesty has intrusted to my keeping." It was believed that the two sons of the czar, the Archdukes Nicholas and Michael, were thereupon despatched to the Crimea. They arrived to witness another and a terrible proof of the unyielding determination of the foe against whom the resources of the empire had been concentrated.

On the night of the 4th of November a deluge of rain was falling. The ground of the camp was washed into mire, the tents were soaked, and the whole scene was desolate and dispiriting. On the dawn of the next day—it was Sunday—the vapour rising from the sodden ground and the ravines of Inkerman darkened the air. Through the heavy mists were heard the pealing of church bells and the singing of psalms from the distant city—the kernel of that great outer shell of stone and fortress. At an earlier hour, a sentry of an outlying picket on the heights, had heard what he supposed was the usual creaking and rumbling of carts and wagons on their way to the town, and he bestowed little attention on sounds which were afterwards known to be caused by the passage of masses of Russian troops and artillery slowly creeping up the rugged acclivities leading to the heights above the valley of Inkerman, where they drew up, ready to make a sudden and resistless onset upon the defenceless flank of the second division.

It was remarkable that Brigadier-general Codrington, having, according to his usual custom, visited the outlying pickets of his brigade at about five in the morning, had said to one of his officers that it would not be surprising if the Russians took advantage of the darkness and the wet to attempt a surprise. He had scarcely ceased speaking when the noise of a fusillade was heard in the valley below, and the general galloped back to arouse the sleeping troops. The camp was in commotion; the Russians had dragged up artillery to every point which commanded the English lines. The host swept down upon the pickets of the second and light divisions, which were soon driven in. By a crafty stratagem the outlying sentinels had been prevented from giving the alarm. A small party of Russians had come forward as though they were stragglers about to give themselves up as prisoners, and the picket advancing to meet them were taken prisoners by a number of others, who had been concealed, and rushed upon them before they could fire a shot. The battle began, and raged round the front British position, which the enemy seemed determined to storm at all hazards. It was at first 50,000 men against a handful, for even when all our available troops were engaged, we only numbered about 10,000 men, so greatly had the ranks been reduced by death, wounds, and sickness. A brigade coming to the relief of

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the pickets checked for a moment the onward rush of the enemy. Another brigade belonging to the second division endeavoured to take them in flank, when the guns which had been brought up in the night opened a tremendous fire of shot and shell. The guards came up and with dauntless valour plunged into the thick of the fight. But so many points were attacked at once, and such masses of Russians were directed against each, that only the utmost individual exertions of every general and every soldier could save the army. Sir George Cathcart, hoping to effect a diversion, charged with his division, but they were surrounded in a ravine, and that distinguished soldier fell at the head of his troops. No one who had fallen on that fatal 5th of November was so deeply regretted by the queen and prince as this distinguished officer. Returning to England from the Cape, where he had brought a difficult war to a successful close, he had gone out at once to the Crimea, landing there in the same battered uniform which he had worn throughout the Caffre war. His experience, genius, and energy had designated him as the man most likely at no distant date to have the command in chief. In fact he had been selected by the government as Lord Raglan's successor in case of emergency, and took out with him to the Crimea a dormant commission for the purpose. This commission he had accepted with reluctance. Carrying him as it did over the heads of his seniors in the service, he knew that it must place him in an invidious position towards them. But as he could not regard it otherwise than in the light of a command from his sovereign, he conceived that no choice was left him but to accept it. When, therefore, the government subsequently decided on recalling the commission, he felt greatly relieved. Only ten days before he fell he had placed it in the hands of Lord Raglan, who, in writing to the Duke of Newcastle (27th October), speaks of General Cathcart's conduct throughout the affair as having been "exactly what might be expected from a man of his high feeling." The *Times*, in an eloquent commentary on the dearly-bought victory of Inkerman, spoke of him as "that rare and precious character in the British service—a soldier devoted to the science and experienced in the practice of his profession. There was nothing which might not be expected from him, and, with such as he to fall back upon, there was no fear that the army would ever be at a loss for commanders. He now lies, one of thousands, slain by a chance bullet in the tempest of war."

Writing to his widow, the queen said: "I can let no one but myself express to you all my deep feelings of heartfelt sympathy on this sad occasion, when you have been deprived of a beloved husband, and I and the country of a most distinguished and excellent officer. I can attempt to offer no consolation to you in your present overwhelming affliction, for none but that derived from reliance on Him who never forsakes those who are in distress can be of any avail; but it may be soothing to you to know how highly I valued your lamented husband, how much confidence I placed in him, and how very deeply and truly I mourn his loss. Sir George died, as he had lived, in the service of his sovereign and his country, an example to all who follow him." The Hon. Emily Cathcart, daughter of Sir George, was immediately afterwards appointed maid of honour to her majesty, and remained long attached to the court in that capacity.

Not only Sir George Cathcart, but General Goldie and General Strangeways were killed, and General Torrens and Sir George Brown were wounded. The whole English line, including Sir Colin Campbell's Highlanders and the third division, which acted as a reserve, was soon engaged in a fierce and bloody conflict.

Mr. W. H. Russell, the *Times'* correspondent, in his account of the war says, "The battle of Inkerman admits of no description. It was a series of dreadful deeds of daring, of sanguinary hand-to-hand fights, of despairing sallies, of desperate assaults in glens and valleys, in brushwood glades and remote dells, hidden from all human eyes, and from which the conquerors, Russian or British, issued only to engage fresh foes—till our old supremacy, so rudely assailed, was triumphantly asserted, and the battalions of the czar gave way before our steady courage and the

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chivalrous fire of France." The struggle around the battery on the descent towards the Tchernaya was terrific. It was this point which the Russians strove to capture, and here the guards made an obstinate resistance, fighting like lions, their numbers diminishing till only a few were left; and still they drove back the host that was opposed to them, a host frantic with doses of strong spirit, which had been served out to them before the battle, animated by the promises of their priests and by the knowledge that this was to be a desperate struggle to retrieve the fortunes of Holy Russia and cheer the heart of the emperor. Again and again they were forced back by the remnant of our brave guards, who had determined to hold the position till the last man of them fell, and who—their ammunition being nearly exhausted—fought with their clubbed muskets and even hurled stones at their assailants. For three hours the conflict raged at this point, and the position was already desperate when a shout and a quick clatter of steel announced the arrival of aid from General Bosquet's division. Our ready allies came rapidly to the spot, and held the ground against the discomfited Russians, while those who remained of the English guards retired and took up a position with the second division. It would have been almost impossible for the British alone to have held out against such tremendous odds—nearly five to one—and the Russian attack was so contrived as to carry out the orders of the czar to punish the English and let them have no rest. Liprandi's force was, therefore, directed so to engage the French position as to prevent the co-operation of Canrobert's troops with our own; but General Bosquet, with a soldier's quick perception, saw how hardly things were going at the "sandbag battery," and sent aid to our guards to protect a position which the enemy appeared resolved to capture at any cost.

For a time he imagined that this would suffice, but he soon became aware that the attack of Liprandi's *corps d'armée* was a feint to draw off the attention of the French, and instantly the French general determined to abandon any serious operations there and to hasten to our support.

This probably saved both armies from ruin. The British right was being overborne by the tremendous fire of the guns and the enormous masses of the enemy, when two troops of French artillery and a field battery came flying to their aid, followed by two light-footed regiments of those Zouaves and "Indigenes" or Arabs, who had already fought like tiger-cats against the Russians. These again were followed by the steadily marching troops of the line. The whole affair then assumed a new aspect. The battle was confined to the single locality, where the enemy was bringing up regiment after regiment against the yet unyielding ranks of our men. The allies were still outnumbered, but they fought side by side, and their valour rose as they mutually cheered each other against the common foe. With a fresh and irresistible ardour our troops rushed against the advancing host, which,—assailed by antagonists, some of whom, like Turcos and Zouaves, fought in a manner and with an activity which surprised them,—recoiled from the shock, wavered, were borne back, broke, and at last retreated through the ravine. Over the whole field their columns were soon in full retreat, leaving behind them heaps of slain and wounded, but slowly and steadily retiring with every vestige of the battle which might have been a trophy for the victors; every gun and even every splintered gun-carriage being carried with them. The allies had no such force of cavalry as might have followed and changed the retreat into a rout. The retiring columns were still protected by the Russian artillery, which remained upon the heights till Lord Raglan ordered two eighteen-pounders of our siege train to be dragged up, a feat performed on that rough and miry ground by the united strength of men and horses. These guns were placed in position, and their shot crashed through the Russian batteries and compelled them to move to the top of the hill and finally to retreat altogether, leaving the vanquished and retiring columns to the pursuit of the Zouaves and Indigenes, who followed them and hung about their rear as they hastened towards Sebastopol. "On our part it had been a confused and desperate

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struggle; colonels of regiments led on small parties and fought like subalterns, captains like privates. Once engaged, every man was his own general. The enemy was in front, advancing, and must be beaten back. The tide of battle ebbed and flowed; not in wide waves, but in broken tumultuous billows. At one point the enemy might be repulsed, while at a little distance they were making their most determined rush. To stand on the crest and breathe awhile was, to our men, no rest, but far more trying than the close combat of infantry, where there were foes with whom to match, and prove strength, skill, and courage, and to call forth the impulses which blind the soldier to death or peril. But over that crest poured incessantly the resistless cannon shot in whose rush there seems something vindictive, as if each were bestridden by some angry demon; crashing through the bodies of men and horses, and darting from the ground on a second course of mischief. Rarely has such an artillery fire been so concentrated, and for so long, on an equally confined space. The whole front of the battlefield, from the ravine on the left to the two-gun battery on the right, was about three-quarters of a mile. Nine hours of such close fighting, with such intervals of cessation, left the victors in no mood for rejoicing. When the enemy finally retired there was no exultation as when the field of the Alma was won; it was a gloomy, though a glorious triumph."[1] The nation appreciated it, however, and Lord Raglan received the baton of a field-marshal.

The English fought in a half famished condition, many of them not having broken their fast. The losses were serious indeed, in our army, already greatly reduced. Fifty officers were killed and about a hundred wounded. Fourteen were officers of the guards. Above 2500 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, wounded, or missing. The Russian loss could not well be estimated, but it was believed to be at least 15,000, though Russian official reports placed it at 11,959 in killed, wounded, or prisoners. The French loss was 1800 in killed and wounded.

[1] *The Story of the Campaign*, by Captain Hamley.

Much horror and indignation was excited in England by the barbarous atrocity practised by the Russians who threw shells upon our fatigue parties while they were engaged in burying the dead, slaughtered our wounded upon the field of battle, and even killed prisoners. It has been explained by the fact that the men were brought from a long and exhausting journey half frenzied with drink, and aroused to fanatic fury by the representation that the allied troops had desecrated their churches by turning them into barracks, magazines, and stables.

There was sufficient evidence to show that the stories told of the slaughter of the helpless and the wounded on the field of Inkerman were not without foundation, and our men were furious, and many of them eager to make reprisals.

Such are the immediate attendants upon the glory and the triumph of war.

The queen, writing to King Leopold said, "Many of our poor officers who were only slightly wounded were brutally butchered on the ground. Several lived long enough to say this. When poor General Sir G. Cathcart fell mortally wounded, his faithful and devoted military secretary (Colonel Charles Seymour), who had been with him at the Cape, sprang from his horse, and with one arm—he was wounded in the other—supported his dying chief, when three wretches came and bayoneted him."

The Russians behaved like savages, and upon the proof of it in a court of military inquiry, remonstrances were addressed to Prince Menschikoff, who, while denying the general truth of the charge, admitted that individual instances of such brutality might have occurred in the heat of combat. But he went on to vindicate the conduct of his men as having been provoked by a religious sentiment. They had learned that the church of St. Vladimir, near Quarantine Bay, which was very holy in their estimation, had recently been pillaged by the French; and thence, as Mr. Kinglake says, "he went on to conclude that if any of the French or the English had been despatched on the battlefield while lying disabled by wounds, they must have owed

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their fate—not to the ruthlessness, but—plainly to the outraged piety of the troops."

But at any rate this was no defence for the Russian artillery fire being directed, as it was upon more than one occasion, on English and French soldiers when they were engaged in bringing help, not to their own, but to the Russian wounded. A signal instance of this occurred, some months afterwards, at the close of the battle of the Tchernaya, on the 16th of August, 1855. While the Russians were still in the act of retreating from the battle-field, the French set actively to work to collect the Russian wounded, and to lay them out in an open space to wait the arrival of the ambulances. While occupied in this task, the Russians, who could see plainly how they were engaged, suddenly opened fire from their guns upon them, heedless of the destruction they were pouring upon their own countrymen.

The French, General Bernard wrote to Colonel Phipps, two days after the battle, "took in 1800 of the Russian wounded, but were obliged to leave crowds out, because the Russians opened a heavy fire on their parties engaged in this merciful and Christianlike duty."

The *Times'* correspondent, who was upon the spot, thus reports the answer of a Russian soldier, who was limping along with deep flesh wounds in both his thighs, to the question what he thought of the behaviour of his friends in firing among their own wounded: "They are accustomed to beat us when we are with them; no wonder they try to ill-treat us when we are upon the point of escaping from their power!"

To return to the result of the battle of Inkerman. Again the Russians had failed to drive the allied forces from their position, and preparations could now be made for continuing the siege of Sebastopol on a scale better calculated to lead to its ultimate destruction. But where were troops to be found to supply the place of those which had perished, and to raise the regiments to an effective strength? Before the battle of Inkerman Lord Raglan had written to the Duke of Newcastle that what he wanted at the moment was troops of the best quality. "Ten thousand men," he said, "would make us comfortable. As it is, the divisions employed are overworked, and of necessity scattered over a too extensive position, and we are enabled, and that with difficulty, to give but one British brigade, the Highlanders, for the defence of Balaklava, assisted, however, by marines and sailors, and a French brigade."

The stress of the Russian attack had chiefly fallen on the British force; and the diminution of that force was alarming, not only to us, but to the Emperor of the French, who at once announced his determination to send large reinforcements to the Crimea if we would find the means of transport. If England would help him with ships, he told our ambassador in Paris, he was ready to send every man he had. He had employed all the vessels at his disposal, including his own yacht, and he urged the recal of the Baltic steam fleet, that it might be employed for the transport of troops. In this respect, however, we were not much behindhand. On the 12th of November English transports were already on their way from the Black Sea to Toulon to embark French troops, and it was stated that an additional fleet of steam transports would be sent to Toulon from England, which would embark 8000 men there before the 10th of December. It was understood that provision had already been made for despatching 6000 English and 20,000 French troops, to arrive in the Crimea before Christmas.

While preparations were being made for sending reinforcements, the sufferings of the men who had been sustaining the brunt of the battle had not been forgotten. There was no lack of money, and provisions for housing, clothing, and feeding the troops during the winter were liberal enough, but our whole practical administration was so disorganized that men were starving, shelterless, and half-clad, while huts for 20,000 soldiers, large supplies of warm clothing, greatcoats, blankets, ample stores of comforting food and drink, and appliances of various kinds, were either knocking about in other ports or had been landed in the wrong place, or in some inscrutable manner had utterly failed to reach the

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people for whom they were intended. During the campaign there were examples of the usual iniquities of dishonest contractors, who supply vamped-up boots and shoes, damaged or inferior provisions, shoddy cloth, or bad forage; but there were plenty of stores which were good if any proper means of transport and delivery had existed. The truth was that we had been long unprepared for a war of this kind, and though after a time our official departments began to work into regular order, and the evils of which the whole nation was complaining were remedied, our ample resources, the liberal expenditure of money for the support of the troops, and even the intensity with which popular feeling encouraged the prosecution of the war, were to a great extent cancelled by the almost hopeless confusion and apparent incapacity of the land transport and commissariat services in the Crimea. On the 20th of November it was understood that not only had the huts been ordered, but the stores of clothing and fuel had been already sent out and received, and yet during the rigorous winter, for many weeks afterwards, the poor fellows were encamped amidst the storm, the wind, and the snow upon the bleak heights of that inhospitable shore, with scanty unpalatable rations, worn and tattered clothes, only the most meagre materials for making fires, and the prospect of an entire failure of the small supply of wood which could be obtained from the surrounding country. In an extreme irony of misfortune, newspapers from England reached the officers' quarters containing reports of the medical comforts, the luxuries, the fur coats and woollen wraps, the savoury meats and compact cooking-stoves and fuel which had been supplied to the soldiers who were still labouring in hunger and cold at the trenches in the bitter knowledge that not one article in all the tempting catalogue had come to hand.

It should be remembered that the executive had only continued, with some improvements, the system which they had found in operation when they were appointed to office, and that it broke down, or rather was found to be ineffectual, under the strain of a great struggle under conditions which demanded the greatest promptitude and order in providing and transmitting everything of which a besieging army, liable to repeated attacks and occupying an exposed situation in a rigorous climate, could need to sustain it. The Czar Nicholas had not used words without meaning if he really said that our troops would succumb to Generals January and February. The climax of misery and desolation seemed to have been reached when on the very eve of abundant provisions and shelter, food and clothing, reaching our camp, along with the large contingent of men who were sent out to increase the forces, a violent and destructive storm swept the Black Sea, wrecked the vessels which contained the comforts that were so eagerly longed for as they lay off the harbour, and expended its fury on the heights, tearing away tents, snapping their poles like twigs, carrying off stores and baggage, and rendering it impossible either to light fires or to serve out rations to the starving men, who, in a deluge of rain and amidst the confusion of a hurricane, had little or no protection. When the storm was over, having neither proper shelter nor food, they were obliged to lie down to rest as best they could, in mud trampled into a quagmire by the hoofs of frightened animals and the feet of those who had struggled to save all that could be snatched from the general wreck. It was a time of dreadful confusion and dismay, and it may only be faintly imagined what was the condition of the sick and wounded who were exposed on those heights above Inkerman with only rags or coverlids to protect them. Many deaths were attributed to the sufferings caused by this fearful night, when there was neither help nor protection from the cold furious blast and the driving rain. The story, told with graphic details by the correspondents of London newspapers, roused a feeling at home which took the form of bitter accusations against the government.

It would have been difficult to exaggerate the extent of the disaster, nor could anyone deny that some of its worst results were to be attributed to the disorder, the divided authority, and the blundering delay that had prevented the unloading of vessels, which were lost with their cargoes, or so damaged that they

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had to leave for immediate repairs. One magnificent steamer, *The Prince*, of 2700 tons burden, only recently purchased for the transport service, was laden with stores,—a great part of the winter clothing intended for the men, and provisions and medicines especially designed for the sick and wounded. She had conveyed a large body of troops, but the harbour was already crowded, and before she could discharge her cargo she was ordered outside. During the fury of the gale additional anchors were cast out, but the chain-cables not having been secured, ran out at the hawseholes and she was driven on to the rocks, and there dashed to pieces, the whole of her valuable freight being lost. Only a midshipman and six of the crew escaped, the rest, including some officers of the army and of the medical staff, perished. The vessel and her almost invaluable cargo represented a money loss of at least half a million. Another ship, the *Resolute*, freighted with munitions of war and carrying 700 tons of gunpowder, met a similar fate, and all on board were drowned. Thirty-two English transports, many of them of great size and value, were wrecked either on the steep cliffs of Balaklava and the Chersonese promontory, or on the coast of Eupatoria, and many of them were burned to prevent their falling into the hands of the Cossacks, who galloped down to the shore and were said to have fired on the seamen who clung to the rigging of the ill-fated vessels. Two of the finest ships in the British navy—the *Agamemnon* and the *Sanspareil*—were stranded, but were afterwards got off. The French transports were of smaller size and therefore could seek shelter in the bays and creeks, where they lay off the French position, but most of the transports that were saved were either dismasted or otherwise injured. Above 1000 lives were lost, and the value of the shipping destroyed was estimated to be over £2,000,000. It was a fearful calamity, heightened by the knowledge that the forces to which those ships had brought the means of relief were perishing for want of food, exposed to the fatal cold of that fearful gale by which even the coverings wherein the sick and the helpless endeavoured to wrap themselves were carried away. A number of soldiers were found dead in the trenches. Horses perished of cold and starvation. The mortality among the wounded was terrible. What were the sufferings of the Russians who were on the march across the steppes of the Crimea and Southern Russia was of course never known.

But even under these appalling conditions the spirit and determination of our troops survived. For some time the disorder and bungling continued, but stores soon began to arrive. All kinds of absurd mistakes continued to be made, though a better system was at length established. Letters coming from the camp as well as the reports of Sir Edmund Lyons, who had gone out to the Crimea, testified to the undaunted and hopeful courage of the allied armies; but the personal correspondence from officers and soldiers, as well as the accounts sent by the representatives of the newspapers, and especially those of the *Times'* correspondent, also exposed the incapability of the authorities. One of the private letters of the time told how a vessel arrived at Balaklava loaded with boots and shoes. Having no bill of lading, and the cargo being merely stated as, shoes for the army, the ship was ordered out of the harbour to wait her turn. A few days afterwards an order came from Lord Raglan to obtain a vessel to go to Constantinople instantly on a most pressing service. This ship was consequently ordered to proceed to Constantinople with Lord Raglan's agents without unloading. When she had nearly reached that place one of the agents imparted in confidence to the captain that he was going to Constantinople to purchase boots and shoes, the army being in a great state of destitution for want of a supply. The captain replied, "Why, my vessel is filled with boots and shoes!" Upon which the ship was put immediately about and returned to Balaklava.

This is almost a ludicrous example of what had been going on, and such revelations of inefficiency aroused the anger of the country. People could not, at a time of such strong excitement, make sufficient allowance for the rapidity with which the war had been undertaken, nor for the want of experience which prevented the executive from fulfilling the

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immediate demands that were made upon its resources. In a word, vicissitudes which would have taxed all the energies of a military dictator with great administrative genius, were not to be instantly met by the uncertain efforts of an unaccustomed department, with a few inapplicable traditions. But amidst the bitterness of popular feeling there was an element well calculated to sustain the hopes and determination of the troops. Not only was increased taxation for the support of the war borne without reluctance, but the funds of the government were to be supplemented by direct contributions from people who were willing and even eager to subscribe for the relief of the army in the Crimea by private consignments of the accessories so urgently needed. Early in October a letter written by Sir Robert Peel to the *Times* led to a subscription list being opened by the proprietors of that journal for the relief of the sick and wounded in the Crimea. In less than a fortnight the sum received amounted to something like £15,000, and the *Times* sent out a commissioner to convey the medicines and necessary comforts which had been purchased. The relief was timely, and the effect of the prompt benevolence was so thoroughly appreciated that when the subscription list was afterwards reopened above £10,000 was added to the original fund. Before this had been all expended, that is to say, about the middle of October, a royal commission, under the immediate direction of Prince Albert, was issued for the establishment of what was known as "the Patriotic Fund," for "relief of the orphans and widows of soldiers, sailors, and marines who may fall in the present war." So warmly was this accepted by the nation that half a million was received before the end of the year; bazaars, sales of works of art, concerts, and various other means of maintaining it were adopted, and even the elder children of the royal family contributed to the art sales, drawings of a creditable, but of course of a juvenile character, reminding one somewhat of these "Skelt's theatrical characters," representing knights and other figures intended for exhibition on the toy stages which were then still popular. The "Patriotic Fund" eventually rose to above a million and a quarter, and separate subscriptions were made for sending additional chaplains to the seat of war and for other purposes directed to the comfort and relief of the troops who were to pass a hard and unusually inclement winter in that desolate place.

The appeals made for contributions to this fund had incidentally the effect of again exciting a great deal of animosity against many of the leading members of the peace party, and particularly against Mr. Bright, who was its chief exponent. There can be little doubt that while holding the views which they professed these men could not with strict consistency subscribe to any fund which even indirectly served to perpetuate war; but neither is it surprising that the temper of the general bulk of the people resented their refusal to join in what was regarded as a national act of beneficence directed to the relief of those who had a great and even a permanent claim. Mr. Bright and those who thought with him, professed to regard war as so evil a thing that they could not justify any attempt which by mitigating its immediate results might tend to maintain it as a recognized alternative. They had denounced from the first the whole policy which had led to the invasion of the Crimea and all the sufferings which they were now asked to help to alleviate, and they had been abused, ridiculed, and anathematized. To yield to this outburst of practical enthusiasm would be regarded as a desertion of the principles which they had upheld against the common voice, and they might be justly taunted with having abandoned their beliefs. Eight months before this time Mr. Bright had stood up in the House of Commons and opposed the French alliance which was then rising in popular favour. "You are boasting your alliance with France," he had said. "Alliances are dangerous things. It is our alliance with Turkey which has drawn us into this war. I would not advise alliances with any nation, but I would cultivate friendship with all nations. I would have no alliance that might drag us into measures which it is neither our duty nor our interest to undertake. By our present alliance with

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Turkey, Turkey cannot make peace without the consent of England and France, and by this boasted alliance with France we may find ourselves in great difficulties at some future period of these transactions."

It is possible that some of his hearers remembered these words when we were afterwards so nearly embarrassed by the Emperor of the French in his policy towards Italy while he was scheming for the acquisition of Savoy and Nice—a matter which, as we shall see by-and-by, was very near leading us into a serious difficulty. It was a peculiarity of Mr. Bright's utterances, that, however extreme may have been the views which he professed and however repugnant the general opinion was to his conclusions, he frequently struck out some luminous and almost prophetic warning which his followers, at all events, remembered long afterwards, and which told among thoughtful men who were opposed to him. This faculty often gained for him the deep attention of those who were inevitably averse to his views, and who, at the time of which we are now speaking, were to be found in the ranks of his bitterest antagonists. Another attraction, among men, was his courage, or rather that quality which has on some eminent occasions distinguished Mr. Gladstone—the indifference to popularity itself when a deep conviction or a clearly-recognized principle was involved. "I am told that the war is popular," said Mr. Bright on the occasion to which we have just referred, "and that it is foolish and eccentric to oppose it. I doubt if the war is very popular in this house. But as to what is or has been popular I may ask, What was more popular than the American war? There were persons lately living in Manchester who had seen the recruiting party going through the principal streets of that city, accompanied by the parochial clergy in full canonicals, exhorting the people to enlist to put down the rebels in the American colonies. Where is now the popularity of that disastrous and disgraceful war, and who is the man to defend it? But if honourable members will turn to the correspondence between George III. and Lord North on the subject of that war they will find that the king's chief argument for continuing the war was that it would be dishonourable in him to make peace so long as the war was popular with the people. Again, what war could be more popular than the French war? Has not the noble lord (Lord John Russell) said not long ago in this house that peace was rendered difficult if not impossible by the conduct of the English press in 1803? For myself, I do not trouble myself whether my conduct in parliament is popular or not. I care only that it shall be wise and just, as regards the permanent interests of my country; and I despise from the bottom of my heart the man who speaks a word in favour of this war, or of any war which he believes might have been avoided, merely because the press and a portion of the people urge the government to enter into it. I recollect a passage of a distinguished French writer and statesman which bears strongly upon our present position; he says: 'The country which can comprehend and act upon the lessons which God has given it in the past events of its history, is secure in the most imminent crisis of its fate.' The past events of our history have taught me that the intervention of this country in European wars is not only unnecessary but calamitous; that we have rarely come out of such intervention having succeeded in the objects we fought for; that a debt of £800,000,000 sterling has been incurred by the policy which the noble lord approves, apparently for no other reason than that it dates from the time of William III.; and that not debt alone has been incurred, but that we have left Europe at least as much in chains as before a single effort was made by us to rescue her from tyranny. I believe if this country seventy years ago had adopted the principle of non-intervention in every case where her interests were not directly and obviously assailed, that she would have been saved from much of the pauperism and brutal crimes by which our government and people have alike been disgraced. This country might have been a garden, every dwelling might have been of marble, and every person who treads its soil might have been sufficiently educated. We should indeed have had less of military glory. We might have had neither Trafalgar nor Waterloo; but we should have

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set the high example of a Christian nation, free in its institutions, courteous and just in its conduct towards all foreign states, and resting its policy on the unchangeable foundation of Christian morality."

The enthusiasm evoked by the institution of the Patriotic Fund had reached Manchester, and as their representative in parliament Mr. Bright's constituents invited him to take part in a meeting for the purpose of raising money to augment the resources of the charity. He positively refused to contribute to remove the evils which had resulted from a war which he had emphatically declared to be unnecessary. In a letter explaining his position he said, "My doctrine would have been non-intervention in this case. The danger of the Russian power was a phantom; the necessity of permanently upholding the Mohammedan rule in Europe an absurdity; our love for civilization, when we subject the Greeks and Christians to the Turks, is a sham; and our sacrifices for freedom, when working at the behests of the Emperor of the French and coaxing Austria to help us, are pitiful imposture. The evils of non-intervention were remote and vague, and could neither be weighed nor described in any accurate terms." There was no mistaking this avowal. He had not changed his sentiments, nor had he concealed them, when Manchester elected him as the representative of opinions which at the time of his election had received its adhesion. Many of his admirers among the peace party supported him in his determination, and also refused to contribute. The *Herald of Peace*—a publication representing their opinions—stated the conclusions at which they had arrived after a meeting had been held to consider their position. "It does not seem to us possible to take part in this movement without directly contributing to feed and further the system by which these orphans and widows have been created, and which, the more it is encouraged, will only add the more to the number of such sufferers day by day and year by year. For, in the first place, no one can have marked the tone of the meetings which have been held to promote this fund without observing that, with very few and rare exceptions, their whole tendency is to glorify the entire war-system and to fan into a broader and hotter flame the sinister enthusiasm for the present war which already burns so fiercely among the people." It is easy to imagine what kind of reception was given to such expressions. The "pitiless Quakers" were charged with meanness, hypocrisy, and cruelty, and they were told with contempt to "keep their dirty money." When the time came for another election Mr. Bright lost his seat; but he took the consequences in an apparently calm and equable temper. Before he left parliament, however, he had still an opportunity to make another appeal and another protest.

We have already seen that among the remarkable changes which had taken place during the period now under our view, the scope and influence of the newspaper press was not the least striking. During the Crimean war this was emphasized in a very remarkable manner. The "special correspondents" of the leading journals occupied a position which in the old time would never have been tolerated or permitted. Their presence with the allied armies was completely recognized, and was mostly encouraged, and long before the war was over they had come to be regarded by the country as an almost indispensable adjunct to an army in active service. It was soon discovered that if they were non-combatants these gentlemen were often indifferent to the dangers of the campaign, and while forming what may be called a competent "intelligence department" in the public service, were employed in the important duty of making known to readers at home, conditions, which, when explained, removed much prejudice and misunderstanding, and preserved that sympathy between the army and the nation without which a campaign in a foreign war is often a period of uncertainty embittered by unfounded accusation or suspicion.

We have learned by recent experiences what importance is now attached to the position of "war correspondent" to a leading newspaper, and it may be said that the office was created and established by those gentlemen who so ably represented the principal journals during

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the operations of the allied armies in the Crimea. To them, and especially to Mr. William Howard Russell of the *Times*, and Mr. N. A. Wood of the then existing *Morning Herald*, the army was indebted for singularly graphic and accurate descriptions of the various engagements, and for those earnest accounts of the necessities and sufferings of the men, which contributed to a more energetic action on the part of the authorities at home, and roused the nation itself to an effort for the relief of the brave fellows who were fighting their battles under vicissitudes which threatened to be more fatal than the actual warfare in which they were engaged. The special correspondents, and artists who went out for the *Illustrated London News* to send home veracious pictures of the camp and of the more striking events of the siege of Sebastopol, made a new era in military history, and added to the scant intelligence of ordinary despatches the complete and intelligible narratives of independent, and for the most part disinterested witnesses accustomed to observe and to describe what they saw around them. The result of the accounts which had appeared in the newspapers at home, and the establishment of a fund for the relief of the sick and wounded as one of its results, has already been mentioned. At a still earlier date the philanthropy of a number of devoted men and women had been deeply moved by the narratives which had reached them of the sufferings of our soldiers in the East, and a staff of nurses and medical attendants had already arrived at Scutari, where a more complete system of hospital accommodation had been organized under the superintendence of Miss Florence Nightingale.

The name of Florence Nightingale has long been associated in the public mind with works of charity and mercy. Her whole life was devoted to the care of the sick and the suffering, and from an early age she chose for herself the mission which, during the terrible two years of the Crimean war, she carried on with such energy and success. Not in England only, but all over Europe, the story of the untiring ministration of this gentle woman amidst scenes by which even strong men were appalled, was known and appreciated, and the example set by her, and many of those who accompanied her, may be said to have originated those organizations which have since been recognized, as affording at once an amelioration of the sufferings inflicted by war, and a silent protest against its inhumanity. This is not the place in which to discuss the question whether the efforts of societies for providing nurses to tend the victims of the battlefield are liable to be made excuses for perpetuating an appeal to the sword for the settlement of international quarrels; nor can the argument that war is more likely to cease when the universal sense of mankind revolts from the horrors that must inevitably accompany it, be practically upheld to forbid such alleviations to the misery of the sufferers as are to be found in the exercise of a noble philanthropy, like that which induced a band of English ladies to face the sickening spectacles and the arduous duties awaiting them on their arrival in the hospital at Scutari immediately after the battle of Inkerman.

Florence Nightingale, who was born in Florence in 1820, was the daughter of Mr. William Edward Nightingale of Lea Hurst, in Derbyshire, and her education included a very considerable knowledge of modern languages. It would seem that she possessed an instinctive desire to turn her acquirements to practical account by entering upon a career of charitable effort, especially in connection with the care of the sick, and her serious and earnest character found in such a mission full scope for activity, though her physical strength would have been unequal to the task had she not been sustained by a calm and sincerely religious conviction that she had undertaken a duty which she was bound to fulfil. From the local institutions in the county, where her father resided on his estate, she extended her experience by visiting the schools, hospitals, and workhouses of London, and then entered on a regular course of training as voluntary nurse in the Kaisersworth Hospital at Dusseldorf. After a careful examination of the systems adopted at similar

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institutions in other parts of Germany she returned to London and founded a sanatorium for English invalid ladies in Upper Harley Street, and there became associated with Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Herbert in the charitable efforts in which they were so deeply interested. It was this association which led to the request of the secretary at war that Miss Nightingale would set out to the Crimea as superintendent of a staff of voluntary nurses, and on her consenting she was readily accompanied by about forty women, many of them ladies of rank and fortune.

The Rev. Mr. Bracebridge (of Atherstone Hall, Warwickshire, and his wife), accompanied them, and their journey through France was one of public honour, the people saluting them everywhere with enthusiasm, and many of the innkeepers and proprietors of hotels refusing payment for entertaining them.

Except for a short time, during which she was herself suffering from a severe attack of hospital fever, Miss Nightingale was in constant attendance upon the sick, and when, after the want and exposure suffered by the troops in the winter of 1854–5, cholera attacked the camp, and the duties of the nurses were still more exacting, she remained to encourage and support them by her example, to minister to the sick, and to console the dying with an assiduous care which caused many of the soldiers to regard her as a ministering angel sent to soothe their sufferings or to listen to their latest words of love and remembrance to the friends whom they would never again see in this world. It may be mentioned here that upon the return of Florence Nightingale to England in 1856 her name had become a household word throughout the country, and the national enthusiasm demanding that some recognition should be given to her unselfish services, a testimonial fund was opened and the amount of £50,000 was subscribed. This sum, at her own request, was devoted to the establishment of a Nurses' Training Institution which bore her name. The band of nurses had reached the great hospital at Scutari in time to receive the wounded after the battle of Inkerman, and though the official attendants and the surgeons at first regarded their arrival with some degree of doubt, and feared that they would increase the confusion, and by falling sick themselves, become a fresh burden on the resources, these prognostications were quickly set at rest. The skill with which Miss Nightingale organized her staff, the quiet promptitude and efficiency which they soon displayed, and the order they introduced into the various departments, no less than the skill with which they assisted the patients, made them invaluable, while the effect of their sympathy was, in general, to exercise a marked improvement in the condition of the sufferers. It was a new thing in the land, and sticklers for routine were ready to oppose and to decry the experiment of employing voluntary and, as they supposed, amateur nurses; but in a very short time these prejudices were for the most part refuted, and had quite disappeared when, to meet the urgent and increasing needs of the large military hospital at Scutari and one which had been opened at Kululee, another staff of forty ladies and nurses under the direction of Miss Stanley, the sister of the late Dean of Westminster, arrived to aid in the good work. There were at that time 4000 patients in the two hospitals, and but for this systematic and ready assistance the official staff would have been unable to meet the terrible exigency.

While the government transport service had failed, and the commissariat department had broken down, the people of England were endeavouring to furnish the soldiers at Balaklava with clothing and provisions by private effort. The royal family and thousands of other families in the kingdom were making or buying warm garments, or preparing various kinds of food, to be sent out whenever there was an opportunity of conveying them. Women and children were knitting socks, mittens, and comforters, or scraping linen for lint for the wounded. Men were purchasing thick coats, blankets, and boots, and consigning them to the camp, where the desperate condition of the soldiers had been somewhat alleviated by the consignment of some stores of clothing purchased at Glasgow for the

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emergency and by the safe arrival of a large transport ship similarly laden.

The battle of Inkerman had so dispirited the Russians that there was apparently little probability of another assault on the position of the allies; but Sebastopol was not yet taken, and though its fall was believed by many to be certain, the time of its surrender was so indefinite that it became a question how a starving army, which was being seri ously diminished by sickness and exposure, could hold its ground outside the walls.

As a result of their continued privations, cholera was attacking the men with a more deadly result than would have ensued from any renewed assault by the enemy. Even when vessels arrived with their cargoes the difficulties were not overcome. In describing the situation, Mr. Theodore Martin said: "The siege operations were practically at a standstill. The camp was drenched with rain. The men, reduced in numbers and enfeebled by want of food, and rest, and shelter, were tasked to the utmost limit of their strength to hold their own in the trenches. The commissariat had broken down for want of the means of transport. With abundance of provisions a few miles off at Balaklava men and horses were perishing for lack of food. The horses, that had carried their riders so magnificently into the enemy's lines on the memorable 25th of October, were either rotting in a sea of mud, or being wasted away in doing the ignoble work of sumpter mules; while the survivors of Inkerman, after spending a day and night in the trenches, were often compelled to wade through mire to Balaklava to bring up the rations, which the commissariat were without the means of forwarding to the front. All the evils, in short, were threatening the army, which want of foresight and of effective organization for the exigencies of a lengthened campaign could not fail to inflict. Who were to blame? was the question in every mouth. It was by no means easy to find an answer to a question which only too many were ready to discuss; but to find and to apply the remedy was the one thing needful."

A correspondent, writing in December, thus pictures the scene between the harbour and the English position:—

"Compared with the dull, marshy solitude of the camp, Balaklava is quite a metropolis; in fact there is not another village in the world which, for its size, could show the same amount of business and excitement as is perpetually going forward in that little collection of huts which all the world is talking of under the name of Balaklava. The harbour is now like the basin of the London docks, so crowded is it with shipping of all kinds; and from every one of these vessels, at all times of the day, supplies are being constantly landed. Along a flat, dirty causeway rather beneath the level of the harbour are boats and barges of all kinds, laden with biscuit, barrels of beef, pork, rum, bales of winter clothing, siege-guns, boxes of Minié ammunition, piles of shell, trusses of hay and sacks of barley and potatoes, which are all landed in the west and stacked in the mud. The motley crowd that is perpetually wading about these piles of uneatable eatables is something beyond description. The very ragged, gaunt, hungry-looking men, with matted beards and moustaches, features grimed with dirt, and torn greatcoats stiff with successive layers of mud —these men, whose whole appearance speaks toil and suffering, and who instantly remind you of the very lowest and most impoverished class of Irish peasantry, are the picked soldiers from our different foot regiments, strong men selected to carry up provisions for the rest of the camp. Mixed with these are about 200 horsemen, whose feeble steeds seem barely able to move about with their riders through the thick, tenacious mud. The horsemen themselves are all pretty much alike—that is, they are all ragged and all muddy; yet on examining these men closely you perceive that some have dingy brass helmets on their heads, others the small Scotch cap of the 'Greys;' the remnants of red trousers indicate a hussar; while a head-dress singularly misshapen discovers a lancer. The led horse carries one bag of biscuit, and frequently is unable to bear this weight (80 lbs.) more than half the distance to the camp."

The French suffered less than our soldiers,

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and their commissariat and hospital ambulance departments were better organized, but they also were in great distress and food was very scarce with them. Their condition was less publicly known than that of our troops, and if there were newspaper correspondents in their camp they issued no detailed reports. Even allowing that the reports of the English correspondents were greatly exaggerated, however, the situation of the British troops was bad enough. The condition of our men in the trenches was wretched. "Fancy working five nights out of seven in the trenches," wrote Miss Nightingale to a friend. "Fancy being thirty-six hours in them at a stretch, as they were all December, lying down or half lying down, often for forty-eight hours, with no food but raw salt pork sprinkled with sugar, rum, and biscuit; nothing hot, because the exhausted soldier could not collect his own fuel, as he was expected to do, to cook his own ration; and fancy, through all this, the army preserving their courage and patience as they have done, and being now eager[1] (the old ones more than the young ones) to be led even into the trenches. There was something sublime in the spectacle."

The poor Turks, 800 of whom were on the heights at the back of our position, died almost neglected—half of them were lost by sickness, hunger, and privation, and their own government took little heed of them. The French, it is said, suffered less than we did, mainly because of their larger forces enabling them to divide the work in the trenches. They had also two harbours for their ships, both of them nearer to the camp than ours and connected with it by good roads. But the mortality from sickness was, it was declared, greater than ours; they lost an enormous number of horses for want of forage, and they were often on very short rations. Colonel Vico, the French commissioner attached to Lord Raglan's staff, while he recognized the sufferings of the army, declared that the position of the British, bad as it was, was much exaggerated by writers who represented it to be of no efficient service; but after all he apparently attributed this to the courage and determination of the men under circumstances that might well have dismayed them. The state of things complained of he attributed to the fault of the system, but he said that the English newspapers represented the condition of the men to be worse than it really was. They had suffered more than the French for want of transport and a *corps d'intendance*. For this want of means of transport they had found it impossible to be in the same state of forwardness as their allies; but their army was very far from having ceased to be of practical help, as some would have it to be believed, and were the enemy to appear he would find they would give him quite enough to do. (Il trouverait bien à qui parler de leur côté.)

This was no doubt true, for our men were ever ready to fight—nothing seemed to daunt them when they had to face the enemy. They had given sufficient proofs of their valour, and their comrades on the French side did not stint their praise.

"Les vingt mille Anglais campés devant Sébastopol comptent par leur bravoure comme cinquante mille hommes aux yeux de l'armée française." "The 20,000 English encamped before Sebastopol count, by reason of their pluck, as 50,000 men in the eyes of the French army," wrote Napoleon III. These were encouraging words and pleasant, and no doubt they were a genuine record of the estimation in which our men were held. Praise even of the most honourable kind, however, could not always sustain our battalions. There is a homely adage which says, "Fine words butter no parsnips," and in this case there were no parsnips to be buttered. Things were about to improve, however,—just soon enough to revive the spirits of the poor fellows who had almost begun to wonder whether they were to succumb to the monstrous neglect and disorder which had already so reduced their numbers. One thing was painfully obvious—if the reports of correspondents of the newspapers said too much, the reports of the commander-in-chief said far too little. The fact was that Lord Raglan was an excellent field-officer, but he lacked the genius, and the prompt forethought, of a competent general, or he would not have

[1] This was written on the 15th of May, 1855.

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left the way between the camp and the harbour from which its supplies were drawn without a road and without sufficient means of transport. The whole wretched business was a proof that the departmental system of our army was rotten, and if further proof had been wanting it might have been furnished by the fact that while the men in camp and in hospital were perishing for want of shelter, clothing, nourishment, and medicine, the very supplies they needed, were lying in ships' holds, or were buried beneath piles of still uncleared commodities, or could not be delivered in time because somebody had failed to sign one of half-a-dozen routine documents, or, as in one instance, had placed his signature half an inch too high or too low. There was a good deal of squabbling and wrangling while the men went on starving and shivering and fighting, and the newspapers contained the only information which acquainted the people at home with the real state of affairs. It was afterwards asserted that the letters of the commander-in-chief were silent as to the sufferings, with accounts of which private letters as well as newspapers were teeming. From the despatches it was impossible to learn what was wanted for the supplies and comfort of the troops, and the government could, therefore, only act upon conjecture, and send out whatever they thought was likely to be required. Scarcely less meagre, it was said, were the official returns, which were barren of the most essential information as to the numbers of the army available and not available for action, the provision made for their shelter, clothing, and food, the supply of horses, the means of transport—all those details, in short, in the absence of which the government could neither know on what force they had to depend nor how that force was to be maintained in a state of efficiency.

It seems to have been Prince Albert who first emphatically called attention to this want of intelligence, and he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle proposing to send out to the general an efficient and detailed form of returns for him to fill up, as the only remedy "when people are not born with the instinct of method and are prevented by want of time or inclination from writing." The returns themselves should, he said, be so framed as to draw the attention at once to the points of the greatest importance; and he accompanied his letter with a form drawn up by himself, which, if properly returned by the commander, would acquaint the government at home with such full information of every particular that they would be able to provide for the comfort and appointments for the men and materials for the siege. It was, however, not till the Duke of Newcastle had gone out of office that the arrangement was made by Lord Panmure, who succeeded him, and who wrote in the month of February, 1855:—

"It appears to me that your lordship's reports to my department are too scanty, and, in order to remedy this inconvenience, I have to request that you will call upon general officers commanding divisions, and they in their turn will desire their brigadiers to furnish reports once a fortnight, which you will regularly forward for my information. These reports must exhibit fully the state of the troops in camp. They will mention the condition of their clothing, the amount and regularity of issue of their rations, the state of their quarters, and the cleanliness of the camp in its several parts. . . . The general officers will mention in these reports any difficulties which may have occurred as to the issue of rations, fuel, or forage, and you must inquire strictly and immediately into all neglect, and visit upon the delinquent the punishment due to his fault.

"By following the above directions you will, at little trouble to yourself, convey to me most interesting information, for all which I am at present compelled to rely on the reports of unofficial individuals."

The instructions here given were carried out; and from this time reports, accompanied by tabular returns, were regularly forwarded to the secretary for war, and by him to the queen.

All this looks a good deal like a successful shifting of blame from the shoulders of one to those of another, and it is tolerably clear that by the time that this information was provided, the government at home had begun to get their own departments into better order.

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It may be doubted whether if such formal reports had come at the earlier date of the occupation of the Crimea, the organization here would have been capable of responding to it in any proportion to the representations which they contained. However, it was clearly the duty of the commander-in-chief to send explicit information, and now that it was furnished, it was fortunate that the authorities here had so far reformed their ways as to be able more promptly and efficiently to respond to it. This was one of the important improvements which did much to relieve the troops now pursuing the siege with more vigour; but it had been preceded by two others of immediate and practical advantage. The first of them had also been pointed out by the prince consort, who had written in his diary on the 26th of November (1854), the words, "The army must be increased," and two days afterwards wrote to Mr. Sidney Herbert, saying that the step which had previously been taken of bringing each regiment up to twelve companies, though the right one, had failed in supplying with sufficient quickness the tremendous expenditure of men in the Crimea, and particularly in supplying the army of Lord Raglan on account of the distance of 3000 miles between the basis and the field of battle. A mere reference home in writing and its answer required six weeks, and the time for providing troops increased it to two months under the most favourable circumstances, during which the whole state of things might be altered. What was imperatively demanded was an intermediate depot upon which Lord Raglan *would draw at pleasure*, and which would be kept supplied from home. The prince contended that for every four companies in depot at home there should be an equal depot established at Malta—these depots to be united in provisional battalions like the provisional battalions at home. They would form at the same time the whole garrison, and would require all the accommodation at that place, setting free all the regiments now there. If Malta would not hold sufficient depots the system might be further extended to Gibraltar. Our present depots might go out at once, and fresh ones be formed at home. We should then have depots of four companies in England for recruiting and instruction; depots at Malta as a reserve to the army in the field, and for further training; and battalions of eight companies in the field, always kept complete, while the invalids might join the reserves, and a great deal of shipping would thus be saved. Without reserves for the army, between it and the home depots it could not be carried on. Lord Raglan could have his reserves within command, and the knowledge of what he had, and what he had to expect, would be his safest guide in regulating his operations.

This appeared to be sound enough, and probably had occurred to others, when it was found that, instead of being taken by a *coup de main*, Sebastopol would have to be invested, and that the fortifications and earthworks by which the Russian military engineer, General Todleben, had protected it, would be a hard nut to crack. The subject was at all events discussed on the very next day; the plan was submitted to the cabinet with the approval of Lord Hardinge and Mr. Sidney Herbert, and on the 1st of December Lord Aberdeen informed the queen that it had been adopted. An army of reserve amounting to 16,000 men was to be formed at Malta, and one half of this force, it was hoped, would soon be completed. But the same letter also mentioned another, or rather two other practical and really intelligent advances that were now made towards successfully remedying the errors which had caused such irretrievable loss. It announced that a contract had been sanctioned for a railroad from Balaklava to the camp before Sebastopol, "principally in order to spare the incredible labour necessary to drag the artillery from the coast, which had hitherto been performed by the seamen of the fleet," and that a contract was also entered into for laying a telegraphic cable at the joint expense of France and England between Cape Kalerga, near Varna, and the monastery of St. George between Balaklava and Kamiesch Bay.

The prospect of these two undertakings may have helped to raise the spirits of the men, who with invincible courage prepared

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to spend an English Christmas in the trenches and the camp. Some stores, and even a few seasonable luxuries, reached them in time to give them a reminder that in the general celebration of the national holiday, they had an abiding-place in the hearts of men and women who would willingly have shared with them their own good cheer. The queen and the royal household had held them constantly in remembrance, and the anxiety of her majesty, and her earnest desire to relieve their distress, had been conveyed to them by many gracious and affectionate messages, and by not a few gifts which bore tribute to the loyalty and courage of the recipients.

Preparations were made for employing a staff of navvies who had been organized under the direction of Sir Morton Peto, the well-known contractor, and in January, 1855, they were equipped and sent out to construct a railroad from Balaklava to the trenches before the heights round Sebastopol. One of the firm of Sir Morton Peto had already arranged with Sir de Lacy Evans the plan of operations. Every navvy, besides his pay and rations, was provided with complete suits of clothing, adapted to the variation of the weather and the work on which he was to be employed, and capable of resisting the cold and wet to which he would certainly be exposed. Before the end of the following month there were nearly 900 men employed on the work, including some who had been sent from Constantinople. The whole distance over which they had to construct the line was nearly seven miles, and a mile and a half had been completed by the 16th of February, the first four miles being the most important. There were of course a number of horses employed, and these had to be sent from England as well as the fodder for their consumption; but the promptitude and completeness of the preparations and the manner in which they were carried out by the practical staff of the "navvy commission" offered a marked contrast to the bungling of the government officials. The comfort of the men was also well cared for; they had proper huts, good rations, and were superintended by their own foremen and officers, while a chaplain and a surgeon were also engaged for the navvy corps, which on the whole behaved admirably and accomplished its work in a very praiseworthy manner. It was no light labour that these sturdy fellows had to perform, and before they had been on the ground many weeks, such were the vicissitudes of the climate that they were obliged to discard much of their winter clothing and resort to the change of costume which had been provided for them. Balaklava and its surrounding approaches were in a frightful condition. The roads were mere quagmires, the men often working up to their middles in mud, while dead horses strewed the ground in every direction. This was all the more dangerous because of the change of weather, which before the end of February had become comparatively sultry, the temperature having reached 58 degrees, though a few days previously the thermometer had registered 16 degrees below freezing-point. It may easily be understood what invaluable service was rendered by the "excavators," who, acting as scavengers, cleared the place, and afterwards under direction of their officers took measures for improving its sanitary condition. For some time the "navvy" and the "naval" brigades, the jovial handy sailors of our fleet, who had their own camp with its tents before Sebastopol, were among the most popular of the forces in the Crimea; the Zouaves and the men of the French navy being also held in great estimation.

Before long there was an extraordinary representation of various nationalities before the walls of the beleaguered fortress. In June (1855) a company of Spanish muleteers, with their animals, arrived from Vigo in one of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamships (the *Iberia*) at Gibraltar, whence they were taken to the Crimea in the ordinary transport vessels. There were thus inside and outside the city Russians, Finns, Cossacks, and people of the various nations of the Black and White Seas, and the Caspian, and perhaps as far as the borders of China itself; while outside were French, English, Turks, Africans, Egyptians, Tunisians, Arabs, Tartars, and various examples of the Moslem races, a Sardinian contingent, sundry Teutonic addi-

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tions to the army, Swiss officers of the Anglo-French legion, Corsicans, Maltese, and Ionians, and beside these a few were hourly expected from Roumelia and Anatolia.

In addition to the railway there was, as we have mentioned, the new electric telegraph. The cable, 400 miles in length, was connected with a telegraph from Varna to Rustchuk, from which place a complete system of communication with England already existed. In this way direct and secret communication was established between the offices of the war department in England and Paris and the headquarters of the English and French commanders-in-chief. The first telegram transmitted was on the 4th of May, 1855. Hitherto the first news of what was passing in the Crimea had reached us through St. Petersburg. From this time St. Petersburg got its earliest news through London and Paris.

With these vigorous measures for prosecuting the war, and the advent of warm weather, the condition of the camp soon began to improve, and while the operations of the allies settled down into a regular and completely ordered siege the soldiers were able to enjoy greater comfort than can usually be secured during a campaign. Indeed life at the camp, apart from the losses sustained from the fire of the enemy, was far from intolerable. This, however, was not until the late spring of the year. An eye-witness who visited Balaklava at the beginning of February wrote:

"The morning was bitterly cold; wind and snow, and twelve degrees of frost. The sight that met our eyes when we went on deck in the morning was really quite sickening. The stern of our vessel was about twenty yards from the shore, and there we saw scores of miserable, half-clothed, half-starved objects shivering on the wharfs, or trying in vain to keep their blood in circulation by shambling up and down; no workhouse could have shown a more abject set of paupers than did Balaklava that morning. Good heavens! was one's first thought, can these miserable objects, with scanty ragged coats, clothes in tatters, and boots in holes, or with none at all, be British soldiers, whom the country is informed by their rulers are at this moment actually borne down with warm clothing, and furnished with every luxury that the mind of the soldier can conceive? How fearfully have the government been deceived, or how cruelly have they deceived the people of England?

"The warm clothing was just now, on the 3d of February, being served out, slowly enough, heaven knows! and boots were being issued at the rate of six and seven pairs to each regiment. The distribution of warm clothing was not completed before the middle of February, and many officers' servants and bâtmen had not even received them by the 20th of the month!

"Miserable as the men were when I arrived, I was assured that their condition had wonderfully improved during the last three weeks. If that was true, in what a pitiable case must they have been during January!

"About nine or ten o'clock fatigue parties began to drop in from the front; gaunt, haggard, bearded men, with a reckless, desperate look that was indescribable. Many of these had sheep-skin coats; some of the artillery and cavalry good long blue great-coats, and even long boots; but the majority of the men, especially those of the line, were clothed in every imaginable patched-up, worn-out garment it is possible to conceive; there was not an atom of uniform visible amongst the lot of them."

In the trenches the condition of the poor fellows was still worse, but no one who visited them found them either cowed with their reverses or wishing for anything more earnestly than to have an opportunity for another decisive contest with the enemy.

As to the town of Balaklava itself there was nothing to be done but to destroy, and in a sense to rebuild it. Colonel Harding, who was sent out early in February, found the place hopelessly swamped with mud, impregnated with filth, and the very stones of the houses containing the germs of disease. He therefore determined to pull down one house after another, and to erect wooden houses in their places. The cellars were cleaned out, and the filth and rubbish brought to the light of day, heaped up in the open places, and burned, the evil-smelling smoke

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hanging in a cloud over the town. The stones of the ruined houses were carried away, broken up, and used for the improvement of the roads. The places where the houses stood were levelled and large quantities of quicklime strewed over them. It was a curious and interesting sight to watch the fatigue parties of soldiers, in their uncouth and motley winter dresses, invading a doomed house. In they marched, with axes and picks, and in a few minutes out came from the windows and by the doors, abominations, old and new, foul straw, broken bottles, soiled rags, bits of biscuit, bones with the blackened and shrivelled flesh still sticking to them, mouldy cheese, piles of broken furniture covered with vermin, and whole heaps of unalloyed, indescribable, unmentionable dirt—were thrown up into a funeral pile—a matchbox was produced and a wisp of straw, the pile was properly lighted, and a dense cloud of smoke rising up proclaimed that another act of purification had commenced. Next came the work of the axe and the pick. Part of the fatigue party outside separated the wood from the rubbish and stones, and others at once carted away the stones and levelled the place. Where the morning sun shone on a house, there the evening sun shone on a smooth level place, whitened over with lime and prepared for house-building, in the sense of the camp. Holes were dug, posts fixed, the place was crowded and busy all day, and in the evening there stood a large wooden hut. Such huts sprang up between sunrise and sunset; and sheds, too, for stabling horses, as if by enchantment.

At last there seemed to be some prospect of real improvement, though the stores came slowly for some time afterwards and provisions were exorbitantly dear. Speculators made a great harvest. One of them bought a cargo of poultry at Sinope and Samsoun, the geese costing him sixpence and the turkeys a shilling a piece; and for these he charged at the camp, turkeys 15*s.* and geese 5*s.*, and the prices afterwards rose to 22*s.* for a goose, and for a skinny fowl 5*s.*; other articles of consumption being equally unattainable except at real famine prices. These were the reports that came to England in private letters, and while the army had lain inactive a considerable number of officers had returned to England on "urgent private affairs." Now there were great preparations for the siege; the Russians were accumulating enormous supplies of stores and ammunition at Sebastopol for a spring campaign, but soon there came news that the stronghold itself was being severely damaged by the tremendous fire which was launched upon it by the allies. Intelligence from Berlin announced that the south side side of the town had suffered very considerably; a number of houses were piles of ruins, of others only the external walls were distinguishable; the theatre had ceased to exist. The northern portion of the town had not suffered so much, but yet there was hardly a house there the walls or roof of which had not been perforated by grenade, shell, ball, or rocket, or the window-panes and frames of which had not been destroyed by fragments of exploding shells. The inhabitants of Sebastopol had, however, by no means deserted the town; with few exceptions they continued to occupy their houses, even though battered. In the shops and warehouses traffic was said to be kept up with but little diminution; even the hotels were not shut. The only promenade left to the fashionable world in those parts was a new Boulevard, from which there was a fine view—on the one side the surrounding mountains, with the allied camp, its trenches, and its fortifications; on the other side the sea, with the allied fleets keeping ward and watch over the Crimea. On the northern side steamers and boats were seen all day and all night plying to and from the Catherine harbour, laden with gabions, fascines, balls, shells, powder, and *matériel de guerre* of all sorts; while on the landing-places stores of cannon and carriages, mortars, beams, and other artillery materials were piled up.

Perhaps not much dependence could be placed on these reports at the time, but the news from the camp itself was more cheering, and before the end of March the aspect of the allied position was materially changed. A correspondent describing the camp, said:

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"What a sad noisy place it is—such bargaining, quarrelling, I should fancy quite equal to the original Donnybrook. The French soldiers were all busy, some making roads, others carrying fascines, &c., and I was much struck with their cleanly appearance. I passed several 'vivandières,' looking really smart and pretty—a very small glass of good brandy they gave for 6*d*. I got early to ——'s tent, and was at once warmly received; would not hear of my going back till the following day; lunched and set out for a stroll, and to get a good view of Sebastopol, which I was surprised to see so very little damaged. It looked very pretty and very quiet; boats were plying in the harbour, and ladies walking about; it looked like anything but what I expected a besieged town would appear. We saw our besieging batteries and took a long turn through the various camps of several divisions. Met many I knew, and was surprised at the very healthy though rough appearance of them all; and they all seemed satisfied and happy. Hospitality is certainly one of the most distinguishing features of camp life: every one offered a welcome, and all had a something in the eating and drinking way to offer. We got back by five or half-past; had a wash in some freezing water; pulled off my boots, which were knee-deep in mud, put on another borrowed pair, and a dry, warm, coat, and at six dined. There were eight of us in all. We had mutton broth and sheep's head, salmon and lobster from preserved tins, roast mutton, fowls, ham, capital bread, cheese, loads of sauces, sherry, port, and porter; and all of us in capital spirits. The stove was troublesome; having no funnel, it was kept outside till the smoke was gone, and with the smoke went most of the heat in the men's tents; close to us we heard all sorts of jovial singing old familiar songs; and no set of men could to all appearance have been happier than those besieging Sebastopol, though it was blowing hard and snowing, and any moment their songs might have been stopped by war in its stern reality. We heard constant firing of heavy guns and musketry, which my companions seemed insensible to the noise of. By ten p.m. the singing and fiddling among the men ceased, but we sat chatting and talking till twelve. I had a tent to myself to sleep in, a camp bed, and plenty of warm clothing, and a very good fire. The tent pole was hung round with hams. It blew very hard, and the tent shook, so that I expected it would blow down; however, I suffered no misfortune beyond a few hams tumbling on me. Turned out and had a cold wash. Breakfasted at eight—coffee, mutton chops, fried potatoes. A Frenchman brought from the French camp some excellent bread, but dear—2*s*. for a small loaf. At nine I mounted and rode to headquarters. Near Lord Raglan's little bit of road; loads of carriages, carts, and all sorts of things piled up; plenty of turkeys and poultry strutting about—in fact his quarters have a good deal the appearance of a Dutch farmyard."

The famous M. Soyer, then *chef de cuisine* of the Reform Club, appeared on the scene in the Crimea at about this time. He had, it will be remembered, taken part in the relief of distress in Ireland by making a professional tour to give lessons in the preparation of cheap and nourishing food, and though some people were inclined to ridicule his pretensions it could scarcely be denied that he did some service in calling attention to the proper use of common food-materials and the best methods of converting them into palatable dishes. At all events, when he proposed to go out to Scutari and organize the hospital culinary service there, his offer was not refused, and he himself has left a more or less amusing account of the expedition.[1] It is sufficient here to say that he effected some very useful reforms in the barrack hospital kitchen, that the rations for the sick were greatly improved under his regulations, and that he showed the staff, which he organized, how to utilize much good soup, which it had been the custom to throw away as mere "pot liquor." Considerable interest was manifested in his plans, and his success was rewarded with the recognition not only of the officers but of the medical staff, and the nurses, who acknowledged the value

[1] *Soyer's Culinary Campaign: being Historical Reminiscences of the Late War, with the Plain Art of Cookery for Military and Civil Institutions, the Army, Navy, Public, &c. &c.* 1857.

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of his instructions. He afterwards went to the camp, where he introduced a new cooking stove, by which rations for 300 men could be prepared at one time, and hot meals could be served in the trenches, the fire by which the stove was heated being completely concealed.

The allied armies then, were preparing for a protracted siege, or rather they hoped by the concentration of their efforts, and by the large accession of men and the material of war before Sebastopol, to force the Russians to surrender. Our intrenchments, and still more those of the French, were pushed forward towards the enemy's works, and the entire position was developed into a form of attack. The month of May opened with beautiful weather, and the scene was a remarkable one. Again quoting the description in a letter from the camp: "A gentle breeze fanned the fluttering canvas of the wide-spread streets of tents, here pitched on swelling mounds covered with fresh grass, there sunk in valleys of black mould, trodden up by innumerable feet and hoofs, and scattered broadcast over the vast plateau of the Chersonese;—it is enough to make one credulous of peace, and to listen to the pleasant whispers of home, notwithstanding the rude interruption of the cannon before Sebastopol. This bright sun, however, develops fever and malaria. The reeking earth, saturated with dew and rain, pours forth poisonous vapours, and the sad rows of mounds covered with long dank grass, which rise in all directions above the soil, impregnate the air with disease. As the atmosphere is purged of clouds and vapour the reports of the cannon and of the rifles become more distinct. The white houses, green roofs, and the domes and cupolas of Sebastopol stand out with tantalizing distinctness against the sky, and the ruined suburbs and masses of rubbish inside the Russian batteries seem almost incorporated with the French intrenchments. The French on the left are indeed too near the enemy's lines; they are exposed to constant annoyance and loss by frequent volleys of hand-grenades and cohorns, and their works are interrupted by little sorties of a few yards—out and back again. On the extreme right, however, the English works towards the Round Tower are in advance of the French works towards the Mamelon. On *our* proper left we can make no considerable approaches in advance of our actual works up to the Redan in consequence of the deep ravine before our batteries. The ravine winding from the right between the two attacks sweeps down below the Green-hill, with a precipitous ascent on the Russian side, towards the Redan, and a gentle rise up to the Green-hill. The French approach towards the Round Tower is obstructed by the Mamelon, which is due south of it, and we cannot approach much nearer towards the Round Tower, working from our right, till the Mamelon is taken. The distance from the Mamelon to the Redan is about 550 yards. From the Round Tower to the sea (of the harbour) behind it the distance is about 1700 yards. The French are now within a few hundred yards of the Mamelon, and our advanced parallel, which is connected with theirs, inclines forward of their line towards the Round Tower. Although the Mamelon is pierced for eleven guns there are not apparently more than five guns mounted; but all the embrasures are screened. The Russians have been checked in their attempts to advance upon our right towards Inkerman; and, as I have said, the French on the left towards the sea have pushed their lines inside the old Russian outworks; but the centre, protected by the Garden Battery, Road Battery, Barrack Battery, and Redan, still offers considerable difficulty to an approach, and presents a very strong position. Not only must we have ample guns and ammunition to fight the Russian batteries again, but we must be prepared with a siege train and matériel to move up to the heights inside the town, commanding the fleet and the northern forts and batteries, as soon as we get into the south side, which must be entered by hook or crook—by the window if not by the door, to use the idiom of General Canrobert. At present there is an interregnum—nothing to report—nothing to write about except the movements of guns and wagon-loads of shell, the arrivals of horses and detachments of men, or the events of the race-course."

The mention of the race-course at once sug-

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gests that the *entourage* had changed indeed. At Karain, not far distant, the "spring meeting" of the camp attested that the national sport of the English had been observed even under these apparently unpropitious conditions. The spirits of the men as well as those of the officers had recovered, the camp had been victualled, and supplies were constantly arriving not only of food, but of forage for the horses, most of which were now in good condition, though it may be easily supposed that "the field" upon the race-course was of rather a mixed character, to say nothing of the steeds ridden by some of the spectators.

On the 1st of May the advance of the position of the allies had enabled them to make a sharp and sudden attack by which they took possession of the whole of the Russian rifle-pits and captured 200 prisoners. The investment of Sebastopol had begun in earnest. The enlistment bounty had been raised to £8 per man in the previous year, and recruiting had been going on briskly in Scotland, and especially in Glasgow, whence a large body of fine young men had entered the service. It appeared from the returns that in Scotland recruiting had been going on at the rate of above 6000 per annum, and it was computed that should the same rate be maintained throughout the kingdom a total of upwards of 60,000 would be added to her majesty's forces. But in addition to the home recruiting the Foreign Enlistment Act had resulted in the engagement of a foreign legion enlisted in British America—a measure which caused considerable suspicion and ill feeling on the part of the government of the United States. A large number of Swiss volunteers were recruited, and also some Poles and Germans, who were quartered and disciplined at Heligoland, not altogether to the satisfaction of some Prussian politicians.

It was at this time that the camp at Aldershott was formed; and although so many troops were in the Crimea, it was estimated that about 9000 men occupied the ground there on the occasion of the camp being opened by her majesty and Prince Albert, when battalions were brought from all parts of the kingdom, including about 1100 cavalry, 2500 guards and infantry of the line, and about 4800 militia; which, added to 500 artillery and 150 sappers and miners, constitute a force exceeding 9000 men. These were to be relieved occasionally until the whole force quartered in England had received a month's instruction in field evolutions.

The foreign enlistment yielded after all but a comparatively small force for actual service in the Crimea. Of far greater importance—and indeed of very considerable importance both as regarded the war itself and much that was to follow in European politics—was the co-operation of the Sardinian contingent, which became one of the allied forces, and occupied a prominent position in the later operations of the war.

The Sardinian prime minister, Count Cavour, probably the most astute statesman in Europe, was ready at once to enter into the proposed alliance. It has been said that the suggestion was first made by his niece, a quick-witted young lady, who foresaw the enormous advantage to the Piedmontese claim, in the coming condition of Italian affairs, if Sardinia were ranged with two great powers of Europe in a struggle which must eventually lead to a conference where Austria and Prussia would take a place, but not as having joined in armed opposition to Russia. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that Count Cavour would not have been slow to perceive the importance of bringing Sardinia to the front under the auspices of England and France. Comparatively few people were aware of the subtle and yet often bold (some said unscrupulous) manner in which Cavour often strove to accomplish the one great end which he had in view — the union and independence of the Italian states. For this object he made use of the revolutionary party so far as it suited his purpose, and events were favourable to the result which ensued, when, in 1860, after Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Papal Legations had united themselves to Piedmont, the successes of Garibaldi left the rest of Italy free to found a cohesive kingdom under the sovereign of Sardinia. But, as we shall see, in 1860 the cession of Savoy and Nice, as the price paid to France for helping Italy against Austria,

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roused amongst the patriotic party an intense feeling against Cavour, who, by the by, was himself a Savoyard by descent. Camillo di Cavour was the younger son of an old family of Savoy, but was born in Turin, where he entered the military academy, obtained the rank of lieutenant of engineers, and was afterwards appointed one of the royal pages. He resigned this position that he might travel, and especially that he might visit England. With the benefits of English institutions, and especially with that of constitutional government, he was permanently impressed, and he did not stop at merely theoretical statecraft. Free-trade at once found in him an earnest advocate, and, being an advanced political economist, he was a reformer. It was not surprising, therefore, that on his return to Turin he should have taken part in the disturbances which compelled the King, Charles Albert, to grant the constitution of 1848. This of course connected Cavour with the reforming and patriotic party of Italy, but he was not for a republican but for a monarchical Italy, with a constitution like that of England. On the accession of Victor Emmanuel in 1849, after the disaster of his father at the battle of Novara, when the throne was surrounded with difficulties, and the financial condition of the country was most disheartening, Cavour began to take an active part in regular politics, and in 1850 was nominated minister of agriculture, commerce, marine, and finance. In 1852 he had resigned and again visited England. On his return the king sent for him to form a cabinet, and from that time he was foremost in guiding the political career of Italy until he died in 1861, amidst the general and deeply-felt sorrow of the nation. The majority of his countrymen said he had saved and consolidated the state, while a number of those who were still in favour of a republic, declared that he had betrayed Italy and the cause for which her patriotic sons had fought and died. He was accused, and not without foundation, with alternately encouraging and suppressing the revolutionists for his own purposes and for the erection of a constitutional monarchy on behalf of Victor Emmanuel. The truth was that Cavour was a consummate politician. It was impossible that he could co-operate with the republicans, and especially with a man so severely truthful and uncompromising as Mazzini. Mazzini stood on a pinnacle above most of his fellow "patriots." They could not follow him. It was scarcely likely that one who pursued statecraft, even with the best intentions and the highest principles, could permit a theoretical democracy to lead, even though he may have understood and secretly sympathized with aspirations like those of Mazzini. Those aspirations were thus expressed by the Italian patriot, "We desire that man may be enabled to develop himself in the plenitude of all his faculties, moral, intellectual, and *physical;* but we know that it can only be by placing before him for his object, as Carlyle says, not the highest *happiness*, but the *highest nobleness possible;* by elevating in him the idea of the dignity and of the mission of humanity; by rekindling in him, through faith and the example of devotion, the expiring flame of self-sacrifice; by teaching him to appreciate and to love more and more the joint life of all his brothers in God—that we can approach more nearly to that condition. Remove this, or but make it subordinate in your plan, and you will do nothing. You may preach the well-being of *all*, but you will succeed only in creating egotists, who, as soon as they shall, by chance or by a greater aptitude in the chase, have snatched their quantum of happiness, will intrench themselves as in a fortress, ready to fire upon all those who would traverse the same path by which they arrived. You may achieve commercial liberty — the liberty of competition—but you will not prevent the crushing of the weak by the strong, of the labourer by the capitalist. You may found *phalansteries;* they may endure while they exist merely as model systems, and amongst you, whose inspirations unceasingly protest without your knowing against the theory; but they will fall the moment you seek to multiply them. You may glut your man with the good things of the earth—you may open to him every possible way of finding a recompense for his labour in the love of women; he will desire the good things due to his

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neighbour's share, and the woman who has vowed her love to another. You have spoken to him of the legitimacy of his instincts; and thither his instincts, excited by some inappreciable influence which your organization has been unable to see and prevent, compel him. You have told him to enjoy; you cannot now say to him, Thou shalt enjoy in such and such a manner; he chooses to enjoy after *his own* fashion—to satisfy his appetite, which is, in fact, his whole being. This for the many; the few chosen souls gifted with an exceptional power of love and sorrow will curse your *happiness*—which here below is but a bitter irony to every nature that aspires; they will go far from you into the solitude of concealment, to utter the long cry of suffering which burst from Byron at the beginning of our calculating and sceptical century, and which so few men have yet understood."[1]

What were political manœuvre and clever practical worldly statesmanship in face of such declarations as these?

Cavour was, so to speak, only at the beginning of those achievements which in a short career made his name famous in Europe, and almost coupled it with those of the great Italian statesmen of former times. He was a man eminently capable of seizing an opportunity, and the proposal for Sardinia to become an ally of France and England in the Crimea was one of which he promptly availed himself. Sardinia thereby became a party to the treaty of April, 1854.

"An alliance between England and Sardinia," thus wrote the English foreign minister to Sir James Hudson, the English ambassador at Turin, "will necessarily be for the essential advantage of both states. It will augment our resources by the addition of an admirable military force, and will assign to Sardinia that position amongst the peoples of Europe to which the king, the parliament, and the nation of that country have acquired an incontrovertible right. . . . You may assure Count Cavour that, on our side, this alliance is hailed with enthusiasm in all the towns, great and small, and is popular to a degree not easy to conceive. Throughout the whole of England, which, in other instances, is wont to take no special interest in the affairs of foreign states, such great admiration prevails of the wisdom and courage which Sardinia has displayed in situations of difficulty, and such strong sympathy with the successful endeavours of that country to consolidate its reasonable liberty, that every measure directed towards a more intimate connection between us and Sardinia is received here with a feeling bordering on enthusiasm." In December, 1854, Count Cavour had entered into official negotiations with the cabinets of London and Paris, but not until he had previously ascertained the sentiments of the Sardinian army. All the superior officers assured the premier that the army was eager to take its place by the side of the veterans of England and France; but upon this condition, that the Sardinian auxiliary corps should be led by a commander belonging to their own nation, and should take part in the conflict as the allies, and not as the mercenaries, of the western powers. With this understanding the treaty of alliance between Piedmont on the one part and France and England on the other, was concluded on the 26th of January, 1855. Piedmont contributed a contingent of 15,000 men, which, however, in the course of the war, was increased to 25,000 men under the command of General Lamarmora. By a separate article England and France agreed to guarantee the integrity of the king's dominions. England undertook the charges of transporting the troops to and from the Crimea, and, under the treaty, a recommendation was to be made to parliament to advance a million sterling to the King of Sardinia at 4 per cent.

When the conclusion of the treaty became known so great was the enthusiasm diffused throughout the Sardinian army, which was burning to wipe away the disgrace of Novara, that hundreds of officers and subalterns, who were left out when the expeditionary corps was formed, petitioned the war minister to be allowed to take part in the campaign as common soldiers. The treaty was not so well received in the Italian parliament. The opposition; which in this important question was

[1] *Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe.*

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loudly seconded within the ranks of the ministerial majority itself, not only gave expression to serious political apprehensions, but also dislike of the treaty on account of the financial sacrifices and the disturbance of commerce involved in it. The alliance found warm and eloquent apologists in the persons of Luigi Torelli, Cesare Correnti, Giacomo Durando, Dr. Luigi Farini, and Antonia Gallenga, all members of the Chamber of Deputies. Count Cavour himself, in a speech of five hours, illustrated the question in all its aspects, with a degree of energy and courage which decided the hesitating opinion of parliament and people in favour of the treaty. The kind of national significance which he attached to the alliance may be gathered from the conclusion of his speech:—"The experience of late years and of bygone centuries has shown that Italy has never reaped any advantage from the conspiracies and revolutions with which she has been but too often visited. On the contrary they have always proved most unfortunate for us as a nation. They have been injurious, not only because they have entailed ruin upon countless families and countless individuals, and have furnished the excuse and opportunity for still worse oppressions, but also because, by their incessant repetition, they have robbed us of the respect, and to a certain extent of the sympathy, which the nations of Europe otherwise entertained for Italy. . . . The most indispensable condition of a better future for Italy consists, as I think, in raising the reputation of our country, and in endeavouring to secure the fair recognition of our good qualities by the governments and subjects of every nation. And for the attainment of this end two things are pre-eminently necessary. We must, in the first place, prove to Europe that Italy possesses a sufficiency of good sense to govern herself without foreign aid; that she is of age, and quite in a position to appropriate the freest forms of government under which the most civilized nations live and flourish. The second thing is to show that our worth as soldiers is still, at this day, the same which made the arms of our fathers respected and feared. As regards the former point we have now for seven years past given a glorious demonstration to foreigners, how moderately, prudently, and loyally Italians can use their liberties. We have now the opportunity of rendering our country another, and perhaps a still greater service, viz., that of proving that our soldiers can fight as well on fields of glory as the bravest warriors; and I am convinced that the laurels which our army is about to win in the distant East will be more influential on the future destinies of Italy than all the declamations and all the books with which ardent and inexperienced patriots have endeavoured to bring about its regeneration."

By the 18th of May upwards of 10,000 of the Sardinian army had landed in the Crimea under the command of General Lamarmora, who had married an English lady, Miss Bertie Matthew. The Sardinians were a light, active, and thoroughly military-looking body of men. They took their own ambulances, forage-carts, commissariat officers, and all other military equipments, and fetched their own rations, which were supplied to them by the English. Their cavalry were compact, light men, mounted on good and strong horses. Their infantry, composed of strong and serviceable-looking men, showed an amount of discipline highly satisfactory; but, above all, the most picturesque in dress and manner were their riflemen—dressed in green, with a kind of Swiss hat similar in shape to an ordinary stiff felt hat, and ornamented with a large bunch of green feathers. It was placed on the head in a most jaunty style. Their arms were Minié-rifles with 800 yards' range, and with sword-bayonets; and they were found to be clever shots. They marched at a remarkable pace, amounting almost to a trot, and looked very hardy; they all, upon landing, marched away, and camped in different places. They were cheered most lustily by our soldiers, who had a singular pleasure in welcoming them as brothers in arms to the Crimea and its sufferings; and this was responded to by both officers and men most cordially.

General Canrobert, who had been wounded, and suffered much in the campaign, had resigned the command of the French army to General Pelissier, general of the First Corps

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d'Armee, who had distinguished himself as a lieutenant-colonel in Africa in General Bugeaud's expedition against the Arabs. It was under his command as colonel, during a skirmish against a tribe who maintained a persistent opposition by retreating to the numerous inaccessible caverns which their part of the country contained, that Pelissier incurred the blame of most of the civilized nations of Europe for exacting a terrible retribution on a small body of Arabs, who had massacred with great cruelty a messenger whom he had sent to them to propose a conference after they had fled to one of their strongholds. The French troops were ordered to construct a vast pile of wood and combustible materials at the mouth of the grotto or cavern where these people were concealed, and a second messenger was sent to warn them that if they did not yield themselves prisoners they would be put to death. Either not understanding what was said to them, or in a fit of furious desperation, they attacked the man who took the message, or his cries led those outside to believe that he was being slain, the pile was fired, and in a short time the flames were roaring in the cavern, which was soon converted into a furnace in which every soul perished, though the shrieks of the women were so piteous that many of the French soldiers rushed in at last, at the risk of their own lives, for the purpose of rescuing the unhappy creatures. Nine hundred charred corpses were found stretched in heaps along the ground, nearly two hundred poor wretches survived for a few hours, but all died in the course of the day. The deed produced a profound sensation, and several of the more influential French newspapers demanded the dismissal of the colonel. The Chamber of Peers took up the matter, and on the 12th of July, 1845, the Prince of Moskowa, seconded by Count Montalembert, called on the minister of war, Marshal Soult, to express his disapproval of the proceeding. This he did, but Marshal Bugeaud defended his lieutenant and pleaded with success the inexorable necessities of war. The government acknowledged the force of his arguments:—in the following year Pelissier was made maréchal de camp. Having been again promoted to be a general of division by Louis Napoleon when he was made President of the French Republic in 1851, he was in a position to take the command of the 1st Division of the Army of the Crimea, from which he was elevated to the chief command on the retirement of Canrobert. Pelissier was doubtless an energetic, and he was said to be an able general. At any rate on his accession to the command he succeeded in giving a fresh impetus to the operations before Sebastopol, especially as he had "discovered the means of stirring up Lord Raglan," to whom it was reported that he simply said, "I have given such and such an order. I have indicated a certain part to your troops; if you are not decided let me know without any delay, and I shall lose no time in providing for the necessity." The same report goes on to say: "Lord Raglan, who is naturally desirous that his army should bear a part in all the important actions with the French, yields to the desire of the general-in-chief. When General Canrobert used to communicate a plan to Lord Raglan the latter invariably replied, 'I shall give you my answer in writing in three days.'"

This was the current representation at the time, but men did not themselves realize what were the difficulties and responsibilities of the English commander in the Crimea. Not till Lord Raglan, suffering from long sickness, disappointed, and perhaps too sensitive to the adverse comments on his proceedings which reached him from England, lay dead in the camp, did people here begin to speak again of his high qualities. He had borne the brunt of starvation and mismanagement which he was unable to avert, and appeared to be incapable of alleviating by making more complete preparations at the camp itself, and after lying ill for several days, seemed to be somewhat recovering, when the disease terminated fatally, and the command devolved on General Simpson.

But it is time to take a short survey of the situation outside the circle comprised by the allied armies and the fortress before which

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they had at last been able to sit down in more regular order.

The government, with more embarrassments than it could surmount, had been still further hampered by the singular attitude assumed by Lord John Russell. He had, by some peculiar process of reasoning, come to the conclusion that it was his duty to urge the prime minister to get rid of the Duke of Newcastle and to give the seals of the war department to Lord Palmerston. That such an alteration would have been popular there was no doubt, for amid a very widely-spread mistrust of the administration, or that part of it which had control of the war department, there appeared to be an especial doubt of the efficiency of the war secretary. There appear to have been few grounds for thus singling him out, and much of the ill-feeling with which he was regarded, proceeded from false insinuations or from actual ignorance. He had the most arduous duties to fulfil, at a time when there were few either to co-operate with or to advise him. It was afterwards well known that even during the vacation, when other cabinet ministers were taking repose or recreation, he and his chief (Lord Aberdeen) remained in London working day and night to endeavour to remedy the blunders and misapprehensions which had been caused by the need for organization and the control of an experienced and powerful hand.

Lord John gave it as his opinion that the secretary of state for the war department should be in the House of Commons, and by inference that the two offices, secretary of war and secretary for the war department, should be combined in one person—a man who, from experience of military details, from inherent vigour of mind, and from weight with the House of Commons, could be expected to guide the great operations of war with authority and success. There was, he said, only one person belonging to the government who combined these advantages, and his conclusion was that before parliament met in December (1854) Lord Palmerston should be placed in the office. Lord Aberdeen, like most other people, had been under the impression that of the two men Russell had certainly preferred the Duke of Newcastle; but in any case it was evident that to make such a change, would at once be disloyal to a colleague and damaging to the reputation of the ministry, and the premier declined to act on the suggestion or to recommend it to the queen. In this resolve he was supported by Palmerston himself, who frankly declared that to combine the two offices held by Mr. Sidney Herbert and the Duke of Newcastle would be impracticable, as it would be impossible for one man to do the work. Lord Aberdeen justly represented that whoever might have been the fitter to fulfil the office originally, it was a very different thing to displace a man who had discharged his duties honourably and ably, merely in the belief that another might be found more efficient. The Duke of Newcastle himself was willing to relinquish his office at once if it were thought that the ministry and the country could be best served by his making way for Lord Palmerston or any one else; but the cabinet was against it, and Lord John, finding his advice was disregarded, resorted to his former method of retort by threatening to resign. His resignation at that time might seriously have damaged, and would, perhaps, have overthrown the ministry; so he thought better of it after a conversation with Lord Panmure, and consented to remain, or rather announced that he had changed his intention. Palmerston seemed in no way anxious to undertake the duty which Russell endeavoured to force upon him. He and Lady Palmerston had been over to Paris chiefly for the purpose of paying a visit to the emperor. It was perhaps on this occasion that Napoleon III. first hinted at his notion of himself taking the command in the Crimea. Palmerston, in a letter to his brother, says in his characteristic manner: "Yesterday Emily and I dined at St. Cloud. The dinner was very handsome and our hosts very agreeable. The empress was full of life, animation, and talk, and the more one looks at her the prettier one thinks her. I have found the emperor and Drouyn de Lhuys in very good opinion on the subject of the war, and acting towards us with perfect fairness, openness, and good faith." When the proposal

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some time afterwards took more definite form that Palmerston should supersede the Duke of Newcastle in office, he admitted that somehow or other the public had a notion that he could manage the war department better than anybody else, but at the same time, protested that as for himself, he did not expect to do it half so well as the Duke of Newcastle. At all events he deprecated any change at the time of Lord John Russell's recommendation, as it would inevitably weaken the position of the ministry; and he equally deprecated the threatened resignation of the noble lord, to whom the Earl of Aberdeen would have been ready to relinquish the premiership if there had been any probability of his being able to form a ministry that could successfully carry on the war, or could count on the support of a majority. No such ministry could have been formed by Lord John, and he withdrew his resignation, but only to take another and the very first opportunity of again embarrassing his colleagues by adopting a similar course, and leaving them in the lurch during a crisis which particularly demanded that they should act in unison and without any symptom of division in their ranks.

Our relations with Austria had assumed a better position, and there was already some expectation on the part of those who desired peace rather than war, that a basis for concluding a treaty with Russia might after all be adopted. A treaty between England, France, and Austria was concluded, by which the latter power obtained assurances of protection, and at the same time gave in her complete adhesion to the cause of England and France against Russia. She was to receive assistance in case of hostilities breaking out between her and Russia, and neither of the three powers was to entertain any overtures regarding the cessation of hostilities without a general understanding among all the contracting parties. It must be understood that the conditions on which a peace might be concluded were already under consideration; indeed they had theoretically never ceased to be under consideration, notwithstanding the misinterpretation on which Russia had insisted, and the consequent commencement of hostilities. The "four points" of the agreement which were to be the basis of any conference for the purpose of obtaining peace had still to be defined, and their exact meaning agreed upon. Prussia—acting the part of the man who, preferring to be friendly with both sides, watches the fight from round the corner, that he may be ready to take an apparently virtuous part in the final adjustment, and a share in whatever may be going—was invited to join in the alliance with the three other powers, but professed to be satisfied with their intentions, and required a new interpretation of the four points.

The four points were:—1. Russian protectorate over the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia to cease; the privileges granted by the sultan to these provinces to be placed under a collective guarantee of the powers. 2. Navigation of the Danube at its mouths to be freed from all obstacle, and submitted to the application of the principles established by the Congress of Vienna. 3. The treaty of the 13th of July, 1841, to be revised in concert by all the high contracting parties in the interest of the balance of power in Europe, and so as to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. 4. Russia to give up her claim to an official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rite they may belong; and France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia to assist mutually in obtaining from the Ottoman government the confirmation and the observance of the religious privileges of the different Christian communities, and to turn to account, in the common interests of their co-religionists, the generous intentions manifested by the sultan, at the same time avoiding any aggression on his dignity and the independence of his crown.

The meeting of parliament in December, 1854,—that by a short session before Christmas measures might be taken for prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour and effect,—gave an opportunity to the opponents of the government to charge it with the neglect of which it had been previously accused not only in parliament but by the newspapers, and especially by the *Times*, whose articles, describing the

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condition of affairs in the Crimea and denouncing the ministry for supineness and incapacity, had aroused public indignation. In the Upper House Lord Derby, after paying an eloquent tribute to the courage and devotion of the troops in the Crimea, condemned the manner in which the war itself had been carried on. The fatal words, "too late," were, he said, applicable to the whole conduct of the government in the course of the war, while the number of troops sent out had been quite insufficient to overthrow the power of Russia. The Duke of Newcastle combated this assertion, and without attempting to defend everything that had been done from the commencement, announced that the ministry were prepared to prosecute the war with unflinching firmness.

In the House of Commons the indictment of the government was upheld at considerable length by Mr. Layard.

The name of Austin Henry Layard is even more closely associated with remarkable discoveries of the remains and monuments of ancient Nineveh and Babylon than with the inquiry into the conduct of the Crimean war, in which he bore a conspicuous part, or with his political career during the years in which he several times held office. Both his name and his reputation are now inseparable from those discoveries, previous to which, as he said, all that remained of Nineveh and of Babylon might have been carried in a little hand-box. The greater part of his youth had been spent in Florence, and like many other young men of ardent temper and considerable culture in literature and art, he had abandoned the idea with which he first came to London, and instead of devoting himself to the study of the law set out on a journey to the East, where he not only learned the Turkish and Arabic languages, but adopted the dress and mode of living of the natives. He afterwards continued his journey to Persia for the purpose of exploration amidst the remains of Susa, and there he discovered the tomb of Daniel. In 1844 he commenced his examination of the ruins of Nimroud, a task which his command of the language and his appearance enabled him to prosecute successfully without raising the insuperable opposition of the people inhabiting the country. The Layard Collection now in the British Museum are, as any one may see, of such size and weight that it was only with considerable difficulty they could be conveyed to their destination. They were, in fact, floated down the Tigris on rafts supported in the water by inflated skins.[1] The attainments as well as the special knowledge and experience of Mr. Layard had peculiarly fitted him for the position of attaché to the British embassy at Constantinople, and in 1848 he occupied that position, when he had an opportunity of again visiting the site of the city of Nineveh. In 1851 he had for a short time acted as under-secretary for foreign affairs, and in 1852 had entered the House of Commons as member for Aylesbury. Mr. Layard, whose knowledge and experience on oriental questions had given him some weight in the house and in the country, had visited the allied camps in the Crimea, and it was therefore felt that his criticisms of the government were worthy of attention. No member of that government rose to reply to them, however, though Mr. Disraeli keenly said that they were bound to answer the speech of a supporter of their own and a man of genius, who would be remembered when a great portion of the existing cabinet was forgotten. It may easily be imagined that he did not neglect such an opportunity for launching well-directed sarcasms at the heads of the government, who had, he declared, at first treated the war not as a great but as a very little affair. In reviewing the subsequent occurrences he referred to the Baltic fleet "greater than any armada that ever figured in the history of our times," which had gone out "with the blessings and the benison of our most experienced statesman, and had the advantage of being commanded by a true reformer." This had destroyed the half-finished fortifications of Bomarsund. Then, with regard to the attack on Sebastopol, he said, "You attack with a force of 20,000 or 30,000 men a fortress probably as strong as Gibraltar, and better provisioned. And under what

[1] Mr. Layard's books on Nineveh and Babylon give an interesting account of his explorations and their results.

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circumstances did you undertake this enterprise? The secretary of war tells you that their object is to strike at the heart of Russia in the south, and therefore they attack Sebastopol. . . . But why attack the place at the wrong time, and with ineffective means? It may be a question that there should be a campaign in the Crimea; none that there should not be a winter campaign. But you have chosen a winter campaign, and what have been your preparations for it? In November you gave orders to build huts. You have not yet sent out that winter clothing which is adapted to the climate. . . . You have commenced a winter campaign in a country which most of all should be avoided. You have commenced such a campaign—a great blunder,—without providing for it—the next great blunder. The huts will arrive in January, and the furs probably will meet the sun in May. These are your preparations." Mr. Disraeli continued—"I believe that this cabinet of coalition flattered themselves, and were credulous in their flattery, that the tremendous issues which they have had to encounter, and which must make their days and nights anxious—which have been part of their lives—would not have occurred. They could never dream, for instance, that it would be the termination of the career of a noble lord to carry on war with Russia, of which that noble lord had been the cherished and spoiled child. . . . It has been clearly shown that two of you are never of the same opinion. You were candid enough to declare this, and it is probable that no three of you ever supposed the result would be what it has been found to be." He concluded by declaring against an Austrian alliance, against the four points, and against secret articles. "England and France together should," he said, "solve this great question, and establish and secure a tranquillization of Europe."

Lord John Russell replied in a speech which was wanting neither in force nor in dignity. The object of the last speaker, he said, was to destroy confidence in ministers, and to weaken our alliance with France. He then proceeded to justify the course taken by the government, and the treaty with Austria.

The bringing up of the report on the address gave Mr. Gladstone an opportunity of explaining the details relating to our forces in the Crimea, and he also pointed out some of the unfounded charges brought against the government. It soon became evident, however, that the attacks made upon the ministry were echoed by the expression of opinion outside. When the foreign enlistment bill was introduced immediately afterwards it was violently opposed in both houses. Mr. Disraeli expressed great dislike to it on the ground that the foreigners whose services might probably be obtained, were hardly likely to be valuable as soldiers, and because Englishmen had a strong antipathy to mere mercenaries. They could fight side by side with foreigners of every race if they fought as allies; but they did not like the *condottieri* of modern Europe. He also objected to the scheme because it would convey the impression abroad that the resources of England for recruiting were exhausted. The object of the bill was to raise a force of 15,000 foreigners who were to be drilled in this country. Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords censured the proposal in severe terms; but the Earl of Aberdeen utterly denied the insinuation that foreign recruits were to be used as substitutes for militia, or to be employed here at all. Some amendments were made; the number was reduced to 10,000, and the bill passed; but its results were costly and comparatively worthless, especially as they aroused a certain amount of jealousy and suspicion in other countries. On the whole the short session which terminated on the 23d of December had shown pretty plainly what was the temper of the country, and though, as was afterwards proved, the chief opponents of the government could not actually supersede it, parliament had only just reassembled on the 23d of January after the Christmas recess when the sound of defeat began to be heard.

It was expected that an attack would again be made on the ministry, and probably a good many people outside the house knew the form that the attack would take, if not who would initiate it. They had not long to wait. Immediately on the reassembling of parliament

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Mr. Roebuck gave notice that he intended to move "for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army." It could not be said that the blow was unexpected; but the question was, would the ministry be able to avert it? It was just possible that at such a juncture, when it was of extreme importance to continue without a break the government of the country, the votes of the opposition might not carry the motion; but there was no opportunity of trying. At the critical moment Lord John Russell resigned his office as president of the council, and in the letter which he wrote to Lord Aberdeen virtually abandoned his colleagues to their adversaries. "Mr. Roebuck has given notice of a motion to inquire into the conduct of the war," he said. "I do not see how this motion is to be resisted; but as it involves a censure upon the war department with which some of my colleagues are connected, my only course is to tender my resignation. I therefore have to request you will lay my humble resignation of the office which I have the honour to hold before the queen, with the expression of my gratitude for her majesty's kindness for many years." There could be but one opinion on the part of Lord Aberdeen, namely, that the object of Lord John was to overthrow the ministry on the forlorn chance of a Whig government being called to power. The Duke of Newcastle, still believing that he was the person against whom much of the ill feeling and discontent had been raised, again offered to resign and to take the blame rather than that the cabinet should be broken up; but to this neither Aberdeen nor his colleagues would consent. Lord Palmerston was stanch as usual, and when he heard from Lord John that he had resigned, wrote—"I feel bound in candour to say that I think your decision ill-timed. Everybody foresaw that on the meeting of parliament after Christmas some such motion as that given notice of by Roebuck was likely to be made; and if you had determined not to face such a motion your announcement of such a decision a fortnight ago would have rendered it more easy for your colleagues to have taken whatever course such an announcement might have led to. . . . As it is you will have the appearance of having remained in office, aiding in carrying on a system of which you disapproved, until driven out by Roebuck's announced notice, and the government will have the appearance of self-condemnation by flying from a discussion which they dare not face; while, as regards the country, the action of the executive will be paralysed for a time, in a critical moment of a great war, with an impending negotiation, and we shall exhibit to the world a melancholy spectacle of disorganization among our political men at home, similar to that which has prevailed among our military men abroad."

Though there was so much dissatisfaction in the country because of the blunders and mismanagement in the transport service, there was no lack of enthusiasm for prosecution of the war. Mr. Bright had already offended the people of Manchester by his refusal to support the Patriotic Fund, and it was understood that at the next election he would have some difficulty in retaining his position. Mr. Cobden was in a similar situation. He had addressed his constituents at Leeds on the subject of the war at a meeting which was to have been held at the Music Hall; but the number of those who attended was so great that it was adjourned to the yard of the Coloured Cloth Hall. Between 5000 and 6000 persons were present. The chair was taken by Mr. Alderman Carbutt, a Liberal of the West Riding, who had been the chairman of Mr. Cobden's last election committee, and he prefaced the proceedings by stating that he did not agree with their representative on the subject of the war. Mr. Cobden was received with only partial applause. With his usual fearless candour he said he had come there to explain his opinions with regard to the war, because he understood that a majority of his constituents were opposed to the views which he advocated. He quite agreed with those who said that if England was to have a war it could not be a little one. She must carry it on with vigour. That, however, required money; and then came the most important

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question of all, How were the supplies to be raised? If they were determined to carry on the war with vigour they must make up their minds to pay for it, and that must either be done by a loan or by additional taxation. He was opposed to loans, because the money could be raised too easily that way. He held that the greater the difficulties in obtaining money to carry on a war, the better for the country, as it would make government all the more careful not to quarrel with other nations. As regarded the peace question, he was not in favour of peace at any price. He had been urged by the members of the Peace Society to disavow that doctrine, because, unless he did so, he should lose all influence with practical minds in the advocacy of peace principles. He then went on to discuss the policy of the war, and the way in which it had been conducted, both of which he condemned in the strongest terms.

"I think," said Mr. Cobden, "that the expedition to Sebastopol was a mistake. It has, indeed, been acknowledged to be a mistake so far that it was a leap in the dark. I think the practical question for Englishmen is how you are best to get out of that mistake. If you are going to fight it out there, then I say the course hitherto pursued by our government is wholly inadequate to the object you have in view. You must raise enormous armies. You must find an immense amount of treasure; and you must carry on the war in the Crimea on a very different scale from what you have done hitherto. But I think there is another way by which your brave men may be removed from that position in which, by a mistake, they have been placed; and I think that, without consulting our own position, and without looking too much to exaggerated hopes and expectations, we are bound in all fairness to consider the position of those brave men, and we are bound not, if we can help it, to throw any obstacles in the way of restoring peace to those countries, and restoring those men to their homes. I would further have these brave men, when brought home from Sebastopol, to be received with all honour as if they had succeeded in their object, because you may depend on it they have suffered ten times as much in their abortive effort to take that place as they would have done had they succeeded in taking it by a *coup de main*. Now, is there no reason to suppose that there is a possibility of effecting a safe and honourable peace? Is there not ground for supposing that, at the present moment, the governments of Europe have approximated, by their negotiations to such a state of things, as may render it possible to arrange the terms of an honourable peace? And now I would address a word to my friends behind me. They propose, I believe, to submit to this meeting a resolution calling for the vigorous prosecution of the war. I have told you frankly that if the war is to be carried on it must be carried on in a very different spirit and on a very different scale from what it has hitherto been. But I would put it to my friends around me, and I put it to this meeting, as representing so important a community, whether you may not be throwing an obstacle in the path of peace—whether you may not be frustrating the objects which the government may now have in view in order to effect a peace—by passing in the midst of this important constituency such a resolution as I understand has been prepared? My own impression, drawn from those public sources of information which are open to us all, is that attempts are now being made—which are not unlikely to prove successful, if they are not thwarted by the public opinion of this country—to arrive at an honourable peace, and I ask you to consider well before you say or do one single thing that can by possibility impede the progress of these pacific negotiations. As for destroying Sebastopol, of what use would that be? In less than ten years Russia would come to Baring Brothers in London for a loan, and would build up Sebastopol with more skill and in greater perfection." He ridiculed the fears of those who spoke of danger to England from Russian aggression. As for the increase of territory, about which so much was said, England was far more to blame than Russia. He concluded by urging them not to commit themselves to the passing of any resolutions which might hinder the negotiations for peace.

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But this advice fell upon ears not willing to listen to it without suspicion of its wisdom, or at all events of its patriotism. The representatives of what was then called the "national policy" had a resolution ready which declared, that, in the opinion of the meeting, the war in which England and France are now engaged with Russia is a great contest forced upon them by the outrageous aggression of the latter power upon the Turkish Empire, and a spirit of aggrandizement on the part of the czar, which threatened the independence of other nations, and that the war ought to be prosecuted with the utmost vigour until safe and honourable terms of peace could be obtained.

Mr. Edward Baines seconded the resolution. He was sure, as regarded the interests of peace, that it would have no unfavourable effect upon the government. But there was another party to be consulted before they could have peace, and that was the Emperor of Russia. It was not by a resolution in favour of peace, but by a strong army being sent to the Crimea, that they could work upon the mind of the czar. The true plan was to be slow in going to war; but, once engaged in a just war, to prosecute it with such vigour to an issue that their enemy would not be likely to renew it again. He regarded this as a great and important crisis, when a league was being formed which might affect the destinies of Europe for ages to come. For the last century and a half the attitude in which Russia had presented herself to Europe was that of an ambitious, encroaching, and selfish power, while she was at the same time the most despotic, intolerant, and barbarous of European nations. Nothing was therefore, more to be deprecated; than that Russia should acquire a predominant influence among the continental powers.

The following amendment was proposed by the peace party amidst much disapprobation:—

"That this meeting, without giving any opinion on the origin or conduct of the war, earnestly desires that the present negotiations for peace may be carried to a successful issue, and the further evils of a protracted contest spared to this country, to Europe, and to the world."

Mr. R. M. Milnes, M.P., supported the resolution. He hoped that no sham peace would be made, but one of permanent character, so that the expense of keeping up a large standing army for fear of war breaking out might be avoided, and such a peace would be best procured by showing a firm confidence in the justice of the war in which this country had engaged. The amendment was urged by Major-general Thompson, who condemned the way in which the government had commenced and carried on the war; but on the question being put to the meeting the original resolution was carried, only a very few hands being held up against it.

The war fever had not yet abated; but the government which had reluctantly declared the war was itself to fall a victim to it. There were many who asserted that the ministry had brought defeat on themselves, and who, though they entirely disapproved of the action of Lord John Russell, had agreed with him when, in recommending the substitution of Lord Palmerston for the Duke of Newcastle, he said that the head of the government must be the moving spirit of the machine, or the minister of war be strong enough by himself to control every department connected with the military operations—neither of which conditions were to be found under the existing arrangement.

On the second night of the debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion for a committee of inquiry the discussion grew high, and it was evident that the fate of the ministry would be decided on that question. To propose such an inquiry while the war was at a critical point was so extreme a test that it could be regarded only as another method of compelling a vote of want of confidence or the reverse, and ministers felt that they could not honourably meet such a motion by offering to reconstruct the cabinet, though the Duke of Newcastle was still anxious to retire, and so relieve the government by making room for Lord Palmerston. The whole cabinet would have resigned, but at that juncture a dissolution of parliament

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would have been a serious thing, and the queen's request that ministers would retain office decided them to await the result of the motion for a select committee.

Palmerston with his wonted courage declared that he fully concurred in the decision that the responsibility for the conduct of the war fell not on the Duke of Newcastle alone, but on the whole cabinet. He did not deny that there had been something calamitous in the condition of our army, but he traced it to the inexperience arising from a long peace. If the house thought the government not deserving of confidence, the direct and manly course would have been to affirm that proposition. The course to be pursued would be dangerous and inconvenient in its results abroad. He hoped that when the house had determined what set of men should be intrusted with public affairs, they would give their support to that government, and not show to Europe that a nation could only meet a great crisis when it was deprived of representative institutions.

Mr. Sidney Herbert declared that the reports of the condition of things in the Crimea had been grossly exaggerated and that great improvements had taken place; but a speech from Mr. Stafford, who supported the motion for inquiry, produced some sensation, as he said his only claim to attention was that he would tell the house what he himself had seen. One radical defect of the hospitals both at Scutari and at Abydos was the unhealthiness of the sites. That objection applied to all the district between the two seas, and therefore he was rejoiced to hear that the government were about to open a new hospital at Smyrna. Other defects in the hospital at Scutari were pointed out by him. But matters were much worse at the Balaklava hospital,' where the bed-clothes had never been washed, and where men sick of one disease, had caught another disease by being put into the place where a man had just died before of fever. In one room he found fourteen, in another nine, men lying on the floor, while in the passage between them were excellent bedsteads which might have been put up on an average of three minutes each. The honourable member went at great length and minuteness into specific cases of neglect and consequent misery endured by the soldiers, the general effect of which may be summed up in the words addressed by a French officer to himself: "You seem, sir," said he, "to carry on war according to the system of the middle ages; and," he added, "our regret for your backwardness is increased because we see the noble lives you are losing." From the general censure he excepted Miss Nightingale and her nurses, he also spoke of the attachment of the soldiers to their officers, and especially to the Duke of Cambridge.

We have already seen that subsequently considerable improvements took place at Scutari, and Miss Nightingale and some of her nurses afterwards visited the hospital at Balaklava much to its advantage.

The debate was continued with considerable spirit, one of the most damaging speeches to the government being that of Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, who was then in the zenith of his parliamentary career. It was during his remarks on this occasion that, in a passage which has become famous, he said: "Looking through our modern history, I find that most of our powerful, even popular administrations, have been coalitions. Both the administrations of Mr. Pitt were coalitions, and the last was very remarkable, for he first turned out the Addington government, and then coalesced with six of its members. Nay, he was not contented till he had netted the expelled prime minister himself and made him lord president of the council. But then there is one indisputable element of a coalition, and that is, that *its members should coalesce.*" He argued that the justification of the motion was to be found in the extremity of the case. The noble lord the member for London had left his colleagues rather than resist it, notwithstanding the pain which such an abandonment must have given to so gallant a mind; and he gave the noble lord the more credit for his pain because of the more than Spartan fortitude with which he had concealed the fact. The expedition to the Crimea had been undertaken in utter ignorance of the country they were to invade, the forces they were to encounter, and the supplies which they might

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expect; and it was this ignorance, and not the petty collateral causes which the secretary of war had cited, to which the disasters were to be attributed. It was stated that the people were equally ignorant. That might be, but the ignorance which was excusable in a people was a crime in a ministry. But the people did not deserve this censure. The people looked to triumphs on the sea rather than on the land; but when nearly the whole Black Sea lay defenceless before them, the fleet contented themselves with an ineffectual bombardment of Odessa, for which—in consequence, he was sure, of private instruction—the admiral afterwards made an apology. It was said that the destruction of Odessa would have been an act of inhumanity. Why, Odessa was the feeder of Sebastopol, and to spare it was the grossest inhumanity to our soldiers. The whole campaign was mismanaged. Of the whole year the government had chosen the two unhealthiest months to encamp the army at Varna, and they had chosen the winter as the time to attack the Gibraltar of the East. He did not blame the government because the army had been exposed to wind, and rain, and mud; but he did blame them for not taking those precautions against the Crimean winter which any traveller could have told them were necessary. He traced many of the evils to the fact of a coalition government, in which everybody's principles agreed with nobody's opinions. It was said that the noble lord the member for Tiverton was likely to be advanced in position as the result of these disputes. He regarded that noble lord with feelings of the greatest admiration, and he believed his greatest danger would arise from the armed neutrality of his unsuccessful advocate and friend the noble member for London.

There is something in this speech which may well remind us of Disraeli, for it has the touch of one who may be called a professional satirist. In the speeches of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton his literary faculty was obvious, and the same but in a less prominent degree may often be said of Disraeli.

Mr. Gladstone stood up not only to defend the government but to protest against the proposal for a committee of inquiry, or, if such a committee were proposed to declare that the ministry was bound to abide by its own acts, and not to seek an uncertain tenure of office by a compromise, or an effort at reorganization which might pacify adverse opinion. He pointed out that Lord John Russell had not urged his remonstrances from November up to the time of his resignation, and in November there were no complaints against the war office. In October Lord John had actually written to the Duke of Newcastle, stating his belief that he had done in his office all that man could do. More than that, the Earl of Aberdeen being doubtful of the intentions of the president of the council asked him on the 16th of December whether he still adhered to his intention of pressing changes in the war department; and the noble lord stated in reply, that, on the advice of a friend of his own, he had abandoned the views he pressed in November. Therefore, up to the night when the noble lord sent in his resignation, his colleagues did not know that he was dissatisfied, or that he meant to press his former views as to the reorganization of the war department; and it might be thought that, after losing the services of the noble lord, the government ought not to have met the house, or at least not to have met them without some reorganization. But he felt it was not for them either to attempt to make terms with the house by a reorganization or to shrink from the judgment of the house upon their past acts. If they had shrunk, what sort of epitaph would have been placed over their remains? He himself would have thus written it:—Here lie the dishonoured ashes of a ministry which found England at peace and left it at war—which was content to enjoy the emoluments of office, and to wield the sceptre of power, so long as no man had the courage to question their existence. They saw the storm gathering over the country; they heard the agonizing accounts which were almost daily received of the state of the sick and wounded in the East. These things did not move them. But so soon as the honourable member for Sheffield raised his hand to point the thunderbolt they became conscience-stricken with a sense of guilt, and, hoping to escape punishment, they ran away

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from duty. With regard to the motion now before the house he would be himself the first to vote for it if it could be proved that it would benefit the army. He believed it would aggravate, rather than alleviate, the evils complained of.

Mr. Gladstone then pointed out that the last accounts represented matters in the Crimea as improving. The whole army was improving; warm clothing was being served out; huts were being erected; the railway was approaching completion, and Englishmen would be relieved by a large accession of Frenchmen doing service in the trenches. The honourable baronet (Sir E. Lytton) condemned the government for not destroying Odessa. Why, Odessa was an open town, with 100,000 inhabitants, and with an army of 300,000 men within easy reach. Would that have proved comfortable winter quarters for the British army? He admitted that the administration of the war departments at home was defective; but he did not admit that they were not much improved, or that they remained so defective as to call for censure. He then dwelt upon improvements in the military preparations, and in the arms and artillery, and defended the Duke of Newcastle against any suspicion that he had not performed the duties intrusted to him. The complaints as to the state of the hospitals and of the army before Sebastopol had only become clamorous since the middle of December. What would the house have had his noble friend do? Was he to recall Lord Raglan? Why, the house had just voted their unanimous thanks to that gallant commander! Was he then to recall the subordinates of Lord Raglan? Before doing that, his noble friend had called for a report from Lord Raglan as to his subordinates, and they had received a statement from Lord Raglan, giving hope that these abuses would be remedied. It was for the house to say whether they would censure the government for trusting to the representations of Lord Raglan. It was admitted that the appointment of this committee was improper and impracticable, and was avowedly supported by many members as a means of turning out the ministry. If this motion were to be carried he should ever rejoice that his last words as a member of Lord Aberdeen's government were an indignant protest against a measure useless to the army, unconstitutional in its nature, and fraught with danger to the honour and the interest of the Commons of England.

Of course Mr. Disraeli was not silent. He gave a few effective hits all round. He said his first impression on seeing the honourable member for Sheffield sit down after simply reading his motion was, that the honourable and learned gentleman, as a consummate rhetorician, had done so as the most effective way of supporting his motion. He might well, indeed, dispense with a speech in support of his motion, for that had been made for him by the noble lord who but a few hours before was the first minister of the crown in that house. It was said that this motion implied a vote of want of confidence. He would ask, in what government did it imply a vote of want of confidence? Was it in the government as it existed forty-eight hours ago, or was it in the government as it now existed? Why, they had themselves admitted that they required reconstruction. Or was it want of confidence in the government as it was to be? The House of Commons had often before voted confidence in a government whose principles they did not know, but now they were called upon to vote confidence in an administration with whose very persons they were unacquainted. He denied that this motion was directed exclusively against the Duke of Newcastle. His own colleagues had described him as deficient alike in energy and experience; but the duke ought not to be made the scapegoat for a policy for which the whole cabinet was responsible. Neither would he consent to throw the blame upon a system which, whatever might be its faults, when in the hands of able men had accomplished great ends. It was the cabinet as a whole that must be held responsible for the evils that existed. Recurring to the explanatory speech of the noble lord the member for London, he said it reminded him of a page from the *Life of Bubb Doddington*, in the unconscious admission it contained of what, in the eighteenth century, would have been described as profligate intrigue. Such an all

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unconscious admission of profligate intrigue was not to be matched in that record which commemorated the doings of another Duke of Newcastle, who was a minister of England when the House of Commons was led by Sir Thomas Robinson, and when the opposition was actually carried on by the paymaster of the forces and the secretary of war. These dissensions would prove most injurious to the character of England. Two years ago England was the leading power in Europe; would any man say that she now occupied that position? Under these circumstances he felt that, being called upon to give a vote on this question, he could not refuse to give it against a deplorable administration.

Lord John Russell rose to enter into explanations and to attempt to refute the attack. If the whole of what had passed between himself and Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle were placed before the house the transactions would have a different complexion, but he would not enter into that subject. He would repel the expression characterizing his conduct as a political intrigue. As a precedent for what he had done he referred to the substitution of Lord Stanley for Lord Goderich as colonial secretary in Lord Grey's administration. No man would characterize that as a profligate intrigue, and he had proposed no more than was done there. In his anxiety to keep clear of everything like intrigue he had, unadvisedly for himself perhaps, not communicated his intention of resigning to any of his colleagues.

Those who thought that the resignation of Lord John Russell caused the overthrow of the ministry were mistaken. If the country did not trust them, neither did it trust him; and when a new ministry had to be formed he was incapable of inspiring confidence in his ability to keep a cabinet together, or even to head a government that could stand for an hour. Nobody really believed that the coalition was so weak as it really was; and had it been as strong as was supposed Mr. Gladstone's determined attitude and Lord Palmerston's protest, already referred to, which practically wound up the debate, might have saved it. As it was, when the house divided there were 305 votes in favour of the committee of inquiry, and only 148 against it. Instead of a burst of cheering saluting this unlooked-for result, a profound silence seemed for a minute to have fallen on the assembly. Then there arose a murmur of astonishment, succeeded by a sudden and almost simultaneous outburst of satirical laughter.

The resignation of ministers was announced in the House of Lords by the Earl of Aberdeen and in the Commons by Lord Palmerston. In the former assembly the Duke of Newcastle took the opportunity of defending himself from the charges brought or implied against him, and he did so with spirit and with dignity. There was something both eloquent and touching in his assertion of his devotion to the public service, and his protest against being accused of want of zeal and industry. "I have been charged with indolence and indifference. My lords, as regards indolence, the public have had every hour, every minute of my time. To not one hour of amusement or recreation have I presumed to think I was entitled. The other charge of indifference is one which is still more painful to me. Indifference, my lords, to what? Indifference to the honour of my country, to the success and the safety of the army? My lords, I have myself, like many who listen to me, too dear hostages for my interest in the welfare of the military and naval services of the country to allow of such a sentiment. I have two sons engaged in those professions, and that alone, I think, would be sufficient; but, my lords, as a minister—as a man—I should be unworthy to stand in any assembly if the charge of indifference under such circumstances could fairly be brought against me. Many a sleepless night have I passed in thinking over the ills which the public believe and say that I could have cured, and which, God knows, I would have cured if it had been in my power. Indolence and indifference are not charges which can be brought against me; and I trust that my countrymen may, before long, be satisfied — whatever they may think of my capacity—that there is no ground for fixing that unjust stigma upon me."

It was a true and manly defence, and vindicated the speaker against the particular

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charges of which he complained; but there remained the belief that he was not capable of grasping the situation in which he had been placed. It was a pretty general opinion that nothing in his official life became him so much as the leaving of it.

It was all very well to turn out the Aberdeen ministry; but who were to replace its members? Johnny had again succeeded in upsetting the coach; but who was now to take the reins with any chance of reaching the end of the journey? A strong government was needed, and there was considerable difficulty in securing any government at all. Lord Derby was the head of the party which was most numerous, and they had helped to carry Mr. Roebuck's motion; to him, therefore, the royal message was first sent. It was, however, one thing to lead a large party, and quite another thing to be able to hold the House of Commons in control; and it soon became evident that no ministry could be formed except by a fresh coalition. To begin with, it was necessary to obtain the support of Lord Palmerston. The general opinion of the country had decided that he alone was competent to direct the future progress of the war. Lord Derby did not agree altogether with this conclusion, and instead of offering to him the appointment of minister of war, proposed that he should join the government as leader of the House of Commons—a position which Mr. Disraeli was ready to relinquish in his favour. Even with Lord Palmerston, however, it would have been hopeless to expect success unless the support of the party still known as "Peelites" could be secured, and it was believed that Palmerston's influence might induce them to take office in a Derby administration. Palmerston was reluctant to belong to any government in which the management of foreign affairs did not remain in the hands of Lord Clarendon, and to this there would probably have been little opposition; but it would seem that in face of the public demand that he should be placed where he could direct the prosecution of the war, Palmerston would not consent to occupy a less influential place in the ministry. "Having well reflected upon the proposition which you made to me," he wrote on the same day in which he received the offer, "I have come to the conclusion that if I were to join your government, as proposed by you, I should not give to that government the strength which you are good enough to think would accrue to you from my acceptance of office. I shall therefore deem it my duty, in the present critical state of affairs, to give, out of office, my support to any government that shall carry on the war with energy and vigour, and will, in the management of our foreign relations, sustain the dignity and interests of the country, and maintain unimpaired the alliances which have been formed. I have conveyed to Gladstone and Sidney Herbert the communication which you wished me to make to them; but it seemed to me to be best that they should write to you themselves." The reply of Gladstone and Sidney Herbert was not reassuring, but it was, apparently, such as had been expected, for Lord Derby had already suggested to the queen that should he fail to obtain their assistance she might attempt other combinations with Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne and their friends. In the event of all other attempts failing, however, he would be "ready to come forward to the rescue of the country with such materials as he had, but it would be a desperate attempt." No time was lost. In a few hours he had to inform her majesty that Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Herbert could offer him only "an independent support," which, he said, reminded him of the definition of the independent member of parliament, namely, one that could not be depended upon.

The state of affairs was serious. Abroad the condition of England was being discussed with little friendly feeling. The reports which had been so fully published concerning the state of our army in the Crimea and of mismanagement in the prosecution of the war were now emphasized by the sudden collapse of the government and the difficulty of forming a strong administration. Prince Albert, in a long conference with Lord Derby, discussed the critical condition of affairs and the unpatriotic attitude of statesmen, who took advantage of every mishap and strove to

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aggravate it for the purpose of snatching party advantages. Lord Derby capped some of the prince's illustrations of the effect which had thus been produced on the opinion of foreign governments, by quoting a remark alleged to have been made by Count Walewski, the French representative, on the subject of our probable position at the approaching conference at Vienna. "What influence can a country like England pretend to exercise, which has no army and no government?" Supposing that Walewski ever said this, it was certainly indiscreet, and had his imperial master known it he might have received a sharp rebuke, or perhaps the emperor would have made light of it, as he afterwards did of a really authenticated speech communicated to him by the queen while she was in Paris. Her majesty was frankly explaining to him the footing on which she stood with the Orleans family; that they were her friends and relations, and she could not drop them in their adversity; but that they were very discreet, and politics were not touched upon between them. The emperor replied that he quite understood this, and felt that she could not abandon those who were in misfortune. The queen rejoined that she was certain this was the emperor's feeling, but that other people tried—and Walewski was one—to put a great stress on her communications with the family, and to make her understand that the emperor would be very much displeased. "That is just like Walewski," replied the emperor. Doubtless it was also just like Walewski to say that England had no army and no government; but the phrase perturbed the prince consort, who thought there was truth in it—that "every one here took pains to prove that we had no army, and to contrive that the queen should have no government." The prince was likely to hear a great deal of the depreciation of England by foreign critics, and it is not to be wondered at that he should have attributed rather undue importance to another remark retailed by "one of the shrewdest observers in Europe, who was in a position to hear what was said in the most influential quarters abroad," that England as a great power was to be feared no more; that she never could find men enough to carry on the war effectually, although she might effect great exploits; that the Russians everywhere were in the highest spirits; that the Emperor Nicholas had written to his sister, she might rely on his assurance, Sebastopol never would be taken.[1]

As Lord Derby had failed in the attempt to form a ministry, the queen sent to ask the advice of Lord Lansdowne. That veteran peer, who had left office with Lord John Russell in 1852, might himself have formed a ministry in which both Palmerston and Russell would have taken office; but it could only be a temporary one, for he was seventy-five years old and suffering severely from gout. A temporary administration would be worse than useless; and moreover, he believed that though Lord Palmerston could form an administration, it would certainly fall to pieces unless it included Lord John, who on the other hand could not expect that Palmerston would again serve under him. The strange part of the business was that Lord John himself seemed to believe he was strong enough to form a government without the aid of the "Peelites," and Lord Lansdowne thought that no effective combination could be made until he had been called upon to try and had failed. That he *would* fail was a foregone conclusion. The queen did the best she could by addressing herself "to Lord John Russell as the person who may be considered to have contributed to the vote of the House of Commons which displaced her last government," and expressing her hope that he would be able to present to her such a government as would give a fair promise successfully to overcome the great difficulties in which the country was placed. She also added a distinct declaration that "it would give her particular satisfaction if Lord Palmerston would join in the formation." This was naturally a very pleasant intimation for Palmerston, who saw in it the obliteration of former objections and disagreements. With his customary cheerful alacrity

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Sir Theodore Martin. These remarks are cited as an indication of the reports that came to the prince, but the name of "one of the shrewdest observers in Europe" is not mentioned.

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and good humour he requested an audience for the purpose of assuring the queen of his readiness to do anything in his power to put an end to the existing difficulty. He was willing to take office under Lord John Russell as leader of the House of Commons, but he considered it essential that Lord Clarendon should remain at the foreign office—an opinion in which, as it turned out, Lord John himself entirely agreed. But Lord Clarendon utterly repudiated the idea of the ability of Lord John Russell to form a government. Nobody really believed it to be possible that he could command a permanent ministry, composed as it would be of the same men who had been utterly defeated in 1852, and minus two of their number, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Grey. Were he (Lord Clarendon) to remain at the foreign office his language to foreign countries would lose all its weight, because it would be known not to rest on public opinion; and what would be thought of him were he to accept as his leader, the man who, while in the late ministry, had worked for the overthrow of Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues and for the reinstatement of an exclusively Whig ministry? Lord Clarendon respected the loyalty of his colleagues too much to form an alliance with the minister who had overthrown them though they were his colleagues also.

Lord Palmerston considered that he could not refuse his support, for, as he afterwards wrote in a letter to his brother, Sir William Temple, "John Russell, by the way in which he suddenly abandoned the government, had so lost caste for the moment, that I was the only one of his political friends who was willing to serve under him. I could not refuse to do so, because he told me that upon my answer depended his undertaking to form a government, and if I had refused, and he had declined the task, and the queen had then sent for me, people would have ascribed my refusal to personal ambition. Besides, he broke with the late government because the war department was not given to me, and it would have been ungrateful of me to have refused to assist him. It is, however, curious that the same man who summarily dismissed me three years ago as unfit to be minister for foreign affairs, should now have broken up a government because I was not placed in what he conceived to be the most important post in the present state of things."

When this was written a conclusion had been arrived at, which a good many people must have been expecting for several days. The crisis had really become serious. From the 23d of January to the 4th of February (1855) there had virtually been no government, and on the latter date Lord Cowley had written from Paris to Lord Clarendon, speaking of the mischief which was being done to our reputation and the disrepute that the delay was bringing to constitutional government. There was nothing for it but to send for Lord Palmerston, and he had shown enough of public spirit to make it desirable, if not necessary, for the queen to ask him if he could form a ministry capable of acting in "that momentous crisis." The Earl of Aberdeen behaved nobly, and with a high-minded and unselfish determination to devote himself to the service of the country which had always distinguished him whatever may have been his failings of statesmanship. Palmerston was able to report the next day that Lord Lansdowne, the lord-chancellor, Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, Sir George Grey, and Sir Charles Wood had agreed to take office under him, and there were sufficient indications that he might hope for success, but in order to make that success secure, it was most desirable that he should be able to count on the support of the men who represented the strength of the late ministry in the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and the Duke of Argyll declined to give in their complete adhesion on the ground that to do so would be to act disloyally to Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle. But the Earl of Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle were not the men to permit the interests of the country to suffer, if, by an act of self-abnegation, they could prevent it. They called on their friends, and by their persuasions induced them to change their determination. Palmerston was not ungrateful. "I called at your door yesterday, and was sorry not to have found you at home,"

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GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK VILLIERS.
FOURTH EARL OF CLARENDON.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN WATKINS

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he wrote to the earl. "I wanted to say how much I have to thank you for your handsome conduct, and for your friendly and energetic exertions in removing the difficulties which I at first experienced in my endeavour to reconstitute the government in such a manner as to combine in it all the strength which, in the circumstances of the moment, it was possible to bring together. I well know, that without your assistance that most desirable and important combination could not have been effected." The queen also warmly thanked him for his kind and disinterested assistance.

Palmerston went to work in his usual prompt and vigorous fashion, and with that kind of easy gaiety which distinguished him. "I think our government will do very well," he says in the letter to his brother, already quoted. "I am backed by the general opinion of the whole country, and I have no reason to complain of the least want of cordiality or confidence on the part of the court. As Aberdeen has become an impossibility I am for the moment l'inévitable. We are sending John Russell to negotiate at Vienna. This will serve as a proof to show we are in earnest in our wish for peace, and in our determination to have sufficiently satisfactory terms." He then goes on to say what must be demanded of the Emperor Nicholas, in whose sincerity he has no great faith, "though it is said he is much pressed by many around him to make peace as soon as he can."

Palmerston had the inestimable support of public confidence; but he had also the important advantage of having succeeded to power at a time when it had begun to be known what were the real needs of the army, and when provisions were being made to supply them. He set himself at once to work to remedy the evils of which complaints had been made; and soon a sanitary commission under Dr. Sutherland, Dr. Gavin, and Mr. Rawlinson were sent out, and, as we have seen, began to improve the hospitals, the camp, and the harbour. "They will of course be opposed and thwarted by the medical officers, by the men who have charge of the port arrangements, and by those who have the cleaning of the camp," he wrote to Lord Raglan. "Their mission will be ridiculed, and their recommendations set aside unless enforced by the peremptory exercise of your authority. But that authority I must request you to exert in the most peremptory manner for the immediate and exact carrying into execution whatever changes of arrangement they may recommend. . . . It is scarcely to be expected that officers, whether military or medical, whose time is wholly occupied by the pressing business of each day, should be able to give their attention or their time to the matters to which these commissioners have for many years devoted their action and their thoughts."

With a remarkable grasp even of minor details, and with a promptitude of action which went far to justify Lord John's obstinate recommendations of his earlier appointment to a post of responsible power, Palmerston directed the various modes of provision and relief, and he was ably seconded by Lord Panmure, who had accepted the office of secretary of war, which was thereafter to be amalgamated with that of secretary of state for the war department. The reappointment of Mr. Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer gave real strength to the government. Mr. Sidney Herbert was colonial secretary, and the Duke of Argyll lord privy-seal. Earl Granville became lord-president of the council; Sir George Grey, home secretary; Sir C. Wood took the board of control; Lord Cranworth was lord-chancellor; Mr. Cardwell, Indian secretary; the Earl of Carlisle, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Horsman, Irish secretary; Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; and Sir B. Hall took the control of woods and forests. It will be seen that the new ministry had been formed not so much by a change of men as by a redisposition of some of the offices. The coalition cards had, so to speak, been shuffled; but there was little change, except that Lord Palmerston had become the head of the government, and the Duke of Newcastle had been superseded by Lord Panmure. The latter appointment, however, was an important one.

Lord Panmure, who was better known as Mr. Fox Maule, had been minister of war during the six years of the Russell administration, and had

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a great knowledge of the duties that belonged to the office. He was an army reformer in a moderate degree, and had displayed remarkable talent in relation to the various details of military organization. For twenty years, as Mr. Fox Maule, he had held a distinguished position in parliament, and whenever his party was in power had satisfactorily filled offices of greater or less importance. His father, the youngest son of the eighth Earl of Dalhousie, had changed his name from Ramsay to Maule on succeeding through his grandmother to the estates of the old earls of Panmure, whose title he took when he was raised to the peerage in 1831. Mr. Fox Maule, who had succeeded to the title only just before the formation of the Aberdeen government, had served twelve years as an officer of the 79th Highlanders, and was thirty-four years old before he entered the civil service of the country. In November, 1842, he had been elected Lord-rector of the University of Glasgow, in 1849 became Lord-lieutenant of Forfarshire, and in 1853 lord-keeper of the privy seal of Scotland. As under secretary of state for the home department in the government of Lord Melbourne he had shown such business aptitude that he was afterwards nominated vice-president of the Board of Trade; but it was in the war department that he displayed the marked ability which led to his being appointed to the onerous position which he accepted under Lord Palmerston. A cheerful, rather jovial, witty man, but with a certain dignity, which, in conjunction with his appearance, stamped him as belonging rather to the old school of manners. There was in his appearance something to remind one of Elliston the theatrical manager, and of the fashion of the best men of the fourth Georgian period. A fur-collared cloak, a full-bosomed coat, and what has been called "a cataract of black satin," forming a stock fastened with a double pin; a face clean shaven, and neatly brushed curling hair; this is the portrait of Lord Panmure at the time of which we are speaking. There was much fun in the expression of his mouth, much penetration in his eyes, and he was, in fact, distinguished for his ready *bonhomie*, except when he had an attack of gout, and, as it was said, remained shut up in his room, where nobody was admitted to speak to him except on urgent business.

Lord Palmerston appealed to the house to support a government which he said he thought would be able to carry on public affairs. It contained, he believed, sufficient administrative ability, sufficient political sagacity, sufficient patriotism and determination to justify him in asking the house and the country for support in the present critical state of our national affairs. In sketching the intentions of the government he said that the secretary of the admiralty had established a board to superintend the transport service at sea. We were engaged in warlike operations with France as an ally, but we had not the means of sending so many men into the field as France, and it was but fair that we should make some return to France in the shape of additional naval arrangements. He was convinced that the establishment of that board would lead to increased economy and efficiency in that department. Well-grounded complaints having been made as to the condition of our war-hospitals, it was intended to send out three civilians for the purpose of making good sanitary arrangements for the hospitals, camps, and ships, and from their scientific labours he anticipated the greatest advantages. No means would be omitted to reinforce the army in due time. Charged as the government was with the interests of a great nation, they had to look not only to the means of carrying on the war with great vigour, but it was their duty to take all measures in their power to put an end to it. They had been informed that certain arrangements agreed to between England and France had been submitted to Austria, and adopted by Russia as the basis of negotiation. In order that these negotiations might be most solemnly conducted they proposed to Lord John Russell to undertake the duty, being convinced that when they were placed in the hands of a man so generally respected at home and so well known throughout Europe, if their efforts should fail they would stand acquitted from blame. The noble lord would first proceed to Paris, thence to Berlin, where

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he would be in communication with the King of Prussia, and although some time might elapse before his arrival in Vienna, the time he spent in those two capitals would not be thrown away.

Mr. Layard, however, was still in bitter opposition to the government, though the new administration had begun its work with energy, and Lord Panmure had already put forward a plan for obtaining more recruits by enlisting experienced men for shorter periods of two or three years, instead of the young fellows who, being unseasoned, died on being despatched to the Crimea. Mr. Layard was not to be pacified, and in the House of Commons rose to "call attention to the existing state of affairs." The country, he asserted, stood on the brink of ruin—it had fallen into the abyss of disgrace, and had become the laughing-stock of Europe. The new ministry differed little from the last. Was Lord Palmerston willing to accept peace on any terms? Was the country going to engage in prolonged hostilities? Was it proposed to engage on our behalf oppressed nationalities? Would the Circassians be assisted? In short, what was the government going to do? The people of England demanded a thorough reform. What the country wanted was not septuagenarian experience, but more of youthful activity and energy. He commended the plan of the French revolutionary convention, and intimated that it would be well if the house should send out a commission of its own members to inquire and to regulate proceedings in the Crimea. Lord Palmerston's retort was ready. He suggested that it might be satisfactory to the house to take the honourable member at his word, and to add to the direction that he and his colleagues should proceed instantly to the Crimea, the further instruction that they should remain there during the rest of the session. This was of course received with great laughter; but Mr. Roebuck's motion still hung over the government, and this was no laughing matter. It would seem to have been unreasonable that a committee of inquiry levelled against one administration should be continued against another which had neither been tried nor found wanting; but it was contended that there had been no real change of ministry—that the same men remained, but were distributed in different offices. On these grounds Mr. Disraeli demanded the prosecution of the inquiry by a select committee, in accordance with Mr. Roebuck's motion, satirically basing the demand upon the recommendation of Lord John Russell: "the first minister of the crown in this house—the man of whom as a member, irrespective of all party politics, this house is most proud—the man who had previously been prime minister of England for a long period of years—the man whose qualities, whose sagacity, whose wisdom, whose statesmanlike mind have been just eulogized by the first minister on the treasury bench—a man of such qualities, that though he had intentionally destroyed his late colleagues, they have already employed him upon an august mission—this eminent person comes down to parliament and tells you that although as a minister of the crown he cannot, with all the advantages of official experience, penetrate the mystery of the national calamity that has occurred, that he thinks inquiry ought to be granted, as the plea for it is irresistible." Mr. Disraeli then went on to say that after this opinion had been endorsed by a majority almost unprecedented in the records of parliament, they were told that the House of Commons was to stultify itself—to recede from the ground which it so triumphantly occupied—to rescind the resolution which it so solemnly affirmed.

Mr. Roebuck, however, had no intention to recede from his original proposal; he had been suffering from illness, but he pressed the inquiry with renewed energy. Lord Palmerston, believing that to make the motion for an inquiry into one of want of confidence would, in the condition of the public temper, again break up the government and provoke another crisis, consented to the appointment of a select committee. The country, it was argued, was bent on having the inquiry, and therefore it was that the House of Commons insisted upon it, and not from hostility to the new ministry. Had such hostility existed, the house, it was felt, would not have voted, as they had just done, without a murmur, largely

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increased estimates for the purpose of increasing the strength of both army and navy.

With these conclusions, however, Mr. Gladstone and some other influential members of the new administration did not agree, or at all events they felt that they could not now consistently consent to an inquiry which they had previously affirmed was not only unnecessary but impolitic. They were opposed to the inquiry, at such a juncture, as a breach of constitutional principle and a dangerous precedent. Sir James Graham said that he could not consent to the appointment of a committee which included no member of the government, and he was also opposed to a select committee. If secret, its investigations could not be checked by public opinion; and if open, the evidence taken would be immediately made public and canvassed in a manner injurious to the public service. Mr. Sidney Herbert declared that as a vote of censure the motion for the committee was valueless, while as an inquiry it would be a mere sham. Mr. Gladstone significantly represented that the committee, being neither for punishment nor remedy, must be for government, and could not fail to deprive the executive of its most important functions. All three, therefore, announced their intention to retire from the ministry, and they were followed by Mr. Cardwell; so that the Palmerston government was at the outset considerably shaken; but it was felt that it had become necessary to keep it together on the best terms possible, for another serious crisis would have been mischievous while negotiations were supposed to be pending, and yet it was necessary to prepare for a vigorous prosecution of the war. On this subject—the success of negotiation or the continuance of war—opinion was divided; but most people seemed to share Lord Palmerston's doubts of the good faith of the czar, and were for increased armaments. Mr. Bright and those who agreed with him, however, were of a different opinion, and thought that they saw in the proposed negotiations at Vienna an opportunity which the Emperor of Russia would accept for bringing hostilities to a close. During the debate which followed the explanations of the retiring ministers, he made a fervent, an impassioned appeal to the house and to Lord Palmerston to stay the war.

"You are not pretending to conquer territory," he said; "you are not pretending to hold fortified or unfortified towns; you have offered terms of peace, which, as I understand them, I do not say are not moderate; and breathes there a man in this house, or in this country, whose appetite for blood is so insatiable that even when terms of peace have been offered and accepted, he pines for that assault in which, of Russian, Turk, French, and English, as sure as one man dies, 20,000 corpses will strew the streets of Sebastopol? I say I should like to ask the noble lord—and I am sure that he will feel, and that this house will feel, that I am speaking in no unfriendly manner towards the government of which he is at the head. I should like to know, and I venture to hope that it is so, if the noble lord, the member for London, has power at the earliest stage of these proceedings at Vienna at which it can properly be done—and I should think that it might properly be done at a very early stage—to adopt a course by which all further waste of human life may be put an end to, and further animosity between three great nations be, as far as possible, prevented? I appeal to the noble lord at the head of the government and to this house; I am not now complaining of the terms of peace nor, indeed, of anything that has been done; but I wish to suggest to this house what, I believe, thousands and tens of thousands of the most educated and of the most Christian portion of the people of this country are feeling upon this subject, although, indeed, in the midst of a certain clamour in the country, they do not give public expression to their feelings. I cannot but notice in speaking to gentlemen who sit on either side of this house, or in speaking to any one I meet between this house and any of those localities we frequent when this house is up—I cannot, I say, but notice that an uneasy feeling exists as to the news which may arrive by the very next mail from the East. I do not suppose that your troops are to be beaten in actual conflict with the foe, or that they will be driven into the sea; but

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I am certain that many homes in England, in which there now exists a fond hope that the distant one may return; many such homes may be rendered desolate when the next mail shall arrive. The angel of death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings. There is no one, as when the first-born were slain of old, to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the two side-posts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on; he takes his victims from the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, and the cottage of the poor and the lowly, and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal. I tell the noble lord, that if he be ready honestly and frankly to endeavour, by the negotiations about to be opened at Vienna, to put an end to this war, no word of mine, no vote of mine, will be given to shake his power for one single moment, or to change his position in this house. I am sure that the noble lord is not inaccessible to appeals made to him from honest motives, and with no unfriendly feeling. The noble lord has been for more than forty years a member of this house. Before I was born he sat upon the treasury bench, and he has spent his life in the service of his country. He is no longer young, and his life has extended almost to the term allotted to man. I would ask, I would entreat the noble lord to take a course which, when he looks back upon his whole political career—whatever he may therein find to be pleased with, whatever to regret—cannot but be a source of gratification to him. By adopting that course he would have the satisfaction of reflecting that, having obtained the object of his laudable ambition—having become the foremost subject of the crown, the director of, it may be, the destinies of his country and the presiding genius in her councils—he had achieved a still higher and nobler ambition: that he had returned the sword to the scabbard—that at his word torrents of blood had ceased to flow—that he had restored tranquillity to Europe, and saved this country from the indescribable calamities of war."

The effect of the appeal on the critical sense of the house was very great, and the impressive peroration, as fine a piece of oratory as had ever been heard in the House of Commons, was listened to with a profound and impressive silence which was almost painful in its intensity, and might by a less able or less earnest speaker have been too easily turned into a laugh by some misplaced word. Such silence is often only relieved by some half hysterical outburst; but on this occasion it was deep and unbroken. "The beating of the wings" seemed for a moment possible, for in that almost breathless hush the house seemed to be listening for something even beyond the words of him who addressed them.

The new trial to the ministry was sharp, but it was short; and the concession of Lord Palmerston to what he believed to be the demand of the country having been made for the purpose of avoiding the inconvenience and danger of the government being again in abeyance, it was necessary to fill up the vacant places without delay. Sir G. C. Lewis therefore succeeded Mr. Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer. Sir C. Wood replaced Sir James Graham at the admiralty; Mr. Vernon Smith went to the board of control, and Lord Stanley of Alderley to the board of trade. At the same time Sir Robert Peel (the son of the repealer of the corn-laws) was made a lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Harrison became secretary for Ireland. Lord John Russell was nominated colonial secretary in place of Mr. Sidney Herbert, the appointment reaching him as he was on his way to Vienna.

Before the conferences could be commenced, and while the new government was settling into its place, and perhaps reckoning the advantages that had been gained by the victory of Omar Pasha, who, aided by the British fleet, had repelled and defeated the attack made by 40,000 Russians under General Liprandi on the Turkish position at Eupatoria; an event happened which startled and impressed Europe, and gave a new direction to the hopes of those who were most anxious for the conclusion of a lasting peace.

On the 2d of March the Czar Nicholas of Russia lay dead. It almost seemed as though he could not survive the intelligence that a smaller force of the despised Turks had beaten back his regiments at Eupatoria. Soon after

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that news reached him he became delirious; but it is not therefore to be assumed that his fatal illness was attributable to reverses, which, in spite of the continued hold upon Sebastopol, had befallen the Russian arms. In another sense, however, he may be said to have hazarded his life in the war and lost it. General February had not proved to be an ally. The weather, inclement and rigorous in the Crimea, was almost insupportable at St. Petersburg to anybody who was exposed to its severity, especially to one who had been suffering from influenza, and refused to take even ordinary precautions for preventing a worse disorder. The chief anxiety of the Emperor Nicholas, with regard to his own health, was to observe a regimen which would prevent corpulency, of which he had a peculiar dread; and this may account for many of his active and almost restless habits, as well as for his usual abstemiousness. He had during the bitterest weather persisted in attending reviews of the troops and inspecting defences. He had been on the ice to examine the fortifications of Cronstadt, and, in fact, gave himself no leisure and no repose in preparing for the exigencies of the conflict which he had challenged. He even seemed to have a presentiment of death, occasioned either by his gloomy reception of the news of repeated defeat in the Crimea, or from a sense of departing strength; but he would relax no exertion even though the affection of the chest, from which he had begun to suffer, became more serious. It was not till Dr. Mandt expressed an earnest desire for a second physician to be summoned that he consented to consult Dr. Karell, his physician-in-ordinary, and agreed to remain in bed. The health of the empress was at this time so feeble that she also was confined to her own apartment, so that the emperor was without the consolation which her presence might have afforded him. He daily grew worse, he was sleepless, and his cough was incessant. He could not tolerate a condition which imposed inactivity, and announced his determination to review a corps of infantry of the guard which was on its way to Lithuania. The weather was still intensely cold, and a hard frost continued. "Sire," said one of his physicians, "there is not in the whole army a military surgeon who would permit a common soldier to quit the hospital in the state in which you are, for he would be sure that his patient would re-enter it still worse." "'Tis well, gentlemen," answered the emperor; "you have done your duty, now I am going to do mine;" and upon this he entered the sledge. In passing along the ranks of his soldiers his air of suffering and continual cough betrayed his condition. On his return he said, "I am bathed in perspiration." Before going home he called upon Prince Dolgorouki, the minister of war, who was ill, and, more prudent for him than for himself, he urged him not to go out too soon. He passed the evening with the empress, but complained of cold and kept on his cloak.

The result of his imprudent excursion was a serious relapse, which compelled him to remain in the small room which was his working cabinet, whence for some days he continued to issue orders respecting the defence of Sebastopol and the disposition of the army; but it was evident that his brain had become affected. The empress left her own apartments to attend upon him; but he continued, by the exercise of a powerful will, to fight against increasing weakness, and during the first days of Lent attended the religious services of the season in the usual manner. But after three or four days he was compelled to absent himself; and the empress, who was borne down with distress, then suggested to him the serious nature of his illness by proposing that he should receive the sacraments. For some time he did not or would not realize his dangerous condition; but at last, noticing the deep grief of the empress, he began to comprehend it, and having dismissed his physician, sent for the hereditary prince and told him that his recovery was hopeless. He then sent for his confessor, the archpriest Bajanoff, with whom, after having blessed the empress and the prince, who remained during the preliminary prayers, he was left alone, the empress and the czarowitch returning afterwards, when he took the communion. He then sent for all the members of his family, of whom he

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took leave, giving them his blessing. His ministers were then summoned, and finally he took leave of his servants. He himself gave directions for the funeral ceremonies, which were to be conducted without unnecessary display, since no expenditure was to be incurred when it could be so ill spared from the requirements of the war. On the 2d of March, at noon, after having been unable for more than an hour to articulate a syllable, he recovered for a few minutes the power of speech, and bade his son Alexander thank the garrison of Sebastopol in his name. His anxiety that Prussia should continue in the policy which it had, to so great an extent, observed, was manifest in what were almost his last words: "Dites à Fritz (his brother-in-law the King of Prussia) de rester le même pour la Russie et de ne pas oublier les paroles de papa."[1]

Thus died Nicholas of Russia at the age of 59, and after reigning 29 years. He had lived longer than his predecessors on the throne, and had already noticed that fact when he seemed to have a premonition that his end was approaching. The cause of his death was said to be pulmonary apoplexy, but of course poison was hinted at, though there appears to have been no foundation for any suspicion that he had died from other than natural causes. It was also asserted that the disease of which he died was either caused or accelerated by the violent fits of passion which overmastered him when he received intelligence of the reverses of his troops, the last having been occasioned by the news of Sardinia joining the allies; but it was pointed out at the time that these uncontrollable or uncontrolled outbreaks of fury, may have been a result rather than a cause of serious cerebral disorder.

The news of the death of the czar took the government and the country by surprise. It was solemnly announced in parliament, and was received by the public without unseemly exultation, but rather with a sense of awe and with deep seriousness. One of the most striking notices of the event in the public press took the form of a cartoon in *Punch* by the famous John Leech. It was entitled "General Fevrier turned Traitor," and represented a skeleton in the uniform of a Russian officer laying his icy hand on the breast of the prostrate emperor. This picture caused a great sensation, and was afterwards referred to as a new example of the deep and often solemn significance, which had become an element even in some of the so-called lighter literature of the time.

It was everywhere being asked, What will be the effect of the death of the czar in relation to the war? Shall we be obliged to continue hostilities to the bitter end, or will an opportunity be afforded for such negotiations on the "four points" as will lead to a pacific arrangement? It was generally believed that the Grand-duke Alexander, who had succeeded to the imperial throne under the name of Alexander II. Nicolaiewitch, was of a milder nature than his father, that he was very popular, and inherited neither the character nor the obstinacy of Nicholas. It was generally hoped that he would be willing to accede to peaceable overtures. But nobody knew what were the last instructions given by the late emperor to his heir, and the manifesto made by the latter at his accession was little less ambiguous than such declarations usually are. It was understood that he would be actuated by the same sentiments as those which animated his father. That might mean that he would prosecute the war without receding from former demands. He swore to regard the welfare of the empire as his only object, and expressed his desire to maintain Russia on the highest standard of power and glory, and in his own person accomplish the incessant wishes of Peter, of Catherine, of Alexander, and of his father. That might be still more significant. The only course which could be taken by England would be to continue pushing on preparations for a final blow at the power of Russia, and at the same time to send Lord John Russell to Vienna to see whether the proposed terms would be favourably received. These were the opinions of the government, and probably of the large ma-

[1] The words referred to were an injunction to maintain under all contingencies the principles of the "Holy Alliance."

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jority of the nation. Palmerston's suspicion of the good faith of Russia was apparently little altered by the accession of the Grand-duke Alexander to the throne, and most people shared his doubts, and regarded the appeals of Bright and Cobden at the best as mere sentimental delusions, and at the worst as mean-spirited truckling to a base, cowardly, and huckstering policy. There was no longer any slackness on the part of the government in sending supplies to the Crimea, and recruiting was carried on with renewed energy. The hospitals were still full of the sick and wounded, while numbers of men suffered severely from frost-bite occasioned by the intense cold and the arduous duties they had to fulfil amidst ice and snow. There was too little disposition on the part of some of the commanding officers to give their men the full benefit of the suitable clothing sent out to them, and in many instances a return to the regulation uniform was insisted on. There was even a whisper when some of the regiments were reorganized that they were to return to the complete regimentals, including the stiff military stock. The Highlanders were made to abandon the comfortable fur caps with which they had been provided, and to resume the Scotch bonnets, which left their ears exposed to the cutting wind. The siege was being carried on with increasing effect, and the victory at Eupatoria released the Turkish contingent, which was ordered to march southward towards the north of Sebastopol, in order either to cut off the Russian supplies, or make it necessary for the enemy to keep a large body of men to prevent their communications from being intercepted.

The arrival of a number of our wounded soldiers who had been sent home to England had some effect in maintaining rather than in mitigating the desire to pursue the war until a more definite result had been achieved. The queen lost no time in giving practical expression to her sympathy with the brave men who had suffered so much during the terrible campaign, from which they had returned maimed or mutilated. Accompanied by the prince consort she visited the hospital at Chatham, and went through the wards, speaking to the men who were lying there disabled, or to those who, being less seriously hurt or nearer to convalescence, were drawn up for her inspection. It was a pitiful spectacle; but the soldiers were so touched by the interest shown by the sovereign that before she left the building they raised a cheer; the ghost of a cheer,—so feeble was its tone as compared to the sound that had rung out many a time during the heat and ardour of battle,—but full of meaning. At Buckingham Palace the wounded and disabled guards were mustered, that her majesty might speak to each man and inquire how he was wounded, and what were his hopes of regaining strength. Many who could not walk from the barracks were conveyed to the palace in an omnibus. There were strange stories to be told, and it was a sad sight to see so many fine fellows permanently injured by the loss of limbs, or by wounds which would leave them unfit for further duty. But most of them were still capable of following some occupations which were afterwards found for them, as care-takers in warehouses, gate-keepers, private watchmen, light porters at public buildings, and such comparatively easy callings as required discipline, punctuality, and order. Many situations of this kind were offered to those least seriously disabled, and the appeal made in their behalf may be said to have originated the organization which has since become so useful under the name of the Corps of Commissionaires.

The suspicions that the attempt to restore peace by a congress of the great powers at Vienna had altogether failed were too quickly justified. No basis of negotiations could be agreed upon. The proposed limitation of the preponderance of the power of Russia in the Black Sea was the rock upon which diplomacy split. M. Drouyn de Lhuys inquired whether Russia would consider her rights of sovereignty infringed if she deprived herself of the liberty of building an unlimited number of ships of war in the Black Sea. This question was asked on the 19th of March, and after taking forty-eight hours to think it over Prince Gortschakoff replied that Russia would not consent to the strength of her navy being

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restricted to any fixed number either by treaty or in any other manner. He suggested a counterpoise of forces in the Black Sea by opening the Straits of the Dardanelles to the flags of war of all nations—a proposition really involving a general competition in the maintenance of enormous naval armaments, which would have meant a constant state of war instead of a permanent or practical peace. After this little weight was given to the profession with which Prince Gortschakoff accompanied this refusal, that Russia was prepared to examine any measures which might be proposed to her not inconsistent with her honour. Only one result was anticipated after the express declaration which her plenipotentiaries had made, that "any restriction upon her naval force in the Black Sea was derogatory to the sovereign rights of the emperor their master, and dangerous to the independence of the Ottoman Empire."

All this time the Russian representative was playing the old game of endeavouring to weaken the alliance between England and France by flattering the French emperor. It was against this country that the anger of Russia seemed to be directed.

In a letter dated 26th of March, 1855, by Count Nesselrode to his son-in-law Baron Seebach, the Saxon minister at the court of the Tuileries, which was written really *à l'adresse* of the Emperor of the French, and of which a copy was at once forwarded by him to the English government, Count Nesselrode says, speaking of his master, "L'empereur, quelles que soient ses dispositions pacifiques, n'acceptera jamais des conditions semblables, et la nation se soumettra à tous les sacrifices plutôt que de les subir." "Entre la France et la Russie il y a guerre sans hostilité," he says in another communication. "La paix se fera quand il (the Emperor of the French) la voudra. A mes yeux la situation se résume dans cette vérité."

The commission of inquiry obtained by Mr. Roebuck had soon examined a great number of witnesses, many of them (including the Duke of Cambridge) officers of high rank and considerable importance. The general tendency of the evidence was to show that the commissariat and the land transport service at the seat of war were grossly mismanaged. Even at Scutari there was a great deficiency of forage and only one place at which to obtain it, so that a man would have to wait all day before he could procure the supplies he wanted, and the same blundering policy was carried out before Sebastopol, where the irregular feeding of the horses wrought incalculable mischief. The Duke of Cambridge laid much emphasis on the fact that the guards were unable to obtain the London "porter" which had been sent out to them as a prime necessity. "We got porter at Scutari and at Varna, but not afterwards. . . . I attribute the sickness to the climate; but I think the great mortality in the guards arose from the men not being able to get porter." The special correspondent of the *Illustrated London News* and the almoner of the *Times'* benevolent fund were also examined. Though the evidence taken was quoted in some quarters as a reason for assailing Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert for resigning office, it would not appear that any particularly useful end was answered by it, especially as it had little or no application against the existing government, from which these gentlemen had retired. Some of the testimony elicited not only before the commission but by admissions of officials in answer to questions in parliament, revealed a condition of things which would have been ludicrous had the consequences not been so sad. The greatcoats of some of the soldiers, for instance, were said to have been made of the worst possible material, and utterly useless to the wearers. This was scarcely denied; but the answer was that they were "quite up to the pattern," the "object being to give the soldiers as little as possible to carry."

There was no actual slackening of hostilities during the Vienna conference, and extensive preparations for a more vigorous prosecution of the siege continued to be made. Wednesday, the 21st of March, was appointed to be observed as a day for fasting and special prayer for a blessing on "the just and necessary war in which we are engaged." The

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House of Lords attended divine worship in Westminster Abbey, and the Commons in the parish church of St. Margaret's, while services were held at almost all the principal churches and chapels throughout the country.

By this time it was generally understood that the negotiations at Vienna had proved abortive, and that the prospects of peace were, in fact, more remote than ever. The Russian government having on the 21st of April definitely rejected the proposals for neutralizing the Black Sea, or for limiting their own naval force there, the plenipotentiaries of England and France declared their powers exhausted, and announced their intention to return home. Lord John Russell left Vienna on the 23d of April, and was immediately followed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys. The salient features of the Austrian proposal were that the allies might each have two frigates in the Black Sea; that, if the Russians increased their fleet there beyond its existing number, the allies might each maintain there one half the number of the Russian ships of war; that Russia should be asked by Austria not to increase her naval forces in the Black Sea beyond the number actually there in 1853, and that whether she accepted this engagement or not Austria would sign a treaty making any increase beyond that number a *casus belli*. This was an extraordinary proposal, and as Prince Albert at once pointed out, "the proposal of Austria to engage to make war when the Russian armaments should appear to have become *excessive* is of no kind of value to the belligerents, who do not wish to establish a case for which to make war hereafter, but to obtain a security upon which they can conclude peace now." The same view had already been taken by our government and by the Emperor of the French. The Austrian proposals were not likely to deceive so astute a minister as Lord Palmerston, and they bore more of the appearance of Russian diplomatic suggestion than of the advice of a friendly ally. But there was a new complication. The French and English plenipotentiaries had both expressed their personal approval of the Austrian recommendation, but having no instructions to accept it had left the conference. Lord John Russell had in his despatches indicated his concurrence, and we soon heard from the Emperor of the French that Drouyn de Lhuys had pressed the proffered terms upon him, urging the necessity for prompt decision. Various speculations have been made on the reasons for the French minister's acceptance of the Austrian proposals. It was hinted that he disliked the alliance of England with France, and was not unwilling to see a check placed on the power of England by compelling her to conclude an unsatisfactory peace. More probable was the notion, that he hoped the preparations of Austria to take the field against Russia, in case of a refusal of the offered terms by the former, or, eventually, in case of an undue increase of naval armaments in the Black Sea, would break up the continental league which had for so long kept France in check. It seldom occurs to English critics to suspect foreign diplomatists of weakness, or folly, or incapacity. The conduct of the French plenipotentiary could only be accounted for by supposing it to proceed from some more or less subtle policy. No such excuse was made for Lord John Russell, nor did he seem to give ground for it. At all events the Austrian proposal was utterly rejected by both governments, and the arguments of their representatives, who had returned from the conference, failed to convince them. There was one essential difference in the subsequent proceedings of the French and the English "plenipos." M. Drouyn de Lhuys resigned his office and was succeeded by M. Walewski as minister of foreign affairs, M. Persigny being sent as ambassador to London. Lord John Russell, who had so recently resigned, to the embarrassment and ultimate defeat of a ministry, remained in office to embarrass even if he could not defeat another government.

On the 4th of May, a week having elapsed without the papers relating to the Vienna conference being presented to the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli sharply attacked the government, contrasting its dilatory conduct with that of 1796, when Lord Malmesbury was attempting to negotiate peace with France. Lord Palmerston in reply said the

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cases were different, as we were endeavouring to negotiate through the intervention of Austria. He was not prepared to say that there might not be other means open, by which, through the friendly intervention of Austria, a proposition might be made which would have the effect of bringing hostilities to a close. He wished to leave the door open for negotiations. While on the one hand the government were determined to continue the contest in a manner consistent with the honour, the dignity, and the interests of the country, on the other hand they would not be parties to shutting the door against any possibility of concluding an honourable and satisfactory peace. This was not satisfactory to the opposition, who were determined to impugn the conduct of the ministry.

Meanwhile an Administrative Reform Association had been organized, which on the day following held a meeting at the London Tavern to carry resolutions that "the true remedy for the system of maladministration which had caused so lamentable a sacrifice of labour, money, and human life, is to be sought for in the introduction of large experience and practical ability into the service of the state; that the exclusion from office of those who possess in a high degree the practical qualities necessary for the direction of affairs in a great commercial country, is a reflection upon its intelligence and a betrayal of its interests; that, while we disclaim every desire of excluding the aristocratic classes from participation in the councils of the crown, we feel it our duty to protest against the pretensions of any section of the community to monopolize the functions of administration."

The chair at this meeting was taken by Mr. Samuel Morley, and the meeting itself chiefly consisted of merchants and traders in the metropolis, whose object it was to organize an association for administrative reform. Mr. Morley at the outset said he had come there because he honestly feared that we were drifting into that state which, if unchecked, must land us in revolution, and because, in all seriousness, he had no faith in order or peace which was not founded on contentment; and he for one was not disposed to say "Peace, peace," when he felt that there ought to be no peace. An attempt had been made to show that this movement was a mere trading affair; but they would show that it was something more serious. They wished to see the public business of the country conducted in an efficient manner. They had been accused of a wish to attack the aristocracy; but there need be no alarm on that head in a country like England, where the great mass of the people are so much attached to the aristocracy. The meeting had not been called to discuss the war, upon the wisdom or justice of which he would not pronounce. Their sole object was to obtain a reform of the present system of government.

The speakers at this meeting emphatically protested that their representations were not a mere flash in the pan, but were founded on convictions which they were determined to follow to some practical issue. It soon appeared that they were likely to be supported by resolutions in both houses of Parliament. Immediately after the meeting we find the Earl of Ellenborough proposing an address to her majesty to declare the persuasion of the House of Lords "that, amidst all their disappointments, the people of this country still retain the generous feelings which led them at the commencement of the war willingly to place all the means required from them at her majesty's disposal; that they will still protect the weak against the aggression of the strong; and that they are not prepared to consent that Russia shall, by her increasing preponderance, so control the Turkish government as practically to hold Constantinople within her grasp.

"To acquaint her majesty, that while we admit and lament the privations to which war necessarily subjects all classes of the people, we yet venture to assure her majesty that they would, in so just a cause, bear those privations without complaint, if they could feel that the war had been well conducted, that the troops had not been exposed to any hardships which could have been avoided by forethought, and that everything had been done to enable them to achieve decisive success; and humbly to represent to her majesty that

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her people, suffering privations on account of this war, have, as yet, had no such consolation; that, on the contrary, we cannot withhold from her majesty the avowal of our conviction, that the conduct of the war has occasioned general dissatisfaction, and given rise to just complaints, and that we must humbly lay before her majesty our deliberate opinion that it is only through the selection of men for public employment, without regard to anything but the public service, that the country can hope to prosecute the war successfully, and to attain in its only legitimate object—a secure and honourable peace."

In speaking of Lord Palmerston's "pretended" knowledge of military affairs, the noble earl narrated a reminiscence of the Duke of Wellington. "I recollect sitting by the side of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords during the unfortunate difficulty between him and Mr. Huskisson which led to the resignation of a portion of the gentlemen forming the government. The Duke of Wellington was suddenly called out of the house, and when he returned he said to me, 'That was Palmerston who wanted to see me, to tell me if Huskisson went he must go too.' The duke continued, 'I said nothing; it was not for me to fire great guns at small birds.' That was the opinion of the Duke of Wellington." This was not a very remarkable story, and was not very appropriate as applied to the Palmerston of 1855. On the whole it may have been considered to have been at the expense of the memory of the Duke of Wellington rather than that of the existing prime minister.

Lord Granville, who before he came to the title was George Leveson Gower, took up the defence of the government chiefly on the ground that able, practical men engaged in commercial or other pursuits could not be induced to give up their business to accept political office. In the course of his remarks he referred with some humour to the charge made by the noble earl that the cabinet was composed of Gowers, Howards, and Cavendishes. "My lords," he said, "I had better make a clean breast of it at once; and I am obliged to admit that some of those who went before me had such quivers full of daughters who did not die old maids, that I have relations upon this side of the house, relations upon the cross-benches, relations upon the opposite side of the house, and I actually had the unparalleled misfortune to have no fewer than three daughters in the Protectionist administration of my noble friend opposite."

The resolutions of the Earl of Ellenborough were rejected, and in the House of Commons a motion made by Major Reid, calling attention to the critical state of public affairs and to the necessity of at once introducing reforms in every branch of the state, was answered by Lord Palmerston, who said, in forming his government he was not influenced by family connections, but rather by the distinguished abilities which individuals had displayed in public affairs; and he only regretted that commercial men of the greatest ability and talent were generally so absorbed in their commercial pursuits that it was difficult—indeed, impossible—to obtain their assistance. The government as it stood was, he thought, such as should command the confidence of the public. He was aware that great improvements might be made in various branches of the public service, and the utmost attention was paid to the subject, with a view to their introduction. "It was intended to abolish the office of master-general of the ordnance, and also the ordnance board itself. The artillery and engineers would be placed under the same authority as the rest of the army. The civil department of the ordnance would be placed under the control of the secretary for war, as would also the medical department of the commissariat. The object which the government had most at heart was to render all the branches of the public service as effective and vigorous as possible; for he felt the war was with a colossal power, who would become dominant in Europe—France and England sinking into secondary states—if we should be worsted in the struggle."

There was something about this answer which brought up Mr. Disraeli, who insinuated that Palmerston was himself the author of the motion.

These tentative resolutions, if they produced no other effect, kept alive public criticism, and

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GRANVILLE GEORGE LEVESON-GOWER.

SECOND EARL GRANVILLE

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made it by no means an easy task for the government to hold their own, with Lord John Russell in office, and the question of the negotiations still unsettled.

The financial statement of Sir George Cornewall Lewis had been received with little or no opposition, and the budget was passed with alacrity, though it necessarily had to provide for an enormously increased expenditure.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis was just the kind of man whom the administrative reformers had asserted should hold office. He belonged to a family who had adopted politics as a business, and he had very considerable faculties for pursuing that business successfully. Probably the witty saying attributed to him, that "life would be tolerable if it were not for its amusements," was only one of the many humorous remarks for which this shrewd and able gentleman was famous among his friends. It might stand, however, as an expression of his capacity and liking for hard work and constant occupation in the business of the state. He had left the editorial chair of the *Edinburgh Review* to become chancellor of the exchequer, and had long been known to fame as a philosophical writer, his first important literary production having been a translation of Müller's *History and Antiquities of the Doric Race.* Another book, the *Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History*, was of more importance in establishing his fame as an author, however; while in the field of political writing he had published an essay, *On the Use and Abuse of Political Terms*, a treatise *On the Method of Reasoning in Politics*, and one on the *Government of Dependencies.* These were rather painstaking and conclusive, than brilliant or very original efforts, but they displayed great liberality and just the kind of ability that might be expected of a man who, from a comparatively early age, followed his father in a career of practical, and one might also say, professional politics. The name of Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis was well known as the holder of the by no means popular office of chairman of the poor-law commission from 1834 to 1839; and his son became a member of the board while he occupied that position. But Sir Frankland Lewis had achieved distinction before the latter date by a long course of public service. Belonging to a Radnorshire family of independent means, he had obtained a baronetcy from Sir Robert Peel, and had sat in parliament successively for Beaumaris, Ennis, and Radnorshire. His chief business, however, was on "commissions," and for about twenty years there was scarcely ever a parliamentary "inquiry" in which he did not take a part. In 1827 he was secretary to the treasury, then became vice-president of the Board of Trade, and then gained the lucrative post of treasurer to the navy, an office long ago abolished. Thus his son, Sir George, was trained to political life and had begun it early. In 1828, when he was twenty-two years old, he was already distinguished at Oxford, and three years later was called to the bar, with a view, as it seemed, to secure the "seven years' legal standing" which was at one time, and is often still, regarded as an advantage to anyone seeking official position. In 1835 he began with the commission of relief of the poor in Ireland, and afterwards was on the Irish Church inquiry commission. From 1836 to 1847 he was on the poor-law board, and just before the defeat of Lord John Russell in 1850 had been joint secretary to the treasury. In 1851 he had lost his seat for Herefordshire, and it was in 1854 that his father's death left him at once the baronetcy and the representation of the Radnor district in parliament. His ability as chancellor of the exchequer was acknowledged by competent judges to be superior to that either of Sir Charles Wood or of Mr. Goulbourn; but he was far inferior to Mr. Disraeli in brilliant and incisive statement, and to Mr. Gladstone both in grasp of financial policy and in the power to make the usually dry details of a budget attractive. Still his fiscal arrangements were sound, and though a number of members did not stay to listen to the whole of the budget speech, that speech was not without real interest. The condition of the country was such that the necessity for procuring revenue left little choice to a practical and careful financier. It had become impossible to con-

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tinue the method employed by Mr. Gladstone to meet the expenses of the war out of annual revenue. Although the estimated income for the year was close upon 63½ millions, the expenditure exceeded that sum by nearly 23 millions.

On the 20th of April Sir George explained that he proposed to meet the deficiency by raising sixteen millions on loan at three per cent., of which the whole had been taken at par by the Messrs. Rothschild and the Bank of England,—five millions by means of an additional twopence in the pound on the income-tax,—and three millions by exchequer bills. Some of the details of his plan provoked discussion, but the resolutions for giving it effect were carried on the 23d without difficulty. The nation was thoroughly in earnest, and to achieve the objects of the war, it was prepared to find the necessary sinews without a murmur.

The progress of the war began now to be accompanied by some events which were fortunate for the ministry, inasmuch as they tended to raise public confidence. Of the resignation of General Canrobert we have already spoken. He felt his own want of the grasp and risk of responsibility which are requisite in a commander-in-chief. An admirable soldier, thoroughly in earnest, and loyally attached to the English, he differed from his successor Pelissier in many important respects. Marshal Vaillant had said, "Pelissier will lose 14,000 men for a great result at once, while Canrobert would lose the like number by driblets without obtaining any advantage." Canrobert had hesitated to seize and fortify the Mamelon hill, a piece of neglect which afterwards cost hundreds of lives and delayed the progress of the siege, and he waited to be attacked instead of leading the assault. Pelissier was another kind of commander. General Changarnier had said of him, "If there was an *émeute* I should not hesitate at burning a quarter of Paris; Pelissier would not flinch from burning the whole." To him Canrobert had, with noble self-depreciation, handed over the army, active, well organized, and ready for hard duty, and asked that he himself might be permitted to serve as a general of division.

The visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French to the Queen had done much to maintain enthusiasm in favour of that alliance which Mr. Bright had so unmistakably disparaged, and, as we have seen, the arrival not only of Russian prisoners, but of our own maimed and wounded soldiers, had not tended to diminish the belligerent temper of the nation. The distribution of Crimean medals to the officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the battles of the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, was another occasion which, while it touched the sympathy of the country, at the same time increased the determination to pursue the war until the pride of Russia was humbled, and peace could be made on a basis which it was imagined would prevent her from again attempting to control the destinies of Turkey. The war-fever was not allayed by the terrible sacrifices which had been made, nor by the deluge of blood that had been shed. If our troops had suffered much, and their numbers had been reduced by famine and sword, the Russians had suffered far more. "The loss and destruction and misery inflicted on the Russians have been threefold that inflicted on the whole armies of the allies," said Lord Lansdowne in reply to the Earl of Ellenborough's charge against the administration. "The noble earl has some idea, perhaps, of the extent to which that loss has gone, that, if our troops have suffered from want of clothing, of habitations, of the means of transport, the Russians have suffered ten times more; but I should astonish your lordships by stating what the amount of that loss to the enemy has been. I have here a statement, made on the very highest authority, and from this it appears that a few days before the death of the Emperor Nicholas a return was made up, stating that 170,000 Russians had died, and according to a supplementary return, made up a few days later, 70,000 were added to the list, making a total loss of 240,000 men." It is true that the thought of this dreadful destruction of human life sent a thrill through the house, and that the arrival of detachment after detachment of invalids, who were visited by the queen and the prince consort, kept alive public pity. As Mr. Bright had said, the beating of

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the wings of the angel of death could almost be heard, and throughout England many houses were in mourning; but the dead were buried out there in the dreary cemetery at Scutari or on the wind-swept plain of Balaklava; the maimed and the wounded could still make some warlike show when they hobbled or crept to parade that they might receive the medal for valour from the royal hand. It was on the 18th of May that this ceremony took place. A great dais was erected in the centre of the parade between the Horse Guards and St. James's Park, and the public offices by which it is surrounded were fitted up with galleries for spectators. The recipients of the honours were drawn up in the rear of the foot-guards who kept the ground. An immense assemblage had gathered to witness the presentation. Soon after ten o'clock the queen and the prince took their places on the dais. After a march past the line formed three sides of a square facing the dais. Each officer and man of the Crimean invalids had a card on which had been inscribed his name and rank, in what manner he had been wounded, and in which battles he had fought. As each approached he handed the card to an officer, who read it to the queen, and her majesty then with tenderness and sympathy presented to him his appropriate medal, which she had received from Lord Panmure. It was her majesty's own suggestion that these medals should be given by her own hands, for she desired to manifest her personal interest in the brave fellows, to whom she had sent messages of regard while they were in the Crimea. It was a grand, a touching, and yet to the thoughtful mind a saddening spectacle. The queen afterwards wrote to the King of the Belgians, "Ernest will have told you what a beautiful and touching sight and ceremony (the first of the kind ever witnessed in England) the distribution of the medals was. From the highest prince of the blood to the lowest private, all received the same distinction for the bravest conduct in the severest actions, and the rough hand of the brave and honest private soldier came for the first time in contact with that of their sovereign and their queen. Noble fellows! I own I feel as if they were my own children; my heart beats for them as for my nearest and dearest! They were so touched, so pleased—many, I hear, cried; and they won't hear of giving up their medals to have their names engraved upon them, for fear they should not receive the identical one put into their hands by me! Several came by in a sadly mutilated state. None created more interest or is more gallant than young Sir Thomas Troubridge, who had at Inkerman one leg and the foot of the other carried away by a round shot, and continued commanding his battery till the battle was over, refusing to be carried away, only desiring his shattered limbs to be raised in order to prevent too great a hæmorrhage! He was dragged by in a Bath-chair, and when I gave him his medal I told him I should make him one of my aides-de-camp for his very gallant conduct; to which he replied, 'I am amply repaid for everything.' One must revere and love such soldiers as these."

Operations in the Crimea were not only pushed forward, but preparations were made for attacking the foe in another quarter than at Sebastopol by means of an expedition for destroying the depot from which stores were supplied to the besieged fortress. It was believed that a large portion of these supplies were derived by a circuitous route from Kertch, and it was determined to organize a force which should be conveyed to that place, and the straits of Yenikale, which lead into the Sea of Azoff. An expedition of the same kind had been previously organized, but had been recalled in consequence of a telegram from the Emperor of the French; but now (on the 21st of May) it again sailed with a large body of troops, English, French, and Turkish, under the direction of Sir George Brown. On disembarking at Kertch it was found that the Russians had retreated, having first blown up all their works along the coast, spiked all their guns, and, before evacuating Kertch, destroyed immense stores of provisions. Advancing into the Sea of Azoff with his squadron of steamers on the 25th of May, Captain Lyons (son of Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, a young officer who afterwards died of wounds received at a later period of the war)

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found that four Russian war-steamers, which had escaped from Kertch, had been run ashore and burned to the water's edge at Berdiansk. Here many vessels and extensive corn stores were taken and destroyed. At Genitchi four days later the expedition also burned many corn stores and vessels laden with corn, and these injuries were inflicted without loss of life and with scarcely a casualty.

The stores destroyed at Kertch and in the Sea of Azoff were alone computed to be equal to the rations of 100,000 men for four months, and it was now apparent that the available forces of the Russians were by no means so numerous as had been represented, otherwise they would never have allowed so formidable a blow to be struck without some show of resistance. This conclusion was confirmed by an intercepted letter from Prince Gortschakoff, from which it appeared that General Wrangel, who commanded the troops in the peninsula of Yenikale, and had repeatedly asked for reinforcements in anticipation of an attack by the allied forces, had been told in reply that none could be sent. It was viewed by the English troops as a good omen that the successful descent upon Kertch was made on the queen's birthday, the 24th of May. It had, indeed, struck the enemy in his weakest point —his supplies of food and the means of transport—and the results were not long in making themselves felt.

A success of equal or more than equal importance before Sebastopol made the taking of Kertch still more significant. We have seen that Canrobert, who had hesitated to take the Mamelon, had resigned the command to Pelissier, and petitioned to be made a general of division. He was, however, placed in command of the first corps of the army. Pelissier soon set to work in his usual persistent manner, and at the same time reinforcements began to arrive, which brought the French force up to 120,000, and the English to its former number of 30,000, while the Sardinian contingent of 15,000 and the Turkish contingent made a total of above 200,000 effective men, an army, as it was believed, amply sufficient to carry on the siege and protect the men in the trenches. Now that the transport of reinforcements and supplies was provided for the allied troops, and the Russians in Sebastopol had increasing difficulties in conveying their stores for long distances by land carriage and marching their men over great tracts of country, it was felt that the contest, however prolonged, would end in our favour. But it was necessary to take prompt and active measures, and on the 9th of June the French and English artillery commenced a tremendous bombardment of the town, to which the Russians replied with scarcely less vigour. Our cannonade, however, was intended to cover a simultaneous attack against the three important defences of the Russians, the Sapone or White Redoubts, the Mamelon, and the Quarries which lay between the British position and the Redan. The assaults on the two former were made by the French, that on the latter by the British, while the Turks were left to defend the positions from which the allied forces had withdrawn. The three points of attack were separated from each other by two ravines, which served as shelters for the British and French reserves. The Quarries, the assault against which had been assigned to our men, had been converted by the Russians into rifle-pits, and formed a kind of outwork to the Redan, so that it was necessary to capture them before that fort could be attacked. On our troops arriving there they found that the Quarries were undefended, and therefore immediately took possession of them, and converted them into a sheltered position from which to carry on the attack on the fortress. About a thousand of our troops were able to hold them against the repeated efforts of five thousand of the enemy to retake them, for the parapets were reversed, and the fire from our batteries so kept the Russians in check that some of our officers actually made their way into the Redan itself, and afterwards declared that had the English general known of its condition and given the order, it might easily have been taken, and the siege would have been considerably shortened. General Bosquet commanded the French attack on the Mamelon, and it was taken in brilliant fashion by the Zouaves, who clambered up the hill like cats, and carried battery after battery at the

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point of the bayonet in a succession of fierce and impetuous assaults which carried them at last into the redoubt. So successful were they, that they forgot discipline, and in disobedience to the orders they had received, rushed precipitately towards the Malakoff battery in a wild courageous effort to carry that also, but they were met with a tornado of artillery which compelled them to pause and then to retreat. It was a critical moment. The Russian reserves bore down upon them, driving them back in confusion (but fighting still), and retook the Mamelon, but only to be swept out of it again by the French reserves of General Brunet, who in their turn came on with an irresistible rush, and soon were masters of the position, which a large body of engineers rapidly converted into a fortress of attack against the place of which it had been one of the most formidable defences. Thus the allies won, at great cost of life, a position which might have been occupied without resistance at an earlier date. The Sapone or White Works were taken with equal *élan* and daring, but the cost of that day's work altogether to the allies was 5000 men killed and wounded.

The French Palace of Industry was opened in Paris on the 17th of May. We have already noted the return visit of the queen and the prince consort to the emperor and empress in the following August. In his address on the inauguration of the Exhibition the emperor said, "In inviting all nations hither, it has been my desire to open a temple of concord." On the same day the attack on the Russian fortresses before Sebastopol was renewed by another tremendous bombardment. The English had advanced their "zigzags" from the Quarries considerably beyond the Redan, of which they were now to attempt to take possession. The French holding the Mamelon and the White Forts were to endeavour to seize the Malakhoff, and as this was the more important, it was agreed that the advance of the English troops in the Redan should be regulated by the progress made by their allies in their assault on the Malakhoff. The plan which was subsequently adopted may have been good, but unfortunately its success greatly depended upon the prompt response to a given signal. The Russians fought bravely and offered a stubborn resistance, which it would have required the united effort of the French troops to overcome. Through an unfortunate mistake that effort was divided. The firing of a rocket was to be the signal for a simultaneous attack of the two French divisions. General Meyran mistook an exploding shell for the rocket, and gave the word for his division to advance before that of General Brunet was ready. The consequence was, that the tremendous fire of the Malakhoff and all its subsidiary batteries was concentrated on his division, which, after the fall of the general himself, was thrown into confusion and retreated; so that when the signal rocket was really fired, General Brunet, who was to have advanced against another side of the Malakhoff at the same moment that General Meyran made his attack, found his division exposed as the other had been to the whole fire of the Russian batteries, and was also obliged to retire. The consequence of these failures extended to the British operations, and though Major-general Eyre, leading his men gallantly onward, actually forced his way into a large suburb of the town and for seventeen hours held the position he had gained, till he was obliged to withdraw his troops for want of a reinforcement which never came,—the repulse was complete, and the Russians made the most of their triumph. This serious, though only temporary check, added to the physical weakness and the great mental anxiety which he had endured, probably hastened the fatal effects of the sickness from which Lord Raglan had for so long been suffering. He had borne much blame, had gone out to besiege Sebastopol in a manner which he had not personally accepted as wise or advisable, and he must have felt that he was unable to cope with the difficulties by which he was at first surrounded, while he was unsupported by practical administrative ability at home. On the 8th of June, ten days after the unsuccessful attack on the Malakhoff and the Redan, he died. His death was attributed to cholera, but the disease had doubtless been aggravated

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by overwork and anxiety. General Simpson, a man who was also broken in health, succeeded him by right of seniority, and he was confirmed in the command by the appointment of the government, but only subsequently to make way for Sir William Codrington.

This then was the position of the army in the Crimea, and at home the government was already beginning to feel some embarrassment because of the increasing number of its previous supporters as well as of its opponents, who were now desirous of continuing negotiations, on the basis of the proposed four points, for the purpose of obtaining peace. The failure of the conference at Vienna had caused a great deal of excitement in the country, and, as we have seen, the ministry was sharply attacked in both houses. Earl Grey had proposed that an humble address be presented to her majesty "to thank her for having ordered the protocols of the recent negotiations at Vienna to be laid before us; to inform her majesty that this house deeply deplores the failure of the attempt to put an end by these negotiations to the calamities of the war in which the country is now engaged; and to express an opinion that the proposals of Russia were such as to afford a fair prospect of concluding a peace by which all the original objects of the war might have been gained, and by which her majesty and her allies might have obtained all the advantages which can reasonably be demanded of Russia." The debate which followed ended in negativing the motion without a division. But the opposition from another point of view was equally vigorous. While, on one side, there were expressions of a decided hope that the negotiations, which Lord Palmerston had declared had not been absolutely closed, would be continued and conducted to such an issue as to obtain peace; on the other, severe strictures were passed on the government for not having more effectually prosecuted the war. On the 24th of May, just before the Whitsuntide recess, Mr. Disraeli brought forward a resolution as follows:—

"That this house cannot adjourn for the recess without expressing its dissatisfaction with the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of her majesty's government in reference to the great question of peace or war, and that under these circumstances the house feels it a duty to declare that it will continue to give every support to her majesty in the prosecution of the war until her majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for the country a safe and honourable peace."

Besides this motion there was one by Mr. Milner Gibson for an address to the crown, expressing regret that the opportunity offered by the Vienna conferences for bringing the negotiations to a pacific issue had not been improved, and asserting that the interpretation of the third point conceded by Russia furnished the elements for renewed conferences and a good basis for a just and satisfactory peace. It was understood that this motion was to be supported by Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert; but on being assured by Lord Palmerston, in answer to a question from Mr. Sidney Herbert, that the conferences were not yet closed, and that Austria was still charged with propositions for peace, these gentlemen brought their influence to bear on Mr. Milner Gibson, who consented to postpone his motion until after the Whitsuntide recess.

On the reassembling of parliament, Mr. Disraeli, in a speech of three hours' duration, vigorously attacked the government in introducing the motion of which he had given notice, but his sarcasms were chiefly levelled against Lord John Russell, who had, he said, first as foreign minister and again as plenipotentiary, compromised the interests of the nation. Nor were the government less to blame. They had been weak and vacillating in their action, appealing to Austria as a mediator, and vainly expecting her to be an ally. It was time to end these "morbid negotiations" for peace, which only inspired distrust in our allies, our generals, our officers, our aristocracy, and to close the conferences. "I am against this principle of 'leaving the door open,'" said Mr. Disraeli; "shut the door, and let those who want to come in knock at the door, and then we shall secure a safe and honourable peace."

A member for a great city, he continued, one of her majesty's privy council, placed on

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the paper a notice of an address to the queen. He hoped that if the first minister had been enabled to screw up his courage to present an address to his royal mistress, it would have been of a different character from that proposed by the right honourable gentleman the member for Manchester—that it would have contained declarations of an entirely different character; and one of his objects was to extract from the government an intimation to that effect. He had no idea that the discussion on that motion would be abandoned. The country, and indeed all Europe, were, by a well-kept secret, baulked of a discussion in a matter of the most momentous importance since the peace of 1815. In reference to the conduct of her majesty's government as to the question of peace and war, he maintained that their language was ambiguous and their conduct uncertain; and he should call upon the house to arrest a course of policy which must, in its results, prove most disastrous to the country. Lord John Russell, he said, had been distinguished for his inflammatory denunciations of Russia, and was incompetent to negotiate a peace. Before he went to make peace he had signalized himself by tripping up the prime minister because he was not earnest enough in prosecuting the war.

Those portions of the speech which referred to the prosecution of the war were warmly cheered, and the debate seemed likely to be a long one, for there were two amendments. The first was by Mr. Lowe:—That this house having seen with regret that, owing to the refusal of Russia to restrict the strength of her navy in the Black Sea, the conferences of Vienna have not led to the cessation of hostilities, feels it to be its duty to declare that, by that refusal the means of coming to an arrangement on the third basis of negotiation having been exhausted, this house will give its best exertions to carry out the successful prosecution of the war.

The second was by Sir Francis Baring:—That this house, having seen with regret that the conferences of Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities, feels it to be a duty to declare that it will continue to give every support to her majesty in the prosecution of the war, until her majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace.

In the evening debate it became evident that Mr. Gladstone was one of the strongest advocates for endeavouring to make such negotiations as should put an end to the war. For some time it had been well known that he was less inclined to support a policy which would make the prosecution of hostilities a measure of popularity, and Mr. Bright had already noted that he was averse to prolonging the bloodshed and cruelty with which all war is associated, and the horrible carnage for which this conflict had been distinguished. Mr. Gladstone was opposed both to the resolution and Sir F. Baring's amendment. He defended the expedition to the Crimea, and denied that it had been entirely unsuccessful, for while, in August, 1854, Russia refused to accept the four points, in the month of December following the emperor accepted those very propositions as a basis of negotiations which he had so strenuously refused before. Looking at the question at issue as one only of terms, how did it stand? Russia had agreed to the first and second points and part of the third point. The fourth would be agreed to at any time. The only matter to be settled now, was as to the limitation of the power of Russia in the Black Sea. He was of opinion that the Russian proposal to give to Turkey the power of opening and shutting the straits was one calculated to bring about a settlement. As regarded the position of Russia now, he challenged any person to show him a case in the whole history of the world, in which the political objects of war had been more completely gained, without the prostration of the adverse party. He felt that he would be incurring a fearful responsibility if he did not raise his voice to beseech the house to pause before they persevered in a war so bloody and so decimating, while there was a chance of returning to the condition of a happy and an honourable peace. If we now fought merely for military success, let the house look to this sentiment with the eye of reason, and it would appear immoral, inhuman, and unchristian. If the war

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were continued in order to obtain military glory, we should tempt the justice of Him in whose hands was the fate of armies to launch upon us his wrath.

Mr. Gladstone was accused of inconsistency, and his attitude in relation to the war was denounced in severe terms, but he was not alone in the opinions which he had so unhesitatingly expressed. While the Derbyites had combined with Layard and his friends and with Lord Ellenborough to overturn the ministry without success, and the motion brought forward by Lord Grey had been concerted with Lord Aberdeen, it was suspected that the "peace party" would obtain the adherence not only of Mr. Gladstone but of the Peelites with Gladstone and Graham at their head.[1] The debate on Mr. Milner Gibson's motion, resumed after the recess, was to clear up the state of parties. The house and the country were to know whether Lord John Russell had actually approved the proposals of Austria. Lord Palmerston could not explain the situation fully while communications were still proceeding, but Mr. Disraeli, Sir Bulwer Lytton, and others, were determined, if possible, to draw the government into a declaration.

Russell himself replied to Gladstone with considerable force, and in quite a warlike spirit. The naval power of Russia in the Black Sea must be restricted, and to restrict it was no more of an indignity than it was when Mr. Gladstone had joined his colleagues in the measure. The refusal of Russia to submit to it was a sure indication that she continued to cherish designs against Constantinople, and that the peace of Europe would again be disturbed at no distant date if the means of aggression were not taken away from her by the conditions of peace. Security for Turkey for the future as well as for the present was the object of the war. So determined was the speech of the ex-plenipotentiary that it was taken as an assurance that the government would adopt a course rendering Mr. Disraeli's motion unnecessary, and a great many votes against it (including Mr. Roebuck's) were influenced by this vigorous denunciation of Russia.

These arguments were of course entirely contradicted by Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden. The latter had moved the adjournment of the debate till after the holidays, and the former rose to ask the government what really were the objects of the war, whether these objects had been secured and accomplished, and whether there could be anything in prospect which would justify the government and the house in proceeding further with the war. He showed from their own declarations that there was no kind of sympathy that could lead them into war for the oppressed nationalities of Europe, for Hungary or Poland, and probably they would also repudiate interference on behalf of Italy. It was for Turkey and the general system of Europe that we were struggling, and in fact the whole matter always resolved itself into some general mystification. Without charging Lord John Russell with dishonesty he asked whether the terms which were offered to Russia at the conference were offered in earnest, or whether the statement made by the *Times* was correct, that the object of the conference was not to bring about a peace but to shame Austria into becoming a faithful and warlike ally.[2]

"When the Aberdeen government, of which the noble lords were members," said Mr. Bright, "originally agreed upon these terms, their object was that the Black Sea should be

[1] Four years afterwards Sir James Graham, speaking to Mr. Bright about the attack he (Mr. Bright) had made upon him and the government after the Napier dinner at the Reform Club, said, "You were entirely right about that war and we were entirely wrong, and we should never have gone into it."

Sir George Cornewall Lewis, after he had succeeded Mr. Gladstone in the Palmerston government, wrote, "This war has been distasteful to me from the beginning, and especially so from the time when it ceased to be defensive and the Russian territory was invaded. My dislike of it, and my conviction of its repugnance to the interests of England and Europe, was only increased with its progress."

[2] It may be noticed with no other emphasis than belongs to a peculiar coincidence, that Lord Palmerston, writing (May 28th) to the Emperor of the French, who was more inclined for hastening a peace and attached more value to the active co-operation of Austria than we did, had said: "Victorieux en Crimée, nous commanderons l'amitié, peut-être même l'épée de l'Autriche; manquant de succès en Crimée, nous n'avons pas même sa plume." ("Victorious in the Crimea, we shall command the friendship, perhaps even the sword of Austria; failing there, we have not even her pen.")

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thrown open, or at least that the closing of the straits should be relaxed; and I presume that it was not until after it was known that while Russia had no objection to the opening of the straits, Turkey was very much opposed to it, that it was found necessary to change the terms and bring them forward in another form. But surely, if this be so, the house and the government should be chary indeed of carrying on a prolonged war with Russia, Russia having been willing to accept a proposition made originally by us, and which I believe to be the best for Turkey and for the interests of Europe. If this be so, was the government justified in breaking off these negotiations, because that really is the issue which this house is called upon to try? Can they obtain better terms? If the terms are sufficent for Turkey, they ought not to ask for better ones. I do not say they may not get better terms. I agree with my honourable friend the member for the West Riding (Mr. Cobden) that England and France, if they choose to sacrifice 500,000 men and to throw away £200,000,000 or £300,000,000 of treasure, may dismember the Russian Empire. But I doubt whether this would give better terms to Turkey. I am sure it would not give better terms for England and France. Now what has it cost to obtain all this? . . . Is war the only thing a nation enters upon in which the cost is never to be reckoned? Is it nothing that in twelve months you have sacrificed 20,000 or 30,000 men, who a year ago were your own fellow-citizens, living in your midst, and interested, as you are, in all the social and political occurrences of the day? Is it nothing that in addition to these lives a sum of—I am almost afraid to say how much, but £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 will not be beyond the mark —has already been expended? And let the house bear in mind this solemn fact—that the four nations engaged in this war have already lost so many men, that if you were to go from Chelsea to Blackwall, and from Highgate and Hampstead to Norwood, and take every man of a fighting age and put him to death, if you did this you would not sacrifice a larger number of lives than have already been sacrificed in these twelve months of war. . . . Are these things to be accounted nothing? We have had for twelve years past a gradual reduction of taxation, and there has been an immense improvement in the physical, intellectual, and moral condition of the people of this country; while for the last two years we have commenced a career of reimposing taxes, have had to apply for a loan, and no doubt, if this war goes on, extensive loans are still in prospect.

"Honourable members may think this is nothing. They say it is a 'low' view of the case. But these things are the foundation of your national greatness, and of your national duration; and you may be following visionary phantoms in all parts of the world, while your own country is becoming rotten within, and calamities may be in store for the monarchy and the nation of which now it appears you take no heed. Every man connected with trade knows how much trade has suffered, how much profits in every branch of trade—except in contracts arising out of the war—have diminished, how industry is becoming more precarious, and the reward for industry less, how the price of food is raised, and how much there is of a growing pressure of all classes, especially upon the poorest of the people—a pressure which by-and-by—not just now, when the popular frenzy is lashed into fury morning after morning by the newspapers —but I say by-and-by, this discontent will grow rapidly, and you (here he pointed to the ministerial bench), who now fancy you are fulfilling the behests of the national will, will find yourselves pointed to as the men who ought to have taught the nation better."

It will be seen that Mr. Bright had not been daunted either by the abuse or by the more cultured criticism with which he had been assailed. He would not consent to regard the "blood-red blossom of war," as it was then in bloom, as anything but a Dead Sea growth. He naturally regarded the declarations of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Milner Gibson, and Sir James Graham as an accession to the side of the "peace party." The conduct of these gentlemen on that question had, he said, been the cause of great debate and of language which the state of the case had not

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wholly justified. He presumed it would be admitted that they knew the object of the war as well as any other men in the house, and that entertaining as they did a very serious idea of the results of a prolonged war, they were at liberty to come to the conclusion that certain terms, to which they themselves were parties, were sufficient. If this was the conviction at which they had arrived, surely no member of the house would say that, because they had been members of a cabinet some time before, which went into the war, therefore they should be forbidden to endeavour to avert the incalculable calamities which threatened their country, but should be expected to maintain a show of consistency for which they must sacrifice everything that an honest man would hold dear. Had these men, he asked, gained anything in popularity with the country, or even with the members of that house, by the course they had taken?

Hopeless as the prospects appeared to be of a change in the view of the government and the people of England, the advocates of a pacific policy were doubtless encouraged by the attitude of the so-called "Peelites," and they spoke with vigour and effect. It was in this debate that Mr. Cobden in reply to Sir W. Molesworth made a humorous allusion which for some years remained famous. Sir William opposed the conclusion, that in that stage of the war, the country was bound to accept the same terms which would have satisfied it before hostilities were proclaimed. In order to maintain peace and avert the calamities of war as long as possible, the allied governments in the first instance lowered their demands upon Russia, as long as they could do so with honour. But, having been once compelled to draw the sword, and having expended in this war a vast amount of treasure and sacrificed so many valuable lives, the chief reason for abating their demands as much as possible no longer existed, and they were now entitled to stand upon their rights, and to demand that these should be fully secured to them; they were even entitled, if they thought proper, to increase their demands in proportion to the continuance of the war and the success of their arms. He denounced the temptations which had been presented for the conclusion of a recreant peace, contending that the safety, as well as the glory, of the British Empire would be perilled by any signs of cowardice or surrender of the high principles which constituted the real bond of union among the scattered elements of our national grandeur.

In the adjourned debate, Mr. Cobden referred to the slanderous charges against him and his friends, that they were Russian emissaries, and reminded the house that similar charges were thrown out against Burke and Fox. For himself, he had no object in view but the just interests of England. He characterized the speech of the right honourable baronet the member for Southwark as the most inconsistent with his former opinions that had ever been delivered in that house. "Does the right honourable gentleman remember a *jeu d'esprit* of the poet Moore, when dealing in 1833 with the Whig occupants of those benches, shortly after they had emerged from a long penance in the dreary wilderness of opposition, and when the Whigs showed themselves to be Tories when in office? Does he remember the *jeu d'esprit?* Why, I think he and I have laughed over it when we have been talking over the sudden conversions of right honourable gentlemen. The poet illustrated the matter by a story of an Irishman who went over to the West Indies, and before landing, heard some of the blacks speaking tolerably bad English, whereupon, mistaking them for his own countrymen, he exclaimed, 'What! black and curly already?' Now, we have all seen metamorphoses upon these benches—how colours have changed and features became deformed when men came under the influence of the treasury atmosphere; but I must say that never to my knowledge have I seen a change in which there has been so deep a black and so stiff a curl." This was received by the house with signs of great amusement, and the speech was regarded as having been peculiarly damaging to the government.

The general transposition which had taken place among the men who had held a part in the first prosecution of the war made the

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debate a very remarkable one. It was not forgotten that Mr. Disraeli had offered to serve in a Derby government, which, had it been formed, would have included Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert, and that the men who were now strongly advocating the adoption of a basis of negotiation, which might, by conceding somewhat to the demand of Russia, put an end to the war, had retired from the existing ministry rather than submit to an inquiry as to the manner in which that war had been conducted. Nor was it forgotten that they had also formed part of the former government which had been accused of a lack of energy in prosecuting hostilities because of a dislike to oppose Russia. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton had referred to the inconsistency of Mr. Gladstone, and had asked, "When Mr. Gladstone was dwelling, in a Christian spirit that moved them all, on the gallant blood that had been shed by England, by her allies, and by her foemen in that quarrel, did it never occur to him, that all the while he was speaking, this one question was forcing itself upon the minds of his English audience, 'And shall all this blood have been shed in vain?'"

There were numerous attacks on the men who refused to concur in the abandonment of the negotiations on that disputed "third point" which was to limit the power of Russia in the Black Sea.

Sir J. Graham pleaded for an indulgent hearing, on the ground that he formed one of a small minority. It was painful to him to be taunted as the friend of Russia; his only consolation was that wiser and better men than he, in similar circumstances, had been subjected to the same taunts. He still believed that the war at its commencement was just and necessary; the only question was, whether Russia had not since afforded the means of obtaining an honourable peace. It had been said, in the house, that his conduct in office, with his opinions as now expressed, was a sufficient explanation of our disasters. All he could say in reply was, that he exerted himself to the utmost to equip the fleet; and he believed his successor had not found those means inadequate. He wished to know from the government what was the nature of the Austrian proposition which the allied powers had rejected; and next, whether the four points were still to be considered the basis of future negotiations, or whether they were now to be altogether discarded. This was the more important, as he had observed the remarkable disposition in the house to raise their terms of negotiation, till he had become altogether at a loss to understand what were the objects of the war. It was a popular thing to commence a war, but it was difficult to maintain it in its popularity. He did not mean to say they ought never to vary the terms of peace according to the fortunes of the war; but he did say that they ought not to extend their object. The question then was, Had not that object been gained? He proceeded, at great length, to state the original demands of Russia, and to contrast them with the terms which she was willing to accept at Vienna, contending that Russia had abated all her original demands, and had been sufficiently humbled both in arms and diplomacy.

But the Vienna conferences were already at an end. Lord John Russell replied that they would never have been entered into but for the obligations imposed upon us by our treaty with Austria. He defended the limitations imposed upon the Danubian principalities, by the arrangement on the first proposition, as the best which could have been adopted under the very delicate circumstances of the case. The principalities could not be independent. If they were to have self-government under the protection of the Porte, it was necessary to stipulate that they should not intrigue against the tranquillity of their neighbours. With regard to the third proposition, he thought the opposite party took advantage of the moderation of the Western powers, and argued, because we had conceded so much, therefore we ought to have conceded more and still more, till the negotiations became perfectly nugatory. It was impossible to see, in the Russian proposition, any difference between Russian preponderance before and after its acceptance. He believed that Russia refused the Western terms, not on the question of honour, but because she had not

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yet sustained reverses enough to induce her to abandon her aggressive intentions. The question then came to be, For what object was the war to be continued? His answer must be general, that it still continued to be the maintenance of the independence of Turkey, and consequently the security of Europe. He believed that was the general feeling of this country; and the only blame he apprehended was that the government had not insisted on stronger terms. But the negotiations were now over; and the events of war must determine what new terms they must insist on to attain the one object. In conclusion, he commented on the anomalous position of this debate, discussing the propriety of continuing negotiations which were now finally closed; and suggested that it would be much more regular now to wait till the closing papers of the Vienna conferences were produced, when the minister would propose an address to her majesty, which would then properly and regularly open up the whole question.

The Nemesis for that speech was approaching. It was inevitable in such a division of parties that the minister who could make such a statement, and yet was believed to have gone very near pledging himself to the clause which would have given to Russia what he now denied, should be subjected to a sharp and searching attack, but that was deferred for the present.

As to Mr. Gladstone, he was no more likely than Mr. Bright or Mr. Cobden to recede from a position which he had taken under a sense of duty, and the probable loss of popularity or the sarcasms of those who charged him with inconsistency failed to elicit any token of uncertainty in his determination. Prince Albert, like most of those who advocated the vigorous prosecution of the war as the best means of obtaining permanent and satisfactory terms of peace, was much concerned at the political situation. He wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen:—"The line which your former friends and colleagues, with the exception of the Duke of Newcastle, have taken about the war question has caused the queen and myself great anxiety, both on account of the position of public affairs and on their own account.

"As to the first, any such declaration as Mr. Gladstone has made upon Mr. Disraeli's motion, must not only weaken us abroad in public estimation, and give a wrong opinion as to the determination of the nation to support the queen in the war in which she has been involved, but render all chance of obtaining an honourable peace without great fresh sacrifices of blood and treasure impossible, by giving new hopes and spirit to the enemy.

"As to the second, a proceeding which must appear to many as unpatriotic in any Englishman, but difficult to explain even by the most consummate oratory on the part of statesmen who have, up to a very recent period, shared the responsibility of all the measures of the war, and that have led to the war, must seriously damage them in public estimation. The more so, as having been publicly suspected and falsely accused by their opponents of having, by their secret hostility to the war, led to all the omissions, mistakes, and disasters, which have attended the last campaign, they now seem to exert themselves to prove the truth of these accusations, and (as Americans would say) to 'realize the whole capital' of the unpopularity attaching to the authors of our misfortunes, whom the public has for so long a time been vainly endeavouring to discover.

"However much on private and personal grounds I grieve for this, I must do so still more on the queen's behalf, who cannot afford in these times of trial and difficulty to see the best men in the country damaging themselves in its opinion, to an extent that seriously impairs their usefulness for the service of the state."

This was a pretty accurate representation of the general view of the course taken by the Peelites; but Mr. Gladstone held to his resolve, and in the course of the ensuing debates, argued with his usual power against the further strenuous prosecution of the war for the purpose of exacting unnecessarily stringent conditions. He did not occupy much time in defending his personal reputation, and he has, much more recently, been able dispassionately to explain the situation of affairs and the circumstances that con-

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trolled his actions and influenced opinions which he has never relinquished.

In a review of the *Life of the Prince Consort*, Mr. Gladstone in 1877 gave an account of the political situation in 1855, and of the place necessarily occupied by the small section to which he belonged. In this lucid reference to the conditions of affairs we are reminded that the retirement of Lord Aberdeen was a subject of grief to the court and to his friends; but he was so far fortunate that, having been made the victim of a cry partly popular and partly due to political feeling, he was saved, as was the Duke of Newcastle, from the responsibility of an act of difficult and doubtful choice. Their friends, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, were less happy. It was their fate to join the cabinet of Lord Palmerston, formed at a critical juncture, after some delay and difficulty, and then to quit it within a fortnight or three weeks. The Aberdeen government had resisted unanimously and strongly the appointment of what was termed the Sebastopol Committee. The Palmerston government set out with the intention of continuing that resistance. Its head and the majority of its members arrived at the conclusion that the resistance would be ineffectual, and they determined to succumb. The Peelites adhered to their text; and, as the minority, they in form resigned, but in fact, and of necessity, they were driven from their offices. Into the rights of the question Mr. Gladstone does not enter, but he admits that undoubtedly they were condemned by the general opinion out of doors. Moreover, as in the letting out of water, the breach once made was soon and considerably widened. They had been parties in the cabinet, not only to the war, but to the extension, after the outbreak had taken place, of the conditions required from Russia. But when it appeared that those demands were to be still further extended, or were to be interpreted with an unexpected rigour, and that the practical object of the ministerial policy appeared to be a great military success in prosecuting the siege of Sebastopol to a triumphant issue, they declined to accompany the ministry in their course. Again they met with the condemnation of the country; and the prince consort, while expressing his high opinion of the men, recorded his adverse judgment. One admission may perhaps be made in their favour. "In the innumerable combinations of the political chessboard," says Mr. Gladstone, "there is none more difficult for an upright man, than to discern the exact path of duty, when he has shared in bringing his country into war, and when in the midst of that war he finds, or believes himself to find, that it is being waged for purposes in excess of those which he had approved."

"The course of the Sebastopol inquiries likewise tended to show that the high constitutional doctrine which they had set up could not be infringed with impunity. They had held that the inquiry was an executive duty, and could only be conducted aright by a commission under the authority of the crown. The country felt, or thought, it had obtained a triumph by the appointment of a parliamentary committee, which was capped by a commission, this in its turn being traversed by a board of officers. The committee censured the ministers, though it was plain that, in the business of supply, they, and Mr. Sidney Herbert in particular, with an indefatigable diligence, had run far ahead of any demands received from the camp. The commission censured the executive departments of the army on the spot. The board of officers acquitted the military and censured the commissariat at home. No attempt was permitted to try the question to its core, as between these conflicting judgments Mr. Roebuck very properly made a motion to bring the report of his committee under the consideration of the house, when the other two competing verdicts would have been compared with it, and with one another. The Peelites supported his motion. But he was defeated by a large majority; so that the question which broke up one cabinet, and formidably rent another, which agitated England and sorely stained her military reputation in the eyes of Europe, remained then, and remains now, untried by any court of final appeal. Nor did this determined smothering of so great a matter cause public displeasure."

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Mr. Gladstone remarks that a survey of these years, conducted in a historic spirit, will leave on the mind, among other impressions, a sense of the great incidental evils which accompany the breaking up of those singularly but finely and strongly organized wholes, our known political parties. "Together with Sir Robert Peel, nearly the whole official corps of the Conservatives was discharged in 1846; and the discharge proved to be a final one. The Tories, when brought into office, had to supply the highest places with raw, that is to say, fresh, recruits. This could not be without some detriment to the public service; but justice requires the admission that the body of English gentry, trained in the English fashion, affords material of great aptitude for public life. There were evils on the other side much more serious than this. It took no less than thirteen years to effect the final incorporation of the Peelites into the Liberal party. When they took their places among its leaders the official staff on one side was doubled, as on the other side it was almost annihilated. It is possible that to this duplication ought greatly to be attributed those personal discontents and political cross-purposes for which the Liberal party has of late years been disastrously remarkable.[1] Moreover, for eleven out of these thirteen years of disembodied existence the Peelites were independent members. They were like roving icebergs, on which men could not land with safety, but with which ships might come into perilous collision. Their weight was too great not to count, but it counted first this way and then that. It is not alleged against them that their conduct was dishonourable, but their political action was attended with much public inconvenience; and even those who think they were enlightened statesmen may feel that the existence of these sensibly large segments of a representative chamber, in a state of detachment from all the organization of party, acts upon the parliamentary vessel as a cargo of corn in bulk acts in foul weather on the trim of a ship at sea. Again, as a party, they had been, like their leader, pacific and economical. The effects of their separation from official Liberalism during the first government of Lord Palmerston were easily traceable in the policy of that government as to various matters of importance. From this time onwards Lord Aberdeen was in retirement, and Peelism ceased to be, as such, in contact with the court, at which it had certainly weighed as an important factor of political opinion."

On the debate on Mr. Lowe's amendment being resumed, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who had long been regarded as one of the most elegant, though he was by no means one of the most frequent speakers in the house, made another strong appeal for continuing the war with energy. "Let me suppose," he said, "that when the future philanthropist shall ask what service on the human race did we in our generation signally confer, some one trained perhaps in the schools of Oxford or the Institute of Manchester shall answer: 'A power that commanded myriads—as many as those that under Xerxes exhausted rivers in their march—embodied all the forces of barbarism on the outskirts of civilization; left these to develop its own natural resources; no state molested, though all apprehended its growth. But long pent by merciful nature in its own legitimate domains, this power schemed for the outlet to its instinctive ambition; to that outlet it crept by dissimulating guile—by successive treaties that, promising peace, graduated spoliation to the opportunities of fraud. At length, under pretexts too gross to deceive the common sense of mankind, it proposed to seize that outlet, to storm the feeble gates between itself and the world beyond.' Then the historian shall say, that we in our generation, the united families of England and France, made ourselves the vanguard of alarmed and shrinking Europe, and did not sheathe the sword until we had redeemed the pledge to humanity, made on the faith of two Christian sovereigns, and ratified at those distant graves which liberty and justice shall revere for ever." This will be sufficient as an example of the style of the famous novelist when he made a special effort in parliament.

[1] Mr. Gladstone wrote this at the end of 1876.

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It is a style which can scarcely be said to have survived to our own day, and perhaps if it had, it would not be often patiently accepted by modern political assemblies of persons with differing and opposite opinions.

The debate was closed by a long speech from Lord Palmerston, in which, as we have noticed in a previous page, he sharply attacked the "peace-at-any-price" party, and gave a shrewd hit at Mr. Bright by saying that, "judging from their speeches, their manner, and their language, they would do much better for leaders of a party for war at all hazards." Mr. Baring's amendment was then accepted without a division, a conclusion which Mr. Disraeli opposed but in which Mr. Gladstone concurred.

The last of the Vienna conferences had already taken place, and was attended for Austria by Count Buol-Schauenstein and Baron Prokesch-Osten; for France, by Baron Bourqueney; for Great Britain, by the Earl of Westmoreland; for Russia, by Prince Gortschakoff and M. de Titoff; for Turkey, by Aali Pasha and Aariff Effendi. Count Buol stated that, as a last resource, Austria was prepared to make another proposition intended to settle by way of compromise the disputed point of the limitation of the naval forces of Russia in the Black Sea. In the eleventh conference, held on the 19th of April, M. Drouyn de Lhuys had suggested that, as Russia peremptorily objected to treat with the other great powers on the limitation of her own naval forces, an expedient might be found to meet this difficulty, by bringing about a direct arrangement between Russia and the Porte to adjust the balance of their respective forces, which arrangement should have the same validity and effect as the general acts of the conference. To this was added Lord John Russell's very inopportune declaration of the 19th of March, that the best and most admissible conditions of peace would be those which should be most consistent with the honour of Russia, as well as with the security of Europe. Upon these hints the Austrian cabinet set to work to construct its final scheme, to the following effect:—It proposed, in the first place, that the great powers should distinctly agree to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and should bind themselves to consider every act or event of a nature to infringe upon it *as a question of European interest.* Secondly, that the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Turkey should propose by common agreement to the conference the equal amount of the effective naval forces to be kept up by them in the Black Sea, such amount not to exceed the number of Russian ships now afloat in that sea, and that this agreement should form an integral part of the general treaty; the straits to remain closed, but each of the other powers to be authorized by firman to station two frigates in the Black Sea, and in case of attack, the sultan to open the passage to all the naval forces of his allies.

A considerable amount of diplomatic contention ensued, the result of which was that Prince Gortschakoff admitted that he found in the general principles of Count Buol's project the basis of a possible solution of the third guarantee. The English and French ambassadors both declared that their instructions were exhausted, and thus the matter ended for the time, though it was renewed earlier than had been expected.

The Crimean committee of inquiry, which had been largely attended, and to obtain admission to which crowds were daily in waiting, had brought its sittings to a close. The evidence was, as we have seen, conclusive as to the incapacity of the former administration of affairs in some of the departments most essential to the maintenance of the army and the prosecution of the war. The Duke of Cambridge had perhaps given the most damaging particulars, for he stated that while a cabinet minister was assuring the House of Commons that the number of men fit for duty amounted to thirty thousand, the real number was only twelve thousand. It will be remembered, however, that little information was obtained from the reports and despatches of Lord Raglan, and, as we have seen, the evidence related rather to what had been done under another administration, than by that in existence at the time of the inquiry. This may have been the reason that the report of the commission,

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when it was presented, on the 18th of June, seemed to have little force in it. If it did not exhibit a "lame and impotent conclusion," it at all events appeared to reassert, without any immediately practical application, what had been said in far more forcible language a hundred times before. Indeed it rather provided excuse for previous failures, and wound up with a couple of patriotic platitudes. After describing the condition of the army, and reviewing the evidence given before the committee, it ended as follows:—

"Your committee report that the sufferings of the army resulted mainly from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the forces to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful, and as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign. The patience and fortitude of the army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour and equally heroic patience under sufferings and privations have given them claims on the country which will doubtless be gratefully acknowledged. Your committee will now close their report with a hope that every British army may in future display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as have been recorded in these pages."

That Mr. Roebuck considered the result not quite in accordance with the threats which had originated and accompanied the inquiry, may be inferred from the terms of the motion that he almost immediately brought forward, "that this house, deeply lamenting the sufferings of our army during the late winter campaign in the Crimea, and coinciding with the resolution of their committee, that the conduct of the administration was the first and chief cause of those misfortunes, hereby visits with its severe reprehension every member of the cabinet whose counsels led to such disastrous results." This resolution was discussed on the 17th and 18th of July, and dawdled along until it was got rid of by the usual expedient of moving and carrying "the previous question." Thus the inquiry was after all extinguished. It had done little or nothing more, after causing the retirement of three able ministers, than confirm the reports which had been published in the newspapers, and with which the country was already familiar.

The censure upon the government, and much depreciation of the manner in which the war was conducted, had to some extent been mitigated, however, and this result was partly attributed to a speech made by Prince Albert at the annual banquet at the Trinity House on the day after the closing of the debate on Mr. Lowe's amendment, when crimination and recrimination had run so high. The speech had been well thought out beforehand, and it was certainly telling, not only on account of the gravity with which it was spoken, but because of the serious representations which it contained—representations, the truth of which was afterwards largely acknowledged. It was in proposing the toast of her majesty's ministers that the prince said:—

"If there ever was a time when the queen's government, by whomsoever conducted, required the support—ay, not the support alone, but the confidence, good-will, and sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, it is the present. It is not the way to success in war to support it, however ardently and energetically, and to run down and weaken those who have to conduct it. We are engaged with a mighty adversary, who uses against us all those wonderful powers which have sprung up under the generating influence of our liberty and our civilization, and employs them with all the force which unity of purpose and action, impenetrable secresy, and uncontrolled despotic power give him; whilst we have to meet him under a state of things intended for peace and the promotion of that very civilization—a civilization the offspring of public discussion, the friction of parties, and popular

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control over the government of the state. The queen has no power to levy troops, and none at her command, except such as voluntarily offer their services. Her government can entertain no measures for the prosecution of the war without having to explain them publicly in parliament; her armies and fleets can make no movement, nor even prepare for any, without its being proclaimed by the press; and no mistake, however trifling, can occur, no weakness exist, which it may be of the utmost importance to conceal from the world, without its being publicly denounced, and even frequently exaggerated, with a morbid satisfaction. The queen's ambassadors can carry on no negotiation which has not to be publicly defended by entering into all the arguments which a negotiator, to have success, must be able to shut up in the innermost recesses of his heart—nay, at the most critical moment, when the complications of military measures and diplomatic negotiations may be at their height, an adverse vote in parliament may of a sudden deprive her of all her confidential servants.

"Gentlemen, constitutional government is under a heavy trial, and can only pass triumphantly through it, if the country will grant its confidence—a patriotic, indulgent, and self-denying confidence—to her majesty's government. Without this, all their labours must be in vain."

There was for a time a great outcry against the declaration that constitutional government was under a heavy trial—and the words had been distorted into an assertion that constitutional government was "on its trial;" but nobody, except those who were either ignorantly misled or were wilfully perverse attributed to it any but its real meaning, and the intentions of the speaker were not only understood, but appreciated, by the leading newspapers of the country, as well as by its most intelligent politicians.

The allusion made by the prince consort to the effects of information conveyed to the enemy by means of unrestrained reports and comments which appeared in the English newspapers, was not without considerable foundation; but it would have been extremely difficult to preserve the freedom, which had long been claimed, for open discussion and complete examination of public affairs in the press of the country, and yet to impose a limit of discretion. The leading newspapers had already exposed our mismanagement in the Crimea, and the result had been an amendment of administration, without which we might never have succeeded in maintaining a position in the Crimea at all. It was not likely, therefore, that details of the movements of our troops and of the operations before Sebastopol would be suppressed, although they were said to have given the Russians information which generals seek for with eagerness, but under great difficulties through the medium of spies and deserters. In a private despatch from Lord Cowley it was stated that the young Emperor of Russia had said to a French prisoner, General Lagardie, "We do not learn much from you (the French); it is the English press which gives us information, and certes it has been most valuable to us."

General Simpson, too, wrote to Lord Panmure complaining of the particulars published in the papers. "There is a paragraph in the *Morning Post*," he said, "giving the exact strength of our guards at the trenches, lines of relief, &c. It is very disgusting to read these things, which are read at Sebastopol some days before they reach us here." The success of the expedition to Kertch was mainly due to the fact, that the English press had no chance of divulging the point on which it was to be directed.

The charges against the administration in their prosecution of the war were, however, not permitted to sleep. Before the dismissal of Mr. Roebuck's motion of censure Mr. Layard had introduced into the house the subject of administrative reform, which was being discussed outside with increasing interest and vigour, Mr. Charles Dickens having been amongst the foremost speakers at one of the large meetings. The resolution by which Mr. Layard endeavoured to claim attention to his declarations was, that the house "views with deep and increasing concern the state of the nation, and is of opinion that the manner in which merit and efficiency have been sacrificed,

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in public appointments, to party and family influences, and to a blind adherence to routine, has given rise to great misfortunes, and threatens to bring discredit upon the national character, and to involve the country in grave disasters." The house went to a division, and the resolution was negatived by an immense majority; but during a two nights' debate many of the evils complained of were admitted, and the subject was at all events "ventilated."

It was at this time, that by an order in council, candidates for the public service were ordered to be subjected to educational tests, and this was afterwards extended to a more public and competitive examination.

But a still more important parliamentary event had occurred before the disposal of the report of the commission of inquiry, and the motion that arose out of it. Lord John Russell had again resigned—unwillingly this time, and in consequence of the false position in which he was discovered to have placed himself, and of a severe resolution which was brought forward by Sir E. L. Bulwer.

Mr. Milner Gibson had on the 6th of July asked the government for some further explanations of what had really been done at Vienna, for an avowal of their candid opinions and their true designs. He, as a representative of those who desired peace, had understood that Lord John Russell had gone to Vienna in order to make peace; but his colleagues seemed to have thwarted him. It appeared to him that, assuming Count Buol's statement to be correct, Lord J. Russell, when he was calling upon the house to continue the war, must have known that proposals had been made, likely to lead to a peaceful solution of the question at issue. If this were so, the house should be informed of the fact.

The answer given by Lord John,—though it showed that he was not at one with the ministry which had appointed him as their representative on a mission of the utmost importance, and was therefore exceedingly damaging to the government,—might have been less remarkable but for his former warlike and uncompromising speeches, delivered after his return from Vienna. He said he had never undervalued the difficulties of a contest with Russia, and was of opinion that the war could not terminate in a treaty between that power and the allies, but rather in a general treaty, in which all the great powers of Europe must take part and give their security for maintaining the integrity of Turkey. In this view of the case he thought it of the highest importance to secure the co-operation of Austria, to which government he attributed no bad faith whatever. He thought the proposition emanating from Count Buol, combined with one by which there should be a counterpoise to any force which Russia might have in the Black Sea, did afford a basis for a treaty of peace. That proposition was, that a treaty should be entered into between the powers,—France, England, and Austria,—guaranteeing the integrity and independence of Turkey. He was not authorized to agree to this; but he told Count Buol that he would communicate them to his government. Those propositions were deliberately considered by the British government, which came to the conclusion that they did not offer a safe basis for a peace. The French government came to the same conclusion—Austria still declaring that she thought the third point admitted of more than one solution, and that she was not therefore bound to go to war with Russia. He was of a different opinion, although Austria had represented that her proposition should be made an *ultimatum* to Russia. If he had left office on the decision of the government he would be assuming as a plenipotentiary a course of conduct which could not be justified by such a position; while on the other hand, as a minister of the crown, he felt it his duty not to embarrass a government placed in the difficult circumstances which surrounded that of his noble friend. On the contrary he felt that he ought to support his government, and he was open to the censure of those who entertained a different opinion.

This statement roused Mr. Cobden to indignant remonstrance. He had never, he said, heard a speech that filled him with more grief than that of the noble lord; for he could not help thinking that he had not dealt with fairness or candour towards the country, nor

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with a proper spirit in not resigning. Such a course of proceeding on the part of the noble lord was calculated to destroy all confidence in public men. He was of opinion that a change of ministry would give the only chance of an honest party in the house and in the country.

The position of the government was indeed precarious. Lord Palmerston, with his usual loyal pluck, attempted to defend the conduct of his colleague, and declared it to be a novel proposition to say that a minister should retire from a government because he thought terms of peace might have been accepted when his colleagues were of a different opinion. But it was evident that Lord John Russell must resign. Denunciations of his conduct followed from Mr. Roebuck; and Mr. Disraeli with severe irony said that, having arrived at a favourable solution of the difficulties with which he had had to contend, and having in his own mind accomplished measures which would secure peace to his country, all he had to do was to communicate those measures to his colleagues in the cabinet; that having done so and finding no sympathy among them, he had quietly pocketed his own opinions and remained "in a cabinet of war a minister of peace." This was the end of the government, the head of which was to have been a minister of surpassing energy, and no doubt transcendent experience; this the end of the ministry which was to put the right men in the right places; this the end, that even peace and war had become mere party considerations; that the interests of the country were sacrificed to the menace of a majority, and that the tumults and turbulent assemblies of Downing Street were to baffle all the sagacity of all the conferences of Vienna.

On the 10th Sir E. Bulwer Lytton gave notice of the following motion:—"That the conduct of the minister in the recent negotiations at Vienna has, in the opinion of this house, shaken the confidence of this country in those to whom its affairs are intrusted." Two days later Lord John Russell explained to the house that although at the end of April and in the first days of May he thought the Austrian propositions might have been assented to, he did not consider that they could now, "after the events and proceedings which have since occurred," form the foundation of a satisfactory peace. Neither the house nor the public showed any disposition to accept the statement in mitigation of their displeasure at the position in which they found themselves placed, before their adversary and Europe, of carrying on a war condemned by a leading member of the executive government. The explanation was generally regarded only as making bad worse.

Lord John Russell, anticipating the effect of the coming discussion, announced his resignation, and he was succeeded in the colonial office by Sir William Molesworth; but it was said that he would still have retained office but for the outspoken advice of candid friends, among whom was Mr. Bouverie, the vice-president of the Board of Trade. The government had a narrow escape, and the comments on the political situation both inside and outside the House of Commons were bitter enough. "There have been many instances of friends and friendships," said Mr. Disraeli. . . . "There is the devoted friend who stands by one like the noble lord (Palmerston); but there is another kind of friend immortalized by an epithet which should not be mentioned to ears polite.[1] We all know that friend. It was, I believe, a brilliant ornament of this house who described that kind of friend;[2] and I must say, that, although the devoted friend, the prime minister, must after to-night be allowed to take the highest position, still, for a friend of the other description—candid and not bad-natured—commend me to the president of the Board of Trade." But Disraeli's satire developed into denunciation: "The foremost of your statesmen dare not meet the controversy which such questions provoke. He mysteriously disappears. With the reputation of a quarter of a century, a man who has reformed parliament, who, as he has told us to-night and often before, is

[1] "Sir Fretful," in Sheridan's *Critic*, says that if one is abused in print "why one is always sure to hear of it from one d—d good-natured friend or another."

[2] Canning who, in his "New Morality," wrote:

"But of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send,
Save, save, oh save me from the candid friend!"

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the successful champion of civil and religious liberty, in the cause and the name of which he has accomplished great triumphs—he who has met the giants of debate—he who has crossed his rapier with Canning, and even for a term shared the great respect and reputation which the country accords to its foremost men, with no less a person than Sir Robert Peel—he dare not meet the debate. But who dares meet it? The first minister of the crown ... . has shown by his language and the tone of his mind that if the honour and interests of the country be any longer intrusted to his care, the first will be degraded, and the last, I believe, will be betrayed."

It is curious to note that the tone adopted by Disraeli towards Lord Palmerston arose ostensibly in defence of Sir E. B. Lytton, of whom Palmerston had said that he had in his speech misrepresented the views of Lord John Russell, and charged Lord Clarendon with expressing only his own opinion in his despatches. Palmerston had said that he would hold the honourable baronet to that statement, and he would give him his choice whether that statement showed misrepresentation or the grossest ignorance. If the honourable baronet ever obtained high office, as his friends expected, he would certainly afford an illustration of his own remark—that the changes of our government made us ridiculous in Europe. He admitted that he had refused to accept the resignation of the noble lord; and had offered to stand or fall with him. But, in answer to the taunts of the honourable baronet, he could tell him, in the name and with the authority of his colleagues, that the cabinet was a united one.

It was upon this that Disraeli rose and began his damaging speech by taunting the noble lord with the bullying tone which he had assumed towards the honourable baronet. The noble lord stated that his cabinet was a united one; but he had good reason to believe that their union consisted in this—that when the noble lord returned from Vienna his proposals were favourably received by all the members of the cabinet, and that their acceptance of them was only prevented by other circumstances which were altogether independent of them; in fact, by the opposition of the French government.

Mr. Gladstone spoke towards the end of the debate, just before the motion was withdrawn. He complained that Lord John Russell had, in his speech on Mr. Disraeli's motion, condemned the last of the Russian proposals, then before the house, though that proposal seemed to him to be substantially the very same measure which the noble lord had himself supported at Vienna. As to the charge made against the government by the right honourable gentleman opposite, that the cabinet was at one time disposed to accept the noble lord's proposals, he thought they were not amenable to it, for it appeared from the papers that, on the very day when Lord John Russell's proposals were received in London, Lord Clarendon expressed to Count Colloredo his condemnation of the plan. So far from blaming the government for hesitating about this offer of peace, he blamed them for not giving the propositions that consideration which their gravity demanded, and for abruptly closing the hope of an honourable peace.

The position of the government was constantly assailed, and probably only the widely-spread belief in Lord Palmerston's acuteness and active ability could have sustained it. Only the night after Mr. Roebuck's motion of censure was passed over, the ministry narrowly escaped a serious defeat, and one which would have produced very awkward consequences. By a convention concluded with Turkey on the 26th of June, the governments of France and England undertook to guarantee the payment of the interest of a loan of £5,000,000 to Turkey. The French Chambers had already sanctioned this convention, but the resolutions introduced with a similar object by Lord Palmerston on the 20th of July met with an opposition as determined as it was unexpected. The money was, it was said, absolutely necessary to enable the Porte to bear its share of the costs of the war; but without the guarantee proposed there was no chance of its being raised, yet the resolutions were only carried by a majority of three, the numbers being 135 to 132. The bill to give effect to the resolutions, however, was passed without opposition.

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There can be no doubt that the antagonism of Mr. Gladstone and of those who were associated with him, numerically too small to be called a party, but at the same time possessing considerable weight and influence, did much to embarrass the government. Mr. Gladstone had already pronounced against the continuance of the war when a door might be left open for reasonable negotiation on terms which, as he believed, would practically secure the conditions, that at an earlier stage had been demanded. This attitude exposed him to sharp criticism and to no little abuse, not only from the friends of the government but from the opposition, who, while they proclaimed the necessity for prosecuting the war, charged the ministry with uncertainty, feebleness, and divided intentions. Bright and Cobden, however, saw in Gladstone a new and powerful, though not a professed ally, seeking to put an end to hostilities, while Palmerston turned upon his former colleague with that slashing style of reprobation in which he was an adept. The occasion arose when Mr. Laing moved for further papers on the subject of the Vienna conferences. Mr. Gladstone strongly protested against prolonging the war, and blamed the ministry for continuing it by rejecting the Austrian proposals as a basis of agreement to which all the plenipotentiaries at Vienna had agreed. Lord Clarendon, he contended, had not shown in his despatches any real desire for peace. It was to be feared that we might increase the breach between ourselves and Austria, and the alliance of Turkey was such as that of Anchises in relation to Eneas on his flight from Troy. We were gradually drifting away from friendly concert with Austria, Sardinia was dragging heavily through the conflict in mere dependence upon England, and he did not believe that France was likely to add £100,000,000 sterling to her debt for a mere difference between limitation and counterpoise. The Western powers could only for a moment control the future destinies of Russia. He placed the undivided responsibility of the continuance of war on the head of the ministry, and believed that in endeavouring to recall the government from the course of policy they were then pursuing, he was discharging his duty as a patriot and a loyal subject of the queen.

A few days afterwards Lord Palmerston took an opportunity of retorting.

"No man," he said, "could have been a party to entering into the great contest in which we are engaged—no man, at least, ought to have been a party to such a course of policy—without having deeply weighed the gravity of the struggle into which he was about to plunge the country, and without having satisfied his mind that the cause was just, that the motives were sufficient, and that the sacrifices which he was calling upon the country to make were such as a statesman might consider it ought to endure. There must be grave reasons which could induce a man, who had been a party with her majesty's government to that line of policy, who had assisted in conducting the war, who had, after full and, perhaps, unexampled deliberation, agreed to enter upon the war, who, having concurred after that full and mature deliberation in the commencement of the war, had also joined in calling upon the country for great sacrifices in order to continue it, and who had, up to a very recent period, assented to all the measures proposed for its continuance; there must, indeed, be grave reasons which could induce a man, who had been so far a party to the measures of the government, utterly to change his opinions, to declare this war unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic, to set before the country all the imaginary disasters with which his fancy could supply him, and to magnify and exaggerate the force of the enemy and the difficulties of our position."

Mr. Gladstone would have said that he *had* grave reasons for opposing the continuance of a war after terms had been suggested by which it might cease, but there were few more opportunities for discussion. On the 14th of August parliament was prorogued, and it was well for the ministry that events almost directly afterwards occurred which quickly led to the proclamation of peace. In fact it may be said that without those most interested being aware of it, the terms for renewed negotiation were already in sight.

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It is now necessary to indicate the successive events which brought the war to a close more rapidly than anybody in England had anticipated. The destruction of Kertch had been a blow to the Russians, and the bombardment of the arsenal and dockyard of Sveaborg by the allied fleets in the Baltic, where Rear-admiral Dundas was able to effect operations, which, for want of heavy mortars, Sir Charles Napier had declined to hazard in the previous year, was an equally important manifestation that the war had really assumed the proportions of a deadly struggle. From the morning of the 9th till the morning of the 11th of August the furious assault was continued almost without intermission. It was computed that 10,000 shells must have been poured into the fortress in one day, and that not less than 1000 tons of shot and shell had been fired by the English alone. "The enemy is now firing thirty rockets a minute," said a Russian account of this tremendous bombardment. The fire was from our gun and mortar boats and from batteries which the French had established on a neighbouring island.

Finding the destruction of the stores and arsenals and every building of importance to be complete, the admiral resolved to make no further attempt on the fortifications themselves, as this must have cost many lives, without any corresponding advantage, even if successful. As it was, he was able, when reporting to the admiralty on the 11th the success of his operations in the destruction of this important arsenal and dockyard, to add that few casualties had occurred, and that no lives had been lost in the allied fleets.

Report said that the condition of the Russian forces showed that their supplies of food and ammunition were beginning to fail, but that the whole military resources of the country were being concentrated on the Crimea, with a view to some supreme effort. Men without end, it was said, were being sent thither as reserves, and a great blow would shortly be struck at the besieging forces. Prince Gortschakoff had not attacked them before, because he had not hitherto had sufficient men. Now everything he could desire had been placed at his disposal for carrying out his plan of bringing an overwhelming force against the allies, and the numbers at his command were said to be so great, that it was thought they must bear down any resistance. At the same time we were told at what a frightful sacrifice of life the enemy was bringing up the hordes on which he relied so confidently, to destroy us. The route from Sebastopol to Simpheropol, it was ascertained upon the authority of a Russian eye-witness, speaking at St. Petersburg, was already so encumbered with dead bodies, dead horses, and dead cattle, that the whole line was infected with pestilential vapours, was impassable for vehicles, and could only be traversed on horseback.

Meanwhile, the losses of the allies in the trenches were very great. On the 21st of July, General Simpson had reported to Lord Panmure that his trenches were advanced to within 200 yards of the Redan and could not be pushed further, and, moreover, that the Redan itself had been so much strengthened since the attack in June that any attempt upon it must fail. A combined attack by the French and English on the Malakhoff was, in his opinion, the only practicable operation, and the Malakhoff was the key to the position. The troops were waiting for General Pelissier to announce that he was ready for the assault.

But the Russians probably understood this well enough, and their endeavour was directed to raise the siege before any further successes were achieved by the allies. It was a desperate effort to concentrate the whole Russian force upon the invaders, but on the 16th of August, the day before we were to recommence a fierce bombardment during which an attempt was to be made on the two fortresses,—from fifty to sixty thousand Russians, including five divisions of infantry, six thousand cavalry, and twenty batteries, which collected during the night under the command of General Liprandi, descended into the valley of the Tchernaya near the Traktir bridge. This attack was only a portion of a general assault (planned, it was said, at St. Petersburg), by which, from the inside of Sebastopol as well

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as from outside, a sudden onslaught should drive the invaders from the harbour and town of Balaklava and compel them to raise the siege.

Liprandi's force, therefore, precipitated itself on the position held by the allies on the river, and the brunt of it had to be borne by the French, who were, however, supported by the indomitable courage of the Sardinian contingent, which had been placed on the right. The Russian commanders had, according to their usual practice, served out large rations of coarse brandy, and the men charged down upon the French position with wild impetuosity, but only to be met with a determined vigour that drove them back with terrible slaughter across the bridge, where the already broken mass became a panic-stricken crowd struggling vainly to return.

The battle began while the mists of early dawn hung heavily upon the valley of the Tschernaya, and by nine o'clock the Russians were in full retreat.

The number of the French killed was comparatively small, but that of the Russians was estimated at about 3000 killed and 5000 wounded. Four hundred prisoners were taken. On the bodies of the dead were found four days' rations, but no water, so confident had their leaders been of securing their hold upon the Tschernaya. "The men dead in the field," General Bernard wrote to Colonel Phipps (18th August), "looked worn and miserable; the grenadiers of the guard were there, men 6 feet 4 inches and well dressed, but thin and worn also. The generality were badly clothed and badly fed, many very young." This was regarded as a proof that the destruction of the stores on the Sea of Azoff had begun to tell. If the forces already on the spot bore such evident marks of being badly fed, there was little to be apprehended from any further reinforcements of men which Russia might be able to send to the front, as they must increase the embarrassment of the enemy, from the already failing supplies of provisions.

The end of the war was nearer than most people supposed. The utter defeat of the force intended to engage and overwhelm the position on the Tschernaya left the siege operations of the allies uninterrupted. The bombardment was continued, and on the 5th of September, 1855,—just twelve months from the day on which the allied armies sailed from Varna,—was renewed with greater vigour than ever, and was continued for the two following and a portion of the third following days. The cannonade of the French alone extended over a space of four miles; the English fire was more concentrated. This continuous bombardment was the prelude to a determined attempt to seize the Malakhoff and the Redan. Twenty-five thousand French and five thousand Sardinians were concealed in the trenches, as the foremost works were called, and in other places where they could await the word of command to spring out and rush to the assault of the Malakhoff, which was the more important fortress. The attack was to be made about mid-day, as at that time the Russians were known to seek repose and many of them left the ramparts. At twelve o'clock the firing ceased, and the word was given for the assault. The attacking party dashed out, passed the ditches, scrambled up the hill; and in a quarter of an hour the tricolour was floating on the old tower of the Malakhoff. A party of engineers quickly placed the first-gained height in a position of defence, and when the Russians in dense masses came moving onward they were met by the French troops sent by General Bosquet from the other side to support the assaulting party. The struggle was then fierce and stubborn. General Regon, who led the engineers to the summit of the height, said, "I entered the Malakhoff at the head of the sappers with the Zouaves of the first division of the second corps d'armée. We climbed the ditch like cats, dislodged the enemy, forced the lines and carried the redoubts with an enthusiasm and rapidity perfectly French. Our standards, planted on the parapets, were assailed and vigorously defended for more than six hours." The engineers and Zouaves succeeded in holding the redoubt, and the Russians were at last finally repulsed. The key of the position was taken, and a fire was directed from it to the rear of the Redan, where the English had been less successful.

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To take this was, it seemed, a more difficult task, but it might have been captured had our men been better supported. General Simpson had committed to Generals Codrington and Markham the task of assaulting it. The attack was delayed till the Russians were engaged at the Malakhoff, and the signal was given directly the French tricolour was seen floating on the height. A thousand of our men of various arms went out to traverse that long 200 yards to the Redan—a road of fire. They were mowed down like reeds by the close discharge of the artillery. Those who at last forced their way into the place were exposed to the same resistless hail, and unless they were soon reinforced it was evident that they must all perish or be driven back. But no messengers could go back on that road to ask for aid, one by one they fell before they reached the spot where General Codrington was to be found. At last Colonel Windham, who commanded the handful of men who still remained, determined to make the attempt himself, and he succeeded, but it was too late, and while he was speaking to the general the remnant of his followers had been driven out by the greatly superior force of the enemy. Meantime the struggle at the Malakhoff was severe and the result uncertain, and Pelissier sent a message to General Simpson, begging him to effect a diversion of the Russian force by making a second attempt on the Redan. The answer was that the trenches were so crowded that no second attacking force could be organized. Thus the first attack failed because it was made by too few, and a second could not be attempted because there were too many. General Canrobert had failed in an attempt to seize the south-western defences of the town, but the attack had served the purpose of diverting the sole attention of the Russians from the Malakhoff, the capture of which was itself an important achievement, though it was dearly purchased. The loss to the besiegers on this terrible day was about 10,000 killed and wounded; that of the Russians must have been far greater. The next day was Sunday, and the attack on the Redan was to be renewed, but before the day had dawned a new scene in the dread drama of war had opened. A picket party creeping stealthily to the Redan after nightfall found the place deserted. A series of tremendous explosions in the arsenals, and numerous fires, proclaimed that the enemy was preparing to leave the doomed city. The *Times'* correspondent, describing the scene with graphic brevity, says, "Soon afterwards wandering fires gleamed through the streets and outskirts of the town, point after point became alight, the flames shone out of the windows of the houses, rows of mansions caught and burned up, and before daybreak the town of Sebastopol, that fine and stately mistress of the Euxine, on which we had so often turned a longing eye, was on fire from the sea to the dockyard creek. At sunrise four large explosions followed in quick succession, and at 5·30 Fort Alexander and the grand magazine, with all their deadly stores, were blown into the air. The former exploded with a stupendous crash that made the very earth reel." All this time the Russians were marching with sullen tramp across the bridge, which Gortschakoff had caused to be constructed for the retreat, and boats were busy carrying *matériel* off from the town, or bearing men to the south side to complete the work of destruction, and renew the fire of hidden mines, or light up untouched houses. After the Russian retreat had been effected the bridge was removed and thus a deep arm of the sea was left between them and their antagonists. "When the town could be safely entered, heaps of wounded and dead were found lying in stores to which they had been carried after the assault. Of all the pictures of the horrors of war ever presented to the world, the hospital of Sebastopol was the most horrible, heartrending, and revolting. It cannot be described, and the imagination of a Fuseli could not conceive anything at all like unto it. How the poor human body can be mutilated and yet hold its soul within, when every limb is shattered, and every vein and artery is pouring out the life-stream, one might study here at every step, and at the same time wonder how little could kill. In a long, low room, supported by square pillars arched at the top, and dimly lighted through shattered and unglazed window frames, lay

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the wounded Russians, who had been abandoned to our mercies by their general." Between the 5th and the 8th they lost four superior officers, 47 subalterns, and 3917 soldiers, without reckoning the artillerymen who perished at the guns. "Taking advantage," wrote Prince Gortschakoff, "of the superiority of their fire at short ranges, the enemy, after the concentrated action of their artillery for thirty days, commenced that infernal bombardment from their innumerable engines of war, and of a calibre hitherto unknown, which destroyed our defences which had been repaired at night with great labour and at great loss under the incessant fire of the enemy, the principal work having experienced considerable and irreparable damage. To continue, under the circumstances, the defence of the south side, would have been to expose our troops daily to a useless butchery, and their preservation is to-day more than ever necessary to the Emperor of Russia. For these reasons, with sorrow in my heart, but with a full conviction, I resolved to evacuate Sebastopol and to take over the troops to the north side of the bridge constructed beforehand over the bay, and by boats. . . . Remember the sacrifice we made upon the altar of our country in 1812. Moscow was surely as valuable as Sebastopol. . . . It is not Sebastopol which we have left to them, but the burning ruins of the town which we ourselves set fire to, having maintained the honour of the defence in such a manner that our great-grandchildren may recall the remembrance thereof, with pride, to all posterity." The Russians had undermined not only the forts of the Redan and the Malakhoff in such a manner that they might be exploded directly the allies took possession, but parts of Sebastopol itself were similarly treated, and had to be entered with the utmost caution.

Thus ended this memorable siege of 349 days' duration. The besieging army had about 700 guns in battery during the various attacks, and upwards of 1,600,000 shots were fired. Our approaches, which were in many cases cut through the rock by means of gunpowder, had an extent of fully fifty miles. We employed 80,000 gabions, 60,000 fascines, and nearly a million of sand-bags. So Sebastopol was taken, or rather it had fallen into the hands of the allies, and the Crimean war was virtually at an end; a war in which 3500 of our men had been killed, 2800 disabled, and 20,000 had died of disease, accelerated if not caused by hunger, exposure to wet and cold, and the dreadful vicissitudes which they suffered during the earlier part of the campaign; a war which added about £40,000,000 to the national debt, and ultimately cost the country at least another million, beside the enormous losses caused by the interruption to social progress and commercial enterprise.

It is necessary, in order to complete a chronicle of the war, however brief, to refer to one episode which greatly moved the popular sentiments, the heroic defence of Kars by General Williams, who, as Sir William Williams of Kars, was thereafter held in well-deserved honour by the nation. This brave officer, who had been employed in settling the boundaries between Turkey in Asia and Persia, and had acquired a considerable knowledge of the Turkish language as well as of the customs of the Turkish tribes, was sent in August, 1854, to reorganize the Turkish army in order to enable it to oppose the invasion of Asiatic Turkey by the Russians. Had the appointment been followed more rapidly by the orders to commence this duty, a serious reverse to the Turks might have been prevented, for the troops were brave enough, but they were mostly officered by incapable cowards, or by leaders who had joined the service in order to take advantage of a system of peculation.

The Russians had gained a decided victory at Kurchdire before General Williams arrived, accompanied by Dr. Sandwith, a medical man whose name also became famous, and several young English officers. When he reached Kars he found that the Turkish force was altogether disorganized, and that he did not possess sufficient power to reduce to proper subordination the officers who had been the cause of the disaster. It was necessary that he should be nominated to the rank of general by the Turkish government, and this

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was ultimately done, but not till after long delay and repeated letters from Lord Clarendon to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. It took six weeks and fifty-four despatches to obtain the promise that this rank should be assigned to the waiting general, and ten weeks more for the Turkish government to sign the firman carrying the promise into effect. For a long time the pay of the army had been in arrear, the sick in hospital were in a dreadful condition, the soldiers were ill-fed and neglected. Directly General Williams received his brevêt he sent three dishonest pachas to Constantinople for trial, appointed Dr. Sandwith as superintendent of the hospital, which was soon put in efficient order, and encouraged the people of the surrounding country to send in supplies, for which they at last believed they would be paid without being robbed by the officer who gave the order. Captain Teesdale, one of his staff, reorganized and restored the discipline at Kars, while the general himself put Erzeroum in a position of defence.

The Russian general Mouravieff was approaching with a large force, and General Williams was obliged to hasten to Kars, which he provisioned for four months and prepared to defend to the utmost. He had entreated the Turkish authorities to send him further supplies, which would have enabled him to hold out for two months longer, but the sultan, for whom England and France had united in a tremendous struggle, was at that time demanding that his own private income should be doubled; and the supplies, after much delay, only reached Yenekoï, a place about fifty miles distant, whence they could not be transported except by cavalry, for which the general had applied in vain to his own government. These provisions were appropriated by the advancing Russians, who seized Yenekoï, or Kars might never have been surrendered. General Williams, however, directed all his efforts to prepare for the attack, and a series of earthworks was constructed. The Russian army, under Mouravieff, amounted to 50,000 men, a portion of whom were deputed to watch Erzeroum, and Kars itself was completely invested. To diminish the number of mouths, General Williams ordered the Turkish Bashi-bazouks to cut their way out through the Russian army, and this they did though with some loss. It was now August, and the general had been a year achieving the organization of the defence and the establishment of a better system for the administration of the army. All the resources of the hour were utilized to prepare for the enemy should he attempt to take Kars by assault. On the 29th of September the trial was undergone and triumphantly met. Mouravieff advanced his army before daylight and strove to force a way into the town, but behind the earthen ramparts the Turks fought with desperate valour, and after repeated efforts the Russian host, beaten back at every fresh attempt, was compelled to retire, leaving 5000 dead upon the field. The brave fellows who had made defences of their own bodies, or had, in the face of the Russian fire, rebuilt their earthen fortifications as soon as they were demolished, would only have been sacrificed had they rushed out and come to close quarters in the open space beyond; all that could be done was to hold out as long as possible. The small supplies of biscuit, flour, and soup made from horse flesh, were soon doled out in rations only sufficient, and at last not sufficient, to prevent actual starvation. The supplies were soon exhausted, many died of famine or lost their reason. There was no hope of assistance. The sultan was engrossed in the endeavour to provide for his desired increase in salary. Selim Pacha, the nearest Turkish general, would not advance to the rescue. Omar Pacha was too far off to render immediate assistance. It was useless to remain there to die, and on the 24th of September General Williams sent Captain Teesdale with a flag of truce to ask a conference with Mouravieff. The conduct of the Russian general was that of a brave and noble soldier. He might have demanded that the garrison should surrender at discretion, but he testified his admiration of the ability with which a persistent resistance had been maintained, and the garrison was granted the full honours of war, all the military authorities leaving the place under arms, and depositing arms and flags in a spot previously agreed upon,

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while to General Williams was accorded the right to designate to the Russian commander a number of persons who might return to their homes. Moreover, the English officers were treated with courteous hospitality by the Russian general and his staff, and plentiful provisions were sent in to the starving garrison.

Sir William Fenwick Williams of Kars met with a cordial reception in England when he arrived after the war was over, and £1000 a year pension was settled on him along with the title.

The question of a basis by which peace might be negotiated was now earnestly resumed. We have seen that the former proposal of Count Buol, the Austrian representative at the congress, was that Russia, Turkey, England, and France should each have the same number of ships in the Black Sea, so that the allied powers might always secure a great preponderance over Russia. This was refused by the English and French governments, and Austria had continued to make fresh propositions, none of which had been acceptable. Count Buol, however, was untiring in his efforts; and now that Sebastopol was taken the Emperor of the French was for more than one reason anxious to conclude a peace. The French people had not, at first, been very enthusiastic in the matter, and though, when the intelligence of success reached them they rose to the occasion, and their reception of our queen and the prince consort soon manifested the warmth of their satisfaction at the alliance with England, they had begun to reflect that the results of the war were of far less national importance to them than to ourselves. There was every reason therefore that the emperor should be in favour of concluding peace while the triumph of the Malakhoff and of Sebastopol was so closely associated with the success of the French arms, especially as he was then in almost daily expectation of the birth of an heir. In England, however, there was a by no means inconsiderable feeling, that there had been too little achieved for the maintenance of national prestige. It appeared to many who had been smitten with the war fever, that some further opportunity should be afforded to our army for striking a blow worthy of the tremendous provisions which had now been made for carrying on the war, and of the organization which had at last been accomplished.

During the preliminary propositions after the abandonment of Sebastopol, Lord Palmerston, to use a common expression, "kept a stiff upper lip," and it was perhaps necessary not to be too ready to yield all that was sought for, in the first flush of the intelligence that hostilities might soon cease, and especially as (for the reasons referred to) the French plenipotentiary was too ready to yield. Austria was pressing for concessions in a way which led Palmerston to write to Sir Hamilton Seymour, who was then our ambassador at Vienna, "We are happily not yet in such a condition that an Austrian minister should bid us sign a treaty without hesitation or conditions. The cabinet of Vienna, forsooth, must insist on our doing so. Why, really, our friend Buol must have had his head turned by his success at St. Petersburg, and quite forgot whom he was addressing such language to. . . . . We shall not sign unless we are satisfied with that which we put our names to. Pray tell him so, and say to him privately from me, with my best regards and compliments, that we feel very sincerely obliged to him for his friendly and firm conduct in these recent transactions, that we accepted with the addition of our own supplementary conditions, the arrangement which he proposed to us, because we felt that it contained all that, in the present state of things, we were entitled to exact from Russia, subject, of course, to any further demands which the fifth article provides for and authorizes us to make. But it is Russia rather than the allies who ought to feel grateful to him for his good offices in these matters, because we are confident that if the war goes on, the results of another campaign will enable us this time twelvemonth to obtain from Russia much better conditions than those which we are now willing to accept. We know the exhaustion, the internal pressure, difficulties, and distress of Russia as well as Buol does; but we know better than he does,

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our own resources and strength. He may rest assured, however, that we have no wish to continue the war for the prospect of what we may accomplish another year, if we can now obtain peace upon the conditions which we deem absolutely necessary and essential; but we are quite prepared to go on if such conditions cannot be obtained."

It was evident that Palmerston was prepared to carry out the assertion that England could, if necessary, now maintain the war single-handed or in alliance with the Turks alone; but happily no such experiment was called for. The four new points which had been brought forward were not dissimilar to the old ones, but they were differently worded; and the much-disputed third point proposed that no fleet and no naval station of any country should be permitted in the Black Sea, but that Russia, Turkey, England, France, Sardinia, and Austria might each have the same number of small armed vessels in that sea, to act as a sort of maritime police and to protect the coast, while merchant ships of all nations might freely enter.

The czar readily accepted the first proposals as a basis for negotiating a treaty. His consent was given on the 16th of January, 1856, and the conference was resumed, the sittings having been appointed to be held in Paris, which was then *en fête* because of the International Exhibition.

The representatives for Great Britain were the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Cowley; for Austria, Count de Buol Schauenstein and Baron de Hübner; for France, Count Colonna Walewski and Baron de Bourqueney; for Russia, Count Orloff and Baron de Brunow; for Sardinia, Count de Cavour and the Marquis di Villamarina; and for Turkey, Ali Pacha and Mehemmed Djemil Bey. According to the etiquette established on such occasions, Count Walewski, as the representative of the sovereign in whose capital the plenipotentiaries were to hold their meetings, was appointed president during the sittings of the conference.

The armistice, which was of easy settlement, was the first subject of discussion, and it was agreed that it should continue till the 31st of March, unless renewed till after that period by common consent; and that during this interval both armies and fleets should retain their present respective situations, but without any hostile movement on either side. After this, the sittings of the conference lasted till the 30th of March, on which day the treaty of peace was definitively signed, but the ratifications of which were not exchanged until the 27th of April. They were in substance as follows:—

The territories conquered or occupied during the war to be reciprocally evacuated.

The town and citadel of Kars, as well as other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops were in possession, were to be restored to Turkey.

The four allied powers to restore to Russia the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Yenikale, and Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

The allied powers, and also the Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Austria, to declare the Sublime Porte admitted to partake in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. The six Christian sovereigns also to engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire; to guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement, and to consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

Should any misunderstanding arise between the Sublime Porte and one or other of the signing powers that might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Porte, and each of such powers, before having recourse to arms, to afford the other contracting parties an opportunity of mediating between them.

The sultan having already issued a firman for the welfare of his subjects, without distinction of religion or race, and recording his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, to communicate to the contracting parties the said firman emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will. The contracting parties, while recognizing the value of this communication, clearly to understand that it does not give them the

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right, either collectively or separately, to interfere between the sultan and his subjects, or in the internal administration of his empire. In regard to the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, relative to the closing of the straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, it is agreed that the rule shall continue in force: that no ships of war belonging to foreign powers shall enter the straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; and that so long as the Porte is at peace the sultan shall admit no foreign ships of war to enter the said straits: and on the other hand, the contracting powers engage to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared. By a second article the sultan reserves to himself, as in times past, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the missions of foreign powers. By a third article it is declared that the same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war which each of the contracting powers is authorized to station at the mouths of the Danube in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

In regard, also, to the amount of naval forces which Russia and Turkey might respectively keep in the Black Sea, it was agreed in a separate convention between these two powers that each should maintain in that sea six steam-vessels of 50 metres in length and not beyond 800 tons burden each vessel, and four light steam or sailing vessels of not more than 200 tons each. It was agreed, moreover, that the Aland Islands should not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment should be maintained or created there.

The Black Sea to be neutralized, and its waters and ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation; and either of the powers possessing its coasts, or any other power, to be interdicted from the use of the flag of war upon it, with such exceptions as Russia and Turkey should fix by a separate convention. The commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea being freed from any impediment, was to be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police; and to ensure the security of this commerce consuls were to be admitted into the ports upon the coast, according to the principles of international law.

No toll was to be levied upon the navigation of the Danube, nor duty upon the goods which might be on board of vessels. With exception of the regulations of the police and quarantine, to be afterwards framed to facilitate the passage of vessels, no obstacle whatever was to be opposed to the navigation of the river.

In return for the towns and ports restored to Russia by this treaty, and to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, the czar consented to the ratification of his frontier in Bessarabia. This frontier was to begin from the Black Sea one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bourna Sola, to run perpendicularly to the Akermann road, to follow that road to the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the river Yalpuck to the height of Saratsika, and terminate at Katamosi on the Pruth. Above that point the old frontier between the two empires did not undergo any modification.

With regard to the Principalities, which had been such a fruitful source of strife, it was agreed that the territory ceded by Russia was to be annexed to Moldavia; that the inhabitants of this principality should enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the other principalities, and that during the space of three years they should be permitted to dispose of their property freely, and transfer their domiciles elsewhere. This principality and that of Wallachia were to continue under the suzerainty of the Porte, without any exclusive protection of a foreign power or any separate right of interference in their internal affairs; and the Porte engaged to preserve for them an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation. The same rights and liberties were to be accorded to the principality of Servia, under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers.

On the other *quaestio vexata* between Turkey and Russia respecting their possessions in

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Asia, it was agreed between the czar and the sultan that these should remain as they had existed before the breaking out of the war; and that in order to prevent all local dispute the line of frontier should be verified, and if necessary rectified, without any prejudice as regarded territory to either party.

The territories occupied during the war by the allied troops were to be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. The periods and the means of evacuation were to form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the powers whose troops had occupied its territory.

The tidings of the conclusion of an armistice reached the Crimea on the 28th of February, and on the afternoon of the same day, as if to signalize the cessation of hostilities, a pile of edifices in Sebastopol, called the White Buildings, was blown into the air. When the armistice was duly proclaimed on the following day, and the terms of it arranged between the contending armies, the officers and soldiers, between whom there would otherwise have been only a meeting of contention to the death, were now to be seen mixed together in mutual good humour and the interchange of friendly offices; and this although peace was as yet uncertain, and although its failure might renew the war with more than its former bitterness. On the 2d of April all suspense was at an end among the armies by the proclamation of peace, which was announced with a discharge of 101 guns, and followed by the bustle of preparation for the evacuation of the Crimea. This event finally took place on the 12th of July, on which day General Codrington, the British commander-in-chief, formally gave up Sebastopol and Balaklava to the Russians. But what a surrender! The whole war had been concentrated at Sebastopol, which city was now the type of all its miseries and its desolation—the tomb equally of those who had assailed and those who had defended it. Its aspect is thus described by an eye-witness:—

"Had fire been rained down from heaven upon the devoted city its annihilation could not have been more complete. The stranger who halted to survey it from the neighbouring heights, deceived by the whitewashed and plastered walls of the houses, might think that Sebastopol was still a city; but when he walked through the grass-grown deserted streets, formed by endless rows of walls alone or roofless shells of houses, in which not one morsel of timber could be seen from threshold to eaves; when he beheld great yawning craters, half filled with mounds of cut stones heaped together in irregular masses; when he gazed on tumuli of disintegrated masonry, once formidable forts, and shaken as it were into dust and powder; when he stumbled over the fragments of imperial edifices to peer down into the great gulfs, choked up with rubbish, which marked the site of the great docks of the Queen of the Euxine, and beheld the rotting masts and hulls of the sunken navy which had been nurtured there; when he observed that what the wrath of the enemy spared was fast crumbling away beneath the fire of its friends, and that the churches where they worshipped, the theatres, the public monuments, had been specially selected for the practice of the Russian gunners, as though they were emulous of running a race in destruction with the allied armies—he would no doubt have come to the conclusion that the history of the world afforded no such authentic instance of the annihilation of a great city. It is hard to believe that the site can ever be made available for the erection of houses or the construction of docks; but I am by no means certain that the immense resources in the command of manual labour possessed by the government of Russia, of which this very struggle afforded us all such striking proofs, in the Quarantine battery, the Bastion Centrale, the Bastion du Mât, the Redan, the Mamelon, and the Malakoff, may not be made available in time to clear away these modern ruins, and to rebuild houses, theatres, palaces, churches, forts, arsenals, and docks, as before."

Before the members of the conference by which the terms of peace were concluded had finally separated, they agreed to some very important improvements of international law relating to maritime operations in time of war. First, privateering was to be abolished;

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second, the neutral flag was to cover enemies' goods, with the exception of contraband of war; thirdly, neutral goods with the exception of contraband of war were not to be liable to capture under an enemy's flag; and fourthly, blockades in order to be binding were to be made effective, that is to say, they were to be maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the enemy's coast.

The concurrence of the government of the United States was sought for these resolutions, and was secured for all except the first. To that they refused their concession. The right of privateering, it was contended, was as clear as that of the use of public armed ships, or any other right appertaining to a belligerent.

Even the expectation that the terms of peace would be settled by the conference so greatly relieved the public anxiety, that the tension which had been felt for so long was removed, and preparations were made for a brilliant London season. Everywhere amusements were numerous, and the general disposition for rejoicing was increased by an intimation of the approaching marriage of the Princess Royal with the young Prince Frederick William, nephew of the King of Prussia, an alliance which it was felt would cement the good feeling between England and the only other great Protestant state in Europe.

When peace had been declared, a day of thanksgiving was appointed, and then followed another grand naval review by her majesty at Spithead with a splendid illumination of the fleet in the evening. This was on the 23d of April, 1856, but the great public holiday to celebrate the peace was held on the 29th of May, and was observed throughout the kingdom, the chief towns being illuminated, and displays of fireworks being very general. The spectacle in London was truly magnificent, the illuminations of the streets and public buildings being exceedingly grand, while at various prominent points in and around the metropolis there were brilliant exhibitions of "set pieces" of fireworks, with flights of rockets and other superb inventions of the art of the pyrotechnist. At Primrose Hill, in the Parks, and especially in Victoria Park, that great area which had not very long before been opened for the east end of London, and inaugurated by the prince consort, the display exceeded any previous spectacle of the kind; and it need hardly be said that in all these places vast concourses of spectators assembled.

We have already noted that the application of the Foreign Enlistment Bill caused much adverse feeling in America, where it was contended that subjects of the United States had been induced to go to Canada that they might there be enlisted in the English service. There were also some disputes with regard to our operations in Central America, and altogether the relations between the two countries were much "strained." The laws of the United States had doubtless been infringed, but not intentionally nor by English officials in authority, and it was felt that the American government acted without consideration when Mr. Crampton, our minister at Washington, received his passports from the president and left the country. Our government took no immediate notice of this proceeding, which was deprecated by the American press and by numbers of the leading public men in the States, and Mr. Dallas, the American consul in London, was received as usual, while not only the court, but American and English representative men in Great Britain, took pains to show that there was no diminution of the *entente cordiale* between the people of the two nations, closely allied in blood and in the institutions common to both countries. The matter afterwards came to a better understanding, and complaints were acknowledged and pacified, but of course opportunity was taken by the opposition to attack the government in no very measured terms, both for the original offence against the United States and their subsequent apologetic attitude. Lord Palmerston pointed out, not without considerable force, that "these gentlemen who were so anxious for peace, tell you that England has been insulted, treated with contempt, contumely, and indignity. What is the effect likely to be produced? Why, to excite a spirit of resentment towards our neighbours and kindred in the United States. Others again tell the Americans that their government has

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been deluded and persuaded to accept an apology they ought not to have accepted, and that their laws have been intentionally violated by a foreign government. Is that the way to create good feeling? Is that the way to persuade the American people to cultivate the most friendly relations with England?" The adverse motion of Lord Derby was not carried against the government, supported though it was by an adroit attack by Mr. Disraeli.

Mr. Gladstone had already taken a prominent part in the debate on the address after the termination of the war, and on the terms of the treaty of peace, and many of his declarations were weighty and important.

He said, "If I thought that this treaty of peace was an instrument which bound this country and our posterity, as well as our allies, to the maintenance of a set of institutions in Turkey which you are endeavouring to reform if you can, but with respect to which endeavour few can be sanguine, I should not be content to fall back upon the amendment, expressing that I regarded the peace with satisfaction; but, on the contrary, I should look out for the most emphatic word in which to express my sense of condemnation of a peace which bound us to maintain the law and institutions of Turkey as a Mahomedan state." He denied that the objects for which the war had been undertaken had sought to secure the settlement of any question respecting the internal condition of Turkey. "The juxtaposition of a people professing the Mahomedan religion with a rising Christian population having adverse and conflicting influences, presents difficulties which are not to be overcome by certain diplomatists at certain hours and in a certain place. It will be the work and care of many generations—if even then they were successful—to bring that state of things to a happy and prosperous conclusion. But there was another danger—the danger of the encroachment upon, and the absorption of Turkey by Russia, which would bring upon Europe evils not less formidable than those which already existed. Such a danger to the peace, liberties, and privileges of all Europe we were called upon absolutely to resist by all the means in our power." Mr. Gladstone proclaimed his regret that a more substantive existence had not been secured to the Principalities, though he owned that this was not the fault of England and France. The neutralization of the Black Sea he objected to, as meaning nothing more in time of war than a series of pitfalls. Recognized rules should also have been established to regulate interference on behalf of the Christians. The proposal to submit international differences to arbitration he regarded as a great triumph, though there was a danger that if encouragement should be given to the trumping-up of untenable claims and bad cases as a matter of diplomatic contention between nations, they would end by making more quarrels than they could possibly avert. He held that no country ought to resort to arbitration until it had reduced its claims to what it considered the minimum, and brought them to that state in which they were fit to be supported by force. If they laid down that rule, then a resort to arbitration was indeed a powerful engine on behalf of civilization and humanity. Under such circumstances, this proposal to establish a system of arbitration (which he rejoiced to say was an English one) might lead to a diminution of what undoubtedly had been a great scourge to Europe of late years—namely, the enormous cost of its military establishments.

It should be remembered that the manner in which the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be dealt with had formed one of the subjects discussed at the conference. Great variety of opinion existed on this question; but instead of dealing with it conclusively in the treaty of peace, which might have occasioned considerable delay, it was decided to lay down in the treaty the principles upon which the settlement was to be made, leaving the application of those principles to form the subject of a supplementary convention. Accordingly it was provided, that the Principalities should continue to enjoy their existing privileges and immunities under the suzerainty of the Porte, and under the guarantee of the contracting powers, the Porte engaging to preserve to them an independent and national administration, as well

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as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

In connection with this difficulty of the Principalities, it will be well also to observe, in relation to what will at a later stage of this narrative come before our notice, not only that the manner in which these provisions were to be carried out led subsequently to much angry controversy, as might have been anticipated from the very opposite views of Austria and the Porte on one hand, and of France and Russia on the other, but that the emperor of the French had very early declared to Lord Clarendon his strong conviction in favour of the union of the Principalities under a sovereign of their own choice. This is Lord Clarendon's report to Lord Palmerston of what passed in a conversation between them on the 6th of March; subsequent events have shown how just were the apprehensions, which were strongly felt by English statesmen and expressed at the time, of the injury to Turkey which was likely to result from the emperor's proposal:—

"The emperor said the great fault committed by the congress of Vienna was that the interests of the sovereigns were only consulted, while the interests of their subjects were wholly neglected; and that the present congress ought not to fall into a similar error. From all the information that reached him, the emperor said he was convinced that nothing would satisfy the people of Wallachia and Moldavia but the union of the Principalities under a foreign prince, who should nevertheless admit the suzerain power of Turkey, and that it would be disgraceful to England and France, if they had not the will or the power to establish a state of things in the Principalities that would be in accordance with the wishes of the people, and manifestly be an improvement upon the feeble attempt at reorganization that had been proposed at Constantinople.

"I said that I was not prepared to deny that the plan which his majesty was desirous to adopt might be the best for the Principalities, and I thought it well worthy of consideration, but that there were serious difficulties in the way of its adoption, which could not be overlooked. In the first place, it might not be easy to find a foreign prince fit for the difficult task he would have to perform, who would admit the suzerainty of the Porte, and he must be either of the Roman Catholic or the Greek religion. If the former, the Greek priests and the people of the Principalities would, from the first moment, be in bitter opposition to him, and, in order to sustain himself, he would have to rely upon Russian aid and influence. If he was of the Greek religion, all his sympathies would be with Russia, and I much feared that we should be establishing another kingdom not unlike Greece, but in a locality where the results would be still more disastrous to Europe. From a conversation which I had had with Count Buol, I had become aware that the objections of Austria to the union of the Principalities were insurmountable, and those of Aali Pasha (the Turkish plenipotentiary) were not less strong. Indeed, I said, Turkey would have a good right to complain, for she would well know, *that the foreign prince so established would, within a few years, be able to throw off the suzerainty of the Sultan and become independent.* The same system must also necessarily be established in Servia as in Moldavia and Wallachia; and it would be attended with the same consequences.

"Turkey would thus be deprived of about six millions of her subjects, and her power and position in Europe would be at an end, and I did not see what answer could be given to the Sultan if he appealed to us as the defenders of the integrity of the Ottoman empire against such an act of spoliation.

"The emperor said that at all events he wished the subject to be discussed by the conference."

It was so discussed, and with the result which we have stated. But that result left a question open, which led afterwards to the very brink of an European war.

With regard to the debate on the American difficulty Mr. Gladstone contended that wrong had been done to the American government. A cordial understanding with America had not been preserved, and the honour of this country had been compromised, but unless the house was prepared to displace the gov-

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ernment, it ought not to weaken their hands. Votes of censure on the government should only be proposed by those who were able to give effect to the principle contained in those votes. Coming to the actual matter at issue, he asked whether wrong had not been done? "In the first place, he charged the government with practising concealment; in the second place, he maintained that the American government were deluded and misled. The law was knowingly broken by the agents of the British government. There was not one hair's-breadth of distinction between the position of Mr. Crampton and the position of the government. What the American government complained of was the employment of an agency within the United States, not only to give information, but to tempt, to induce by the offer of valuable considerations, the subjects of the United States to go beyond the United States for the purpose of enlisting. Mr. Crampton did not communicate this to the American government. He had not only been guilty of concealment, however, but he had broken the solemn promise that he would confine himself to communicate to the persons who addressed themselves to him the terms on which they would be received into the British service." Mr. Gladstone then went on to show the injustice of the charge against the American government, of having at first confined its complaints to the proceedings of unauthorized persons, and subsequently extended those complaints to the British minister and his subordinates. "Aiming, as I do, at a plain and intelligible statement, I must say the American government was deceived by the proceedings of the British government. I say we intentionally broke the law of the Union." After examining the cases of several recruiting agents, the speaker maintained that Mr. Crampton had been made a scapegoat. He and three consuls had been punished, yet, although the British government acquiesced in and indorsed the acts of its agents, it accepted with satisfaction its own acquittal. Mr. Gladstone thus concluded: "When I look back to the period when party combinations were strong in the house—when Sir Robert Peel was on those (the opposition) benches, and Lord John Russell on these, I think—though many mistakes and errors were committed on both sides—that, on the whole, the government of the country was honourably and efficiently carried on. I believe that the day for this country will be a happy day when party combinations shall be restored on such a footing. But this question, instead of being a party question, is a most remarkable illustration of the disorganized state of parties, and of the consequent impotency of the House of Commons to express a practical opinion with respect to the foreign policy of the country."

It will be seen from the tone of the debates and from the persistency of the opposition that there were some doubts of the stability of the government in the disorganized state of parties, and at the beginning of the following year, 1857, serious occasion arose to call the foreign policy of the government in question, in consequence of the proclamation of hostilities against China. The conduct of the ministry had been censured by Lord Derby in the House of Lords, and he had moved a series of resolutions condemning their proceedings in regard to China, but though the speech in which they were introduced was received with applause, the resolutions were not agreed to. On the same evening, however, in the House of Commons Mr. Cobden moved, "That this house has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton river; and without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, this house considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*, and that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China."

In the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament the following passage had occurred:—"Acts of violence, insults to the

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British flag, and infraction of treaty rights committed by the local Chinese authorities at Canton, and a pertinacious refusal of redress, have rendered it necessary for her majesty's officers in China to have recourse to measures of force to obtain satisfaction." From this language it was evident that we had entered on what might prove to be another "little war," and though the tremendous conflict in the Crimea had dwindled minor contests to a point almost below public attention, there were already difficulties to contend with in Persia, while hostilities in Burmah had only recently been brought to a conclusion, and the memory of the Kaffir war, and Sir Harry Smith's difficulties in 1852, still lingered. The war in Burmah, which men like Cobden and Bright, as well as a good many who took less extreme views, declared had not been justified and might have been prevented by a less high-handed and a more reasonable policy, was caused by the breach on the part of the native government of a treaty made after the former chastisement of the Burmese by the Anglo-Indian government. This treaty provided that British rights and property should be respected, and it was alleged to have been broken by the sudden display of active animosity against our merchants at Rangoon and unwarrantable opposition to British vessels entering the port. Reparation was demanded, and a ship of war and three steamers were sent out to enforce it. This was granted so far as removing the Burmese governor of Rangoon, but he was replaced by a successor, who was equally insulting and offensive, and the British officer, Commodore Lambert, proclaimed a blockade. The answer to this was a fire directed upon our ships from the Burmese battery, which was thereupon silenced by our guns. The King of Ava, however, still refused to apologize, to compensate the merchants for their losses, or to permit the residence of a permanent British agent at Rangoon according to the terms of the treaty, which promised to respect British rights and property. The note of war was sounded, and troops from Bengal and Madras were sent under Major-general Godwin (a commander who had been engaged in the first Burmese war) to the mouth of the Irrawadi, the river on which Rangoon stands. While waiting for the Madras contingent, the general stormed and captured Martaban. The taking of Rangoon was, however, a much more difficult task; for though the whole of the defences of the town on the river side were destroyed by the fire from our shipping, that fire was returned with deadly effect by the Burmese, and our troops on landing were met by a determined resistance, and the stockade, from which the enemy issued and shot down our men, was only forced after severe loss. The capture of Prome, and that of Pegu, which followed, served to some extent to redeem the credit of the British arms. In the latter case 1000 of our men drove out 4000 or 5000 of the Burmese who were strongly entrenched behind their ramparts, and who afterwards made a futile attempt to recover the city. The whole province of Pegu was then annexed to British India, and though we had some difficulty in suppressing the lawless bands of the Dacoits who under their chieftains joined in hostilities for the purpose of plundering both sides, the war with Burmah was virtually over, the King of Ava agreeing to the demands which had been made by the governor-general.

The Persian difficulty had arisen out of a breach of the convention made in January, 1853, between the Persian government and Colonel Shiel, the British minister at the court of Teheran. The shah had agreed that Herat should remain in an independent position, and undertook not to send any troops thither except in the event of an invasion of the Herat territory by a foreign army, in which case any military force sent there by him should be withdrawn as soon as the foreign intruders retired. The agreement was, in fact, to refrain from undue interference in the internal affairs of Herat, except so far as interference had existed in the time of Yar Mohamed Khan, who had been a ruler of the province and had paid tribute to the shah as a token of nominal fealty. The Persian agent was to be recalled from Herat, and Great Britain was also to desist from interfering with the affairs of the place, while the British minister was to use all his influence to induce foreign powers to

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leave it in a state of independence. This in effect was not much less than an engagement on the part of Great Britain to maintain the independence of what was once the kingdom of the descendants of Tamerlane, in Afghanistan, and to keep intruders out of the old capital with its wet ditch and earthen rampart, its citadel and wall of sun-dried bricks, its dark narrow and pestilent streets, its mosques, baths, bazaars, and caravansaries, and its manufactories of gorgeous carpets and brilliant sword-blades. At that moment perhaps the most dangerous intruder was Persia, or it was thought to be so, since it was suspected that Russia might follow in her wake. For twenty years there had been a constant disposition on the part of Persia to endeavour to diminish British influence in Afghanistan, by treating our embassies with discourtesy or with positive insult, and after repeated remonstrances and an endeavour to hold Herat against the terms of a former treaty, the present convention had been secured only when it was made clearly known that if the shah kept possession of the Afghan capital he would have to fight Great Britain. If Russian influence had been behind him at that time it was probably inert during the progress of the Crimean war; but at all events the same tactics seem to have been resumed in 1856, and after a dispute with our representative at the court of Teheran about some apparently trivial matter which afterwards led to more serious misunderstandings, the terms of the agreement were broken, and by October in that year the Persians had again taken Herat, and were in conflict with our troops, who in the following month had seized the island of Karrack in the Persian Gulf; while our naval force, under Sir Henry Leek, had attacked and captured the fortified town of Bushire, which was thus declared to be a military post under British rule, and subject to martial law, the traffic in slaves being at once abolished.

While these operations were being conducted in Persia, where it was doubtless necessary that we should uphold the terms of the treaty, intelligence came of proceedings at Canton, for which only a lame defence could be made on the part of the supporters of our government, while able and just men on both sides of politics joined in condemning them.

"The lorcha *Arrow*" are words which have almost grown to the dignity of a historical reference. Lorcha appears to have been the name of a Portuguese settlement at Macao, at the mouth of the Canton river, and was applied to denote boats of a certain build and rig. The *Arrow* was one of these boats, and like some others from the same locality appears to have had an evil reputation with the Chinese authorities for piracy and smuggling. She had been built in China, was owned by a Chinaman, and had a Chinese crew; but the owners had at one time contrived to obtain such a register as under an act of the colonial legislature was granted to ships of a different class, or at all events of a more definite character, and thereby claimed to use the British flag and to claim protection under it. While this vessel was at Canton, a number of Chinese commanded by an officer in authority boarded her, pulled down the British flag and carried off the crew, refusing to listen to the remonstrances of the master, though they were supported by the British consul. It was an abrupt way of proceeding, no doubt, but it must be remembered that the vessel was known to be used in nefarious enterprises, and it transpired that though her papers were in the consulate, the registration under which she claimed immunity had expired more than a month before. Though the Chinese commissioners did not admit that any breach of national obligations had been committed, it appears that they were willing to make some reparations, and the form in which their assent was given was described by our consul, Mr. Parkes, as "very proper." Mr. Parkes had, in fact, demanded that the men who had been seized on board the *Arrow* should be at once returned, and based his demand on a supplementary treaty of 1843, one of the terms of which forbade the Chinese authorities to seize Chinamen who had offended, or were suspected of having offended against the laws, if these men were on board a British vessel. It only gave them a right to apply to the English for the surrender of the men.

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The Chinese governor of Canton, to whom this demand was made, was named Yeh. He was a man of remarkable ability and intelligence, and was quite capable of maintaining the argument by which he justified what had been done. He contended that the *Arrow* was not an English vessel, but a Chinese pirate lorcha improperly hoisting the English flag for the purpose of evading the law, and not entitled to the protection of a treaty which made British vessels subject only to consular authority. There was so much of truth in this representation that not only had the former registry of the *Arrow* expired, but the British authorities, who had previously granted it, already knew enough of the character of the vessel to doubt whether the registration could legally be renewed. Unfortunately Mr. Parkes, thinking that the hesitation of Governor Yeh might be followed by some further difficulties, sent off to Hong Kong for the support and assistance of our plenipotentiary Sir John Bowring, who had himself formerly been consul at Canton.

We have already heard of Sir John Bowring when he was associated with the leaders of the league for the repeal of the corn-laws, and helped to fight that battle in parliament and at public meetings. He had been a philosophical Radical, and once edited the *Westminster Review;* had travelled much, and possessed an extensive acquaintance of Asiatic as well as of European languages. With China and the Chinese language he was probably more familiar than any other public man of that time. His attainments therefore were considerable, though his learning was not profound. His public character was highly respectable; but he was not much of a politician, and was nothing of a statesman. It would appear that he was a man likely to be rather self-important, and he had moved amongst people who, because he had seen much, and learned much of which they were necessarily ignorant, showed him the kind of deference which was likely to give him a rather inflated opinion of his own authority. This was not mischievously apparent while he was engaged in writing and translating the numerous books in which he contributed largely to the study of philology, or added to our knowledge of the countries with which he was familiar. Sir John—or as he continued to be called, Doctor—Bowring was an extraordinary man, not only (perhaps not so much) because of the extent and variety of his attainments, as because he had attained unusual knowledge with few of the regular means of instruction, and by the aid of what must be regarded as exceptional ability for rapidly acquiring information. He had an early aptitude for languages, and devoted himself not so much to studying them in the usual way as to "picking them up," and afterwards mastering their structure and relations. His father's family had for generations been engaged in the Devonshire wool trade, and he was born at Exeter, where he seems to have had what may be called a casual education, learning something of the classics from a Dissenting minister at Moreton Hampstead, mathematics of the master of the Presbyterian Charity School, and French from a refugee priest. These were all the regular masters he seems to have had; and at fifteen years of age he was placed in a merchant's office at Exeter, where he continued to improve himself in linguistic studies during his spare time. He had expressed a desire to become a preacher, influenced probably by the effect of the lectures of the accomplished Dr. Lant Carpenter, the well known Unitarian minister, whose chapel he attended; but his career lay in another direction, indicated by the facility with which it seems he could acquire any language by ordinary and occasional conversation with foreigners, and a reference to a few books. In providing these books the German, Portuguese, and Dutch merchants in Exeter contributed to his instruction by placing their libraries at his service. Italian he contrived to learn from the itinerant sellers and menders of barometers and other instruments. At eighteen Bowring was transferred to London, to a house of business engaged in providing supplies for the British troops during the Peninsular war; and in 1813 was sent to Spain and Portugal, where he moved from place to place in order to be in communication with the army, and took the opportunity of completing his know-

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ledge of the Spanish language and literature. He was soon in complete accord with the Liberal party in Spain, and this was afterwards the cause of his intimate acquaintance with Jeremy Bentham, whose follower and close friend he became, and who left him his literary executor. It was Bowring who edited and prepared from the original manuscript Bentham's work on *Free-Trade Principles*, published in 1822; and at this time he was engaged in the commercial business which he had commenced in 1815, after peace had been declared, and in which he continued till 1828. During that period Bowring had written and published several works which introduced to English readers the poetry, language, and literature of other countries. *Specimens of the Russian Poets* was the first of the series, and it was followed by *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*, *Servian Popular Poetry*, *Bohemian Anthology*, *Specimens of the Polish Poets*, *The Poetry of the Magyars*, *The Poets of Holland*, and the *Cheskian Anthology*.

When the *Westminster Review* was founded by Bentham in 1824, Bowring was its first political editor. In 1828 he was sent to Holland by the government to report on the Dutch system of keeping accounts in connection with the introduction of a proposed reform in our own public accounts; and on the accession of the Liberal party to power, and Mr. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, to the Board of Trade, commenced his series of commercial missions to the Continent and the East. It was on his return from one of the latter in 1838 that he became at once associated with the movement which resulted in the Corn-law League. He had been member for Kilmarnock from 1835 to 1837, and in 1841 was returned for Bolton, which he represented till 1849, when he was appointed to the consulship at Canton, and subsequently in 1854 governor of Hong Kong. He then received the honour of knighthood and became *Sir* John Bowring. It would be idle to infer that the knighthood had the slightest influence on his "attitude" towards the people about him, or upon his own character; but it certainly appears that the accomplished man of letters, who had taken his doctor's degree at the Dutch university of Groningen, and had displayed no very unusual tokens of "bumptiousness," suddenly assumed a position which was overbearing even for a British plenipotentiary in China. It has been mentioned as a rather remarkable thing, however, that in a short passage of autobiography Sir John records his having, when a little boy, dreamed that he was sent by the King of England as ambassador to China. Whether the recollection of this dream, and any sudden sense of power, had the effect of emphasizing his desire to assert authority in Canton, may be left to conjecture; but it is certain that when he received the application from Mr. Parkes to support the demands made on the Chinese authorities, he saw an opportunity for enforcing other claims for admission to the port and city of Canton in accordance, as it was alleged, with certain treaty engagements which had not been properly observed.

To begin with, however, all the men taken from the *Arrow* were to be surrendered, ample apologies were to be made for their arrest, and a formal undertaking was to be entered into by the Chinese authorities that nothing of the kind should ever occur again.

All this was to be done within forty-eight hours, under a threat of hostilities from the naval force under the command of Admiral Sir Michael Seymour; but Governor Yeh, though he promptly sent back the men (under a kind of protest that he did so to avert the hostility of the British representative), and at the same time undertook to promise that care should be taken to prevent any British ship from being improperly visited by Chinese officers, refused to apologize for what had occurred with regard to the *Arrow*, which was, he contended, a Chinese vessel, with no right to the protection of the English flag. This Sir John Bowring had already admitted in a letter to Mr. Parkes, wherein he said that the license of the *Arrow*, however it may have been obtained, had expired, but at the same time argued that the Chinese were not aware of that fact, and that they were therefore culpable. At all events not a tittle of the demand for reparation was abated, and Sir John wrote to Sir Michael Seymour: "I

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cannot doubt that the imperial commissioner will now feel the absolute necessity of complying with the demands which have been made; and I have to add, that if your excellency and the consul should concur with me in opinion that the circumstances are auspicious for requiring the fulfilment of treaty obligations as regards the city of Canton, and for arranging an official meeting with the imperial commissioner within the city walls, I shall willingly come to Canton for that purpose." Surely when Lord Derby and Mr. Cobden afterwards concurred in accusing Sir John Bowring of a kind of monomania for getting into Canton, they were not outside the mark; for, on the representation that Commissioner Yeh did not pay sufficient attention to the remonstrances of the British consul, hostilities had already commenced by the destruction of the forts on the river, and instead of these hostilities being suspended for negotiations,—they were pursued—the island and fort of Dutch Folly being taken and occupied without any opposition from the Chinese. This was the beginning of an attack which lasted three weeks, during which more forts were taken, many junks destroyed, and the suburbs of Canton were bombarded till they crumbled down and left an open range for the ships to fire shot and shell upon the city.

The news of these proceedings caused much excitement in England, but of course men took different views of it. The name of Commissioner Yeh was in everybody's mouth, and his effigy was subsequently a great attraction in Madame Tussaud's exhibition of wax-work, where it is still a familiar, though no longer a particularly prominent figure. The course taken by Yeh when the attack was made on Canton was not very wise. He opposed to the British hostilities a proclamation offering a reward for every head of an Englishman brought into the city. This is, perhaps, why Lord Palmerston felt justified in referring to him as a "barbarian" when Parliament had dissolved on the Chinese question, and his lordship was defending his government in an address to his constituents at Tiverton. But the barbarian had so much reason on his side at the outset, that his views were endorsed by the venerable Lord Lyndhurst in the House of Lords, when, on the 24th of February, Lord Derby brought forward the motion to which we have referred. Lord Lyndhurst maintained that nobody could successfully contest the principle that we might give any rights or privileges to a foreigner or a foreign vessel as against ourselves, but that we could not grant to any such foreigner a single right or privilege as against a foreign state; and he declared with earnest reprehension that when we were talking of treaty transactions with Eastern natives, we had a kind of loose law and loose notion of morality in regard to them.

This was the conclusion supported by Cobden when he brought forward his resolution in the House of Commons, and from his point of view the whole argument was plain enough.

In a pamphlet on the war with Burmah, Cobden had shown the danger and injustice of our accepted policy towards the weak nations of the East; and he held that this war which had now broken out in China illustrated the same principles in a still more striking way. The Chinese boarded the *Arrow* and rescued twelve of their countrymen from it on a charge of piracy. The British consul protested on the ground that malfeasants on board a British ship should not be seized, but should be demanded from the consul. Nine men were returned at once. Bowring sent word that unless the whole of the men were returned within eight-and-forty hours, with apologies for the past and pledges for the future, the English men-of-war would begin operations. On a certain day the whole of the men were returned, with a protest from the Chinese governor that the ship was not a British ship, and that therefore he was not bound to demand his malfeasants from the consul. The Chinese governor was perfectly in the right. Bowring's contention was an absolute error from beginning to end. The *Arrow* was not a British ship. Its license had expired. Even if this had not been so, the Hong Kong agents had no power to give a license to a Chinese ship-owner protecting him against his own government. The case stood thus then. Bowring had made a claim

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which was legally untenable. The Chinese governor, while declaring it illegal, acquiesced in the demand. Yet the day after the whole of the men had been given up, naval and military operations were begun, a great number of Chinese junks were destroyed, the suburbs of Canton were burned and battered down, the town was shelled.

The government resolved to support Bowring. To do so, they shifted the ground from the particular to the general; if the Chinese were right about the *Arrow*, they were wrong about something else; if legality did not exactly justify violence, it was at any rate required by policy, as orientals mistake justice for fear.

To Cobden (says his latest biographer) the whole transaction seemed worthy of condemnation on every ground. Bowring's demand was illegal, and ought not to have been made. If this was doubtful, at any rate Bowring's violent action was precipitate. It was a resort in the first instance to measures which would hardly have been justifiable in the last instance. If there were general grievances against the Chinese, why not make joint representations with France and the United States, instead of stumbling into a quarrel in which we had not a leg to stand upon, and beginning a war for which in the opinion of our best lawyers there was no proper ground.

The chance of reversing the course of policy depended as usual on the accidents of party combination. In a letter to Mr. Lindsay, written in the last month of 1856, Cobden describes the state of parties at that time. "It is unlike," he said, "everything I have witnessed for the last fifteen years. There seems to be no party having an intelligible principle or policy in which any considerable body out-of-doors takes an interest. The two sides of the house no longer represent opposing parties—unless, indeed, it may be said that our leader is at heart an aristocratic Tory, while the chief of the opposition is, if anything, a democratic Radical. Of this, a considerable number on the Tory side seem to be shrewdly aware, for they evince no desire to turn out Palmerston, in whom they have no more confidence than in Disraeli." Under these circumstances, however, the position of a minister must always be precarious, for the absence of definitely antagonistic policies places him at the mercy of fortuitous personal coalitions. One of these coalitions came into existence now. The Peelites were only following the tradition of their master in condemning a precipitate and useless war. Mr. Disraeli and his friends played the official part of an opposition in censuring an administration. Lord John Russell obeyed an honest instinct for justice. All these sections resolved to support Cobden. It was on the 26th of February that Cobden brought forward a motion to the effect that, without expressing an opinion on the causes of complaint arising from non-fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, the house thought the late violent measures at Canton not justified by the papers, and that a select committee should inquire into the commercial relations with China. This enabled him to cover the whole ground of our policy in that country. He did so in one of the most masterly of his speeches; it was closely argued, full of matter, without an accent of passion, unanswerable on the special case, and thoroughly broad and statesmanlike in general views.

The house was profoundly impressed. After a long debate, in which Lord Palmerston taunted Cobden with his un-English spirit, and wondered how he could have thought of attacking an old friend like Bowring, the division was taken. There was a majority of sixteen against the government. The sixteen would have been sixty, it was said, if Lord Derby's party had held together. That so many of them were found on Cobden's side, showed that so far as opinion and conviction went, the minority was very small indeed. But, as we are always seeing, it is the tendency of party government to throw opinion and conviction too often into a secondary place. Mr. Gladstone said that if the division had been taken immediately after the speeches of Cobden and Lord John Russell, the motion would have been carried by a majority so overwhelming that the minister could not have ventured to appeal to the country against it. The interval allowed the old party considerations to resume their usual force. As it was, Lord Palmerston, with his usual acute-

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ness and courage of judgment, determined to dissolve parliament. Mr. Bright was now at Rome. "I need not tell you," he wrote to Cobden, "how greatly pleased I was with the news, and especially that the blow was given by your hand."[1]

The debate by which the result had been achieved lasted for four nights, and many of the principal speakers in parliament took part in it (those who were in favour of Mr. Cobden's motion sat on both sides of the house and represented all parties). It was not to be wondered at therefore that Lord Palmerston should represent the movement as an attack by a coalition for the purpose of upsetting the government. This gave Mr. Disraeli an opportunity for uttering a series of sarcasms, which he delivered with telling effect. "The first minister," he said, "was of all men the man who could not bear a coalition. He was the archetype of political combinations, without avowed political principles. The noble lord could not bear coalitions. The noble lord had acted only with those amongst whom he was born and bred in politics! That infant Hercules was taken out of a Whig cradle! And how consistent had been his political life! Looking back upon the past half century, during which he had professed almost every principle and connected himself with almost every party, the noble lord had raised a warning voice that night against coalitions, because he feared that a majority of the House of Commons, ranking in its numbers some of the most eminent members of that house, might not approve a policy with respect to China which had begun in outrage, and which, if pursued, would end in ruin. . . . Let the noble lord not only complain to the country—let him appeal to the country."

Eminent men of various shades of opinion had, indeed, condemned the government policy. Sir Bulwer Lytton had earnestly and eloquently warned the house that trade could not prosper if traders made themselves an object of detestation to those they traded with. Sir James Graham, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Phillimore, Sir Frederick Thesiger, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir Roundell Palmer—all expressed in terms unusually strong their opposition to a policy which was characterized as cruel and fraudulent. Mr. Gladstone protested against diverting attention from the government by accusations against Sir John Bowring, whose conduct was involved in the decisions, but whom they were not trying judicially. Their prime and paramount duty was to consider the interests of humanity and the honour of England. The policy of Sir John Bowring was not unknown to the government nor by them disapproved. With regard to the general question, he denied that we had festering wrongs against the Chinese. The attorney-general, he said, had argued that the term "British subjects" in the treaty meant any Chinese resident at Hong Kong, Mr. Gladstone asked, When we talked of treaty obligations by the Chinese, what were our treaty obligations towards them? Hong Kong was given to us to be a port in which British ships might careen and refit. Was not our contraband trade in opium a breach of treaty obligations? Had our government struggled to put it down, as bound by treaty? Had they not encouraged it by organizing a fleet of lorchas under the British flag? They who put the British flag to the uses to which it had been put, stained that flag. After earnestly pointing to the calamities which the war had inflicted upon the Cantonese, calamities to which the resolution before the house invited the wisdom of members to put an end, he demanded the reasons why we were at war with the Chinese. Were we afraid of the moral effects upon the Chinese if the acts of the government were disavowed? He implored the house to consider the moral impressions which must be produced, and never could be avoided.

"Every member of the House of Commons," he continued, "is proudly conscious that he belongs to an assembly which in its collective capacity is the paramount power of the state. But if it is the paramount power of the state it can never separate from that paramount power a similar and paramount responsibility. The vote of the House of Lords will not acquit us; the sentence of the government will not

[1] Mr. Morley's *Life of Cobden*.

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acquit us. It is with us to determine whether this wrong shall remain unchecked and uncorrected. And at a time when sentiments are so much divided, every man, I trust, will give his vote with the recollection and the consciousness that it may depend upon his single vote whether the miseries, the crimes, the atrocities that I fear are now proceeding in China are to be discountenanced or not. We have now come to the crisis of the case. England is not yet committed. With you, then, with us, with every one of us, it rests to show that this house, which is the first, the most ancient, and the noblest temple of freedom in the world, is also the temple of that everlasting justice without which freedom itself would only be a name, or only a curse to mankind. And I cherish the trust and belief that when you, sir, rise to declare in your place to-night the numbers of the division from the chair which you adorn, the words which you speak will go forth from the walls of the House of Commons, not only as a message of mercy and peace, but also as a message of British justice and British wisdom, to the farthest corners of the world."

The message went forth from the House of Commons by a majority of 16 in favour of the resolution proposed by Mr. Cobden and seconded by Mr. Gibson; but that message was not endorsed by the nation, or at all events by that part of the nation which had votes. Palmerston accepted the challenge of Disraeli, and appealed to the country by dissolving parliament. "The Tory chief of a Radical cabinet," as Mr. Disraeli called him, who "with no domestic policy was obliged to divert the attention of the people from the consideration of their own affairs to the distractions of foreign politics;"—the minister whose "external system was turbulent and aggressive, that his rule at home might be tranquil and unassailed,"—went to his constituents at Tiverton, and denounced Governor Yeh as "an insolent barbarian," who, "wielding authority at Canton, violated the British flag, broke the engagements of treaties, offered rewards for the heads of British subjects in that part of China, and planned their destruction by murder, assassination, and poison." Would the British nation, he asked, give their support to men who, if they got into power and were prepared to be consistent, must apologize to the Chinese government, and offer compensation to the Chinese commissioner, and who had endeavoured to make the humiliation and degradation of their country the stepping-stone to power?

The British nation believed so implicitly in the name and the foreign tactics of Palmerston that they did nothing of the kind. It was everywhere understood that he had so upheld British influence abroad as to make this country "feared and respected." It was believed that foreign official functionaries bowed humbly at the sight of his signature on a passport, when that signature was once translated to them. Remarkably enough, too,—the premier, who by his alleged flippancy and irreverent references in the matter of epidemics, had scandalized very "serious" people, had come to be regarded as a bulwark of the evangelical party in the church, because of his appointment to bishoprics, of men of that tendency. The appeal to the country was a triumph. Cobden, Bright, Milner Gibson, Layard, W. J. Fox, and several other leading opponents, actually lost their seats. Some ugly stories were current of attempts to poison Englishmen in China—of new promises of reward for assassination, and of poisoned bread sold by Chinese bakers. Some of these rumours appear to have had a foundation of fact. At any rate Commissioner Yeh remained "an insolent barbarian," though Lord Lyndhurst had endorsed his arguments, and Lord Derby had declared that on his side there had been courtesy, forbearance, and temper, and on ours arrogance and presumption. The vote of parliament had supported Mr. Cobden in saying that injustice had had been done to "an *ingenious* and *civilized* people, who were learned when our Plantagenet kings could not write, who had logic before Aristotle, and morals before Socrates," but the country reversed the decision. Cobden, hopeless of the West Riding, was defeated at Huddersfield. Mr. Bright, who was suffering so severely from the effects of mental strain and unremitting work that he was incapable of

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attending the election, lost his seat at Manchester; Sir J. Potter and Mr. J. A. Turner taking the places of him and Mr. Milner Gibson. Mr. Bright's illness had, it was said, little or no effect on the result; but perhaps it was on the whole a good thing for him that he had not at that time to resume arduous parliamentary duties, or to be compelled to neglect them. As it was, he retired with a certain sad dignity which was eloquent in the address issued to his former constituents. Here are two or three passages from it:—"I have received a telegraphic despatch informing me of the result of the election contest in which you have just been engaged. The result has not greatly surprised me, and as far as I am personally concerned—inasmuch as it liberates me from public life in a manner that involves on my part no shrinking from my duty—I cannot seriously regret it. I lament it on public grounds, because it tells the world that many among you have abandoned the opinions you professed to hold in the year 1847, and even so recently as the year 1852. I believe that slander itself has not dared to charge me with having forsaken any of the principles on the honest support of which I offered myself twice, and was twice accepted as your representative. The charge against me has rather been that I have too warmly and too faithfully defended the political views which found so much favour with you at two previous elections. . . . . I have esteemed it a high honour to be one of your representatives, and have given more of mental and physical labour to your service than is just to myself. I feel it scarcely less an honour to suffer in the cause of peace, and on behalf of what I believe to be the true interests of my country, though I could have wished that the blow had come from other hands, at a time when I could have met face to face those who dealt it. In taking leave of you and of public life, let me assure you that I can never forget the many, the innumerable kindnesses I have received from my friends among you. No one will rejoice more than I shall in all that brings you prosperity and honour; and I am not without a hope that, when a calmer hour shall come, you will say of Mr. Gibson and of me, that, as colleagues in your representation for ten years, we have not sacrificed our principles to gain popularity, or bartered our independence for the emoluments of office or the favours of the great. I feel that we have stood for the rights and interests and freedom of the people, and that we have not tarnished the honour or lessened the renown of your eminent city."

Lord John Russell maintained his seat for the city of London along with three other Liberals, Baron Rothschild, Sir James Duke, and Mr. R. W. Crawford, but he was last on the poll. Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Butler were elected for the Tower Hamlets, and Sir W. Clay rejected. Mr. Lowe was re-elected for Kidderminster, but he and his friends were savagely attacked by a mob as they were leaving a polling-booth. There were 189 new members, and it was computed that the Liberals in the new parliament were 371, the Conservatives 284—only two of Palmerston's supporters were defeated—Admiral Berkeley at Gloucester, and Mr. Frederick Peel at Bury. Parliament met on the 30th of April (1857), and Mr. John Evelyn Denison, M.P. for North Nottinghamshire, was unanimously elected speaker.

It may be mentioned that during the dissolution two officers, Major-general Stalker and Commodore Ethersey, apparently unable to bear the responsibilities which lay upon them in relation to the Persian expedition, committed suicide at Bushire. Major-general Stalker was the first to shoot himself, and three days afterwards Commodore Ethersey followed the sad example.

The proceedings in parliament had chiefly related to the prosecution of the great and the little wars, and there had consequently been little direct legislation for the promotion of social progress. Lord Elgin was soon sent as our representative to China. The principal measure which occupied the early attention of the new House of Commons was what was known as the Divorce Act—which meant not an act for permitting divorce, for divorce already existed as a possible thing for people who were wealthy enough to bring a cause before the ecclesiastical courts—but for estab-

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lishing a regular court for the trial of applications for divorce and for "matrimonial causes," the decisions in which would be less cumbrous and far less costly than those of the tribunal which it was intended to supersede. In a word, the Divorce Act did not introduce the power of obtaining a divorce, it only extended it to people who had hitherto been unable to avail themselves of the means that had been provided for trying causes between husband and wife. The effect of this was to remove the discussion of divorce cases from parliament, to which they were referred before the passing of the act, when wealthy or titled suitors would move for a trial. The unedifying details of some gross or painful case would no longer be discussed in an assembly unqualified to conduct the inquiry, and often unable either to discriminate or to follow the evidence which alone could secure a reasonable verdict. Many of the reports of divorce cases at the present day are bad enough, but they are harmless as compared to those of similiar trials in the House of Lords at a date previous to the time of which we are now speaking.

"Bills will be submitted to you for improving the laws relating to the testamentary and matrimonial jurisdiction now exercised by the ecclesiastical courts, and also for checking fraudulent breaches of trust," was almost the only paragraph in the royal speech referring to domestic legislation. Parliament assembled in May. It had been determined to carry the Divorce Court Bill if possible, and Lord Palmerston was accused of hurrying it through parliament, to which he retorted that he was quite ready to sit through September, if it was desired to have a full discussion of all the details, and, much to the amusement of the house, added, "One prominent opponent of the bill said to me on one occasion, 'You never shall pass the bill.' I replied, 'Won't we!'" This opponent was perhaps Lord Redesdale, who afterwards tried to throw out the measure by a motion that it should be considered that day three months. As this was on the 21st of August, such a decision would have sealed the fate of the bill, and the decision was nearly secured. At that date most of the Lords and several members of the government had left town, but it was thought there were a sufficient number of their adherents remaining to carry the bill. But the Conservatives hurried back to town to support Lord Redesdale's amendment, which must have been carried had not the ministerialists moved, and insisted on, an adjournment without mentioning the bill. This gave time for their forces to be recalled, and the amendment was rejected by a majority of two only, the bill being passed on the 25th. In the House of Commons the most determined opponent of the measure was Mr. Gladstone, who objected to it from conscientious motives. Doubtless the proposed act had greatly altered the position of applicants and appellants in divorce cases, but it had done more. The Bishop of Oxford had endeavoured to introduce a clause making it lawful to pass on the guilty parties, or either of them, a sentence of fine or imprisonment, as though such parties had been guilty of a misdemeanour at common law, and this was carried in committee but omitted in the third reading; while an amendment by the lord chancellor permitting a woman to marry after divorce was carried, and an addition by Lord Wensleydale against the adulterer and adulteress marrying with each other was rejected. It would appear, therefore, that the case was not completely stated by Mr. Walpole, who, in supporting the government, not only said that the relations of marriage were in no degree loosened by the bill, but that the only object of it was to substitute one good tribunal for three tribunals, one of which was a scandal and a disgrace to the country.

Mr. Gladstone, at all events, took the ground that divorce was prohibited by Scripture and was a social evil. For nearly two centuries the legislature had, from time to time, granted divorce *a vinculo* in certain cases where there was enough wealth to sustain the heavy charge necessary for the preliminary suits and for a private act of parliament; but he held that the passing of from one to half-a-dozen divorce bills per annum, and the occasional occurrence of a practical solecism through the variance of the Scotch law from our own,

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did not practically affect the state either of facts or of feelings for the mass of the community in England and Ireland, with their two hundred thousand marriages a year. "It was not the law of marriage which brought itself into danger," wrote Mr. Gladstone in the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1857, "but rather it was the feeling entertained, whether justly or unjustly, about the court by which that law was administered. The disposal of a large part of the testamentary business of the country under episcopal authority was a clear anomaly, and what was much more it was one of those anomalies which most powerful bodies of men were interested in attacking, while only a feeble one was arrayed in its defence. Attention readily passed from the court to the law in its different branches; and when once that branch of it which dealt with the contract of marriage as a lifelong engagement was brought under criticism, its existence could not long remain undisturbed; it was too Spartan and severe for the relaxed tone of modern society, and the other principal Protestant countries had long ago set us the example of its surrender. A commission was accordingly appointed to inquire into the law of marriage; and in the year 1853 the commission reported in favour of a change in the law which should embody the principle of divorce *a vinculo* for adultery."

There had, as he remarked, already been a surrender of that strict view of the marriage-contract, which, it must be admitted, appears to be the divine meaning of what marriage should really become. The difference in the law in England and Scotland was a constant source of inconvenience. "Gretna Green" marriages at the little village "over the border" in Dumfriesshire, where the ceremony was, it was said, performed by a blacksmith for runaway couples—had been declared illegal only on the 1st of January in that very year (1857), but legal marriage in Scotland could be upheld by the mere fact of a woman and a man having called each other husband and wife in the presence of witnesses.

We cannot enter into Mr. Gladstone's arguments on the scriptural and historical grounds of his opposition to the bill, and it will suffice to say that the social grounds on which he denounced it were founded on his religious—one might perhaps say his spiritual—convictions of what marriage really implied, and what was probably included by St. Paul when he spoke of it as "a great mystery."

Nor did Mr. Gladstone hesitate to condemn Milton as the advocate of easy divorce at a time when, during the Commonwealth, adultery was made a capital offence, but the marriage-contract remained indissoluble. Milton doubtless advocated separation, equivalent to divorce, for aversion or incompatibility, and even declared that to forego an unfit, ungodly, and discordant wedlock was according to perfection rather than to infirmity. "That for which he pleads," says Mr. Gladstone, "is a license of divorce for aversion or incompatibility; the wildest libertine, the veriest Mormon, could not devise words more conformable to his ideas, if indeed we are just to the Mormon sages in assuming that they alienate as freely as they acquire. And all this energetic emotion of Milton's betrays its selfish origin by the fact that it is man only whose sufferings in unhappy marriages he commiserates; the wrongs and sorrows of women seem to have been, in his view, a very secondary affair; indeed, he but faintly shows that he was even conscious of their existence." These views of Mr. Gladstone[1] were the foundation of his resistance to the bill, but he also pointed emphatically to the momentous character of the change as it regarded women. He says, "One of the noblest social achievements of the gospel has been to elevate the 'ministering angel' of the world to a position of perfect equality with a man in all that relates to the essential prerogatives of personal and spiritual being. It is the most splendid example, without exception, which history affords of the triumph on a large scale of the law of right over the law of force, and of the law of love over the law of lust. This equality, which the piercing sagacity of Aristotle could not discern, nor the ethereal imag-

[1] Republished in *Gleanings of Past Years*, vol. vi., to which the reader would do well to refer as an exhaustive essay on the subject from the point of view here indicated.

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ination of Plato conceive, is now the simplest elementary conception of every Christian child; for our nurseries know no distinction between the reverence due to the one parent and to the other. Many and many a long century did it take to work out this great result, and those who reproach the English law of marriage with its having subsisted under papal guardianship, should remember that the same period, and the same tract of Christendom, which brought it down in safety, delivered to us along with it that precious legacy of customs and ideas which has established woman upon the very highest levels of our moral and spiritual existence, for man's benefit no less than for her own."

In reference to the religious rite Mr. Gladstone argued,—

"A time may come when society cannot bear the strictness of the Christian law, and will reject the drill that is necessary to make the soldier. It will then, doubtless, largely fall back upon that lower conception of marriage which treats it as a purely civil contract between individuals. It may be said that that time has already come, in a country like England, where, according to the last returns, out of one hundred and sixty thousand marriages, seven thousand six hundred, a number relatively small but absolutely considerable, were celebrated by the registrar, and therefore with no special religious authority. We are far from saying that the law offends by permitting such marriages as these to persons whose consciences do not enable them to enter into marriage by the way properly Christian. So, then, if there must be remarriage, let that too be the registrar's privilege. The day when marriage is made dissoluble by law in England will at best be noted in our calendar with charcoal, not with chalk. But if we are not strong enough to hold the lower portion of society up to Christianity, let us not be mad enough to drag the very rites of Christianity down to the lowered and lowering level of society. Let the salt of the earth still keep its savour, and the darkness of the body be illumined, so far as it may, by the eye that still wakes within it."

These then were the opinions by which Mr. Gladstone held, during his antagonism to the bill, which soon afterwards passed into law, and in a footnote to the republication of this essay in 1878 he adds, "I record with regret, after twenty-one years, my conviction, that the general soundness of these arguments and anticipations has been too sadly illustrated by the mischievous effect of the measure on the conjugal morality of the country."

It may be noted, however, that the observations made by the distinguished essayist on the subject of marriage by registration, do not include the whole question. Such marriages have vastly increased during the twenty-one years which have elapsed, and the registrar is now, in fact, the only officer appointed by the state to perform the legal ceremony of marriage; but even before this change had taken place there were numbers of persons professing a fervent belief in religion who yet did not conceive that the "marriage service" of the Church of England was the only "way properly Christian" by which they could enter into matrimony, and many of them failing to find any ceremonial ordained in the New Testament, and yet believing somewhat in the spirit of marriage, were content to adopt the "letter" of the legal social contract, not as all that was necessary, but as all that was merely formally necessary or publicly necessary. Of course Mr. Gladstone never would have denied that Christians not conforming to the rites and to some of the doctrines of the Church of England, and conscientiously dissenting from the "Establishment," were yet capable of a truly Christian marriage in the high interpretation which he claims for it; but it may seem to some readers that he had overlooked the objection that the religious authority which he claims for marriage itself need not be confined to the authority of the "Church of England," or of any one Christian Church, but the authority of the Christian spirit in the hearts of those who regard the marriage as in the highest sense binding, in whatever way it may be formally and legally celebrated.

It is not necessary to do more than refer to Mr. Gladstone's well-known scholarship as being conspicuous in the essay to which we have just referred. It had long been as well

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known to his friends, and to all those who were able to form an estimate of such attainments, as his intense earnestness in upholding, what he regarded as essential principles of conduct or of policy, was known to those who acted with him in public affairs. In a somewhat remarkable manner these two qualities led to his being selected to fulfil a mission to which we shall have to refer in another chapter. By the Treaty of Vienna the Ionian Islands, the inhabitants of which had a restless desire to be made a portion of the Kingdom of Greece, were constituted a kind of commonwealth under British protection, with a senate of six and a legislative assembly of forty members, who probably exercised less power than one of our colonial assemblies and not much more than a provincial corporation or board of works. They were placed under the control of a British lord high commissioner, and we had the right to maintain garrisons in the islands, of which he therefore would almost necessarily become civil governor and, in case of urgency, military commander. This was, of course, a very different thing to self-government, and the name of republic was not so satisfactory to the Ionians as the hope of becoming a part of the Greek kingdom and sharing in the Greek independent nationality.

For some time before Lord Palmerston's victory on the Chinese question there had been great excitement on this subject, and it was not destined to be allayed until some time afterwards, when far graver matters had been settled, arising out of the condition of our possessions in India. The government of India had already undergone some important changes by the operation of the ministerial measure brought in by Sir Charles Wood in 1853, which considerably modified the relative positions of the government and the East India Company. The relations between the directors and the Board of Control were not altered, but the constitution of the former was considerably changed and its patronage curtailed. The number of the members of the court was reduced from twenty-four to eighteen, of whom twelve were to be elected as before, and six nominated by the crown from Indian servants who had been ten years in the service of the crown or the company. One-third of this number was to go out every second year, but to be eligible for reappointment. Nominations by favour were abolished. The governorship of Bengal was separated from the office of governor-general, and the legislative council was improved and its number enlarged to twelve. This was the scheme of government, when sudden and startling events to which we shall presently refer called attention to India.

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CHAPTER IX.

REVOLT AND CHANGE—THE YEARS OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS.

Condition of the Country after the Crimean War—Distress—Bread Riots—Education—Crime—The Indian Mutiny—State of Public Feeling—Attempts to assassinate Napoleon III.—The French Colonels and England—"Conspiracy to Murder" Bill—Defeat of Palmerston—Derby Government—Mr. Gladstone—Competitive Examinations—Sanitary Matters—The Atlantic Cable—Derby Reform Bill—Disraeli—Return of Palmerston to Office—Financial Reform—Overtures to Cobden—Gladstone's Budget—French Commercial Treaty.

DURING the Crimean war Mr. Cobden in one of his pamphlets had pointed out that if the conflict were much prolonged, and carried out "with vigour," the disturbances in the currency through financial demands would ultimately affect the working population to an extent and with an intensity of which past experience of their sufferings would afford no example; for the evil would be in proportion to the numbers and density of our manufacturing community, which had attained dimensions that had no parallel in history. He forebore to speculate on all the consequences which might follow from the disorganization of this industrial population, and the more so as they would be the last to suffer from loss of occupation. He would not abandon the hope that the war might terminate before its calamities fell upon them. Happily the vast social machinery was not without its safety-valve for the assurance of those timid persons who lived in dread of its explosive energies. It was the interest of employers, having large amounts invested in fixed capitals, to continue to employ their work-people long after these investments ceased to be profitable. He knew instances where mill-owners, whilst hoping for better times, had preferred to work on at a loss of several thousand pounds a year of their floating capital rather than by closing their establishments to incur far greater sacrifices from the total unproductiveness of their buildings, machinery, labourers' cottages, and all that constituted their fixed capital; to say nothing of the disadvantage of withdrawing from the market, and losing their connections and customers. There was an honourable pride too amongst the tall chimneys not without its use, which disinclined them to be the first to cease to smoke. It followed, however, that mischief might be insidiously working when all was apparent prosperity; and that very disposition to prolong the struggle might, under a continued pressure of adverse circumstances, render the ultimate catastrophe only the more sudden and calamitous. Hitherto the effects of the war had been felt by the working-classes, not in the form of loss of employment, but through the high price of food, which had told with great severity on the unskilled labourer receiving the lowest rate of wages. The most numerous of that class, the agricultural labourers—that mute and helpless multitude who had never made their voice heard in the din of politics or their presence felt in any social movement—were the greatest sufferers. We had a school of sentimentalists who told us that war was to elevate man in his native dignity, to depress the money power, to put down mammon worship, and the like. Let them take a rural walk (they required bracing) on the downs, or the weald, or the fens, in any part of this island south of the Trent, and they would find the wages of agricultural labourers averaging at that moment under twelve shillings a week; let them ask how a family of five persons, which was below *their* average, could live with bread at 2½*d.*

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a pound. Nobody could tell. But follow the labourer as he laid down his spade or mattock and settled to his dinner in the nearest barn or shed, and peep into his wallet; or drop into his cottage at 12 o'clock and inquire what the family dinner consists of;—bread, rarely anything better and not always enough of that, with nothing left out of his earnings for tea, or sugar, or soap, or candles, or clothes, or the schooling of his children; and with his next year's harvest-money already mortgaged for shoes. Never within the recollection of living man was the farm-labourer's condition so bad as at that time. During the former great war he went straight to the parish-board for the "allowance" of 2*s.* 6*d.* a head for each child exceeding two; so that with his wages at fourteen shillings, if he had five children, his income was raised to upwards of a guinea a week. That might have been unsound political economy, but it stood between the labourer and starvation during the long French war.

Cobden's indictment against war was that it brutalized the masses, and made the rich richer and the poor poorer; but never were those evil tendencies developing themselves with such unrelenting pressure as then, that the old poor-law and the usury laws no longer existed. The war caused a rise in the price of grain, not in our market only, but on the Continent and over a great part of the world. The blockade of the Don, the Dnieper, and the other outlets for that region of "Black Earth" whose fertility had excited the amazement of geologists, and from which the sustenance of half Europe might, with proportionate labour and capital, be drawn, had caused the sudden cessation of an export of grain to Western Europe which, in 1853, the year before the war, had amounted to between five and six millions of quarters. The average price of wheat had been higher during the last year than for the last thirty years, higher even than in 1847, the year of the Irish famine, and that although the last year's crop in this country had been unprecedentedly large and the recent harvest had been considered to have been almost equal to an average. These were Cobden's arguments, and although many of his statements were of course called in question, there were too many signs that the effects which he prognosticated were already appearing. Happily, however, the war was not prolonged. Peace came, and not before a large proportion of the people, who had already begun to suffer, were ready to call out for it. Unpopular as the apostles of peace were at the time, their arguments had an after effect, and Cobden himself lived long enough to note that the war fever did not recur when at a later period there were some symptoms of its reappearance.

That there had been great scarcity of food was evident enough, but the advocates of the war had attributed it to deficient harvests at home, and their assertions were not easily answered by an appeal to figures, because, although the supplies which we obtained from abroad were correctly known, there were no accurate returns of the agricultural produce grown in our own island. It was quite certain, however, that the complaints of the labouring classes were urgent, and they were emphasized by various attempts to make them the cause of public disturbance.

The real distress, for the most part occasioned by the depression of industry and the severe weather—which not only added to the sufferings of the poor but greatly interfered with outdoor labour, was not the only cause of violent demonstrations. There are always gangs of disorderly ruffians ready to take advantage of a period of want, to forestall public charity and act the part of starving or frozen-out workmen. In London many outrages were committed by vagabonds of this description. In Liverpool, however, depredations known as "the bread riots" became still more serious. A vast number of dock and river-side labourers were thrown out of employment, and it was estimated that 15,000 persons, with their families and all who were dependent on them, were reduced to great destitution. It was known that the provisions made by the poor-law out of the rates would be totally inadequate to meet the widely spread need, and large subscriptions were made for the relief of suffering families by distribution of food, coals, and clothing. Enforced idleness and continued want, how-

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ever, produced persistent complaint, and in most large towns a part of the population consists of people who live by casual labour alternating with parochial relief or with petty crime. There are usually enough of this class to make a very dangerous element if they throw in their lot with the actual criminals—and therefore in Liverpool, when a gang of desperadoes came forward to lead on the idle and the vicious who were also among the starving, social order was disregarded. While the really industrious and honest poor mostly held back, the undeserving were organized into gangs, who went through the streets demanding bread, money, and provisions, and when both were refused or withheld, breaking into bakers' shops and food stores, emptying them of all that they contained and wrecking the furniture in revenge, or even entering private houses of the humbler sort and terrifying the poor tenants by threats of violence unless safety were purchased by the immediate payment of a small sum of money. Many shopkeepers escaped the ruin of their premises by throwing out loaves, bacon, sugar, cheese, and other articles; while others could not prevent the seizure of their entire stocks either by bold ruffians who forced their way in, lads who entered and pilfered right and left, or abandoned women who accompanied the mob and encouraged depredation by their cheers and laughter. The industrious poor took no part in these outrages, and eventually the police captured about sixty of the leaders, and the mobs dispersed. Unfortunately, the evil example of the Liverpool gangs was afterwards followed in the poverty-stricken neighbourhoods of London, and in Stepney, Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, and Bermondsey bread riots were organized under the direction of stalwart ruffians, those of the southern quarter being mostly Irish. They contrived to do a great deal of mischief for two or three days; but the police force of London, when its members were concentrated upon a disturbed district, proved to be too strong for them, and the mobs were soon dispersed, their leaders being promptly arrested and imprisoned.

At the same time it is necessary to observe that amidst much distress efforts were not wanting to promote the well-being of the lower classes of the community; and while philanthropic endeavours were numerous and unremitting, attention was directed to the extension of education, not only for the "respectable" portion of the community, but among the neglected children of London and in the large manufacturing centres of the kingdom.

These efforts were greatly increased when the war was over, and the relief of distress went hand-in-hand with plans for establishing schools and providing means for regular instruction.

"The Ragged School movement," under the energetic direction of Lord Ashley (the Earl of Shaftesbury), had already become the most prominent, and in one sense the most important of these organizations; for it was designed to reach the very lowest class of the community, and to provide not only a degree of secular education but moral and religious training for the waifs and strays of the juvenile population. The very title, "ragged schools," had been adopted in order that there might be no mistake as to the class of children who were to be benefited; and happily there were found a number of devoted men and women who entered into the scheme with an enthusiasm which produced very remarkable results. Rooms were engaged in the lowest neighbourhoods; a regular society was established under the name of "The Ragged School Union;" and on Sundays as well as on week-days a multitude of destitute, ignorant, and often friendless boys and girls assembled in places to which they were attracted not only by many opportunities for instruction but by provisions for their physical wants. School treats in the shape of interesting lectures, illustrated by the magic lantern and preceded by substantial meals, were frequent attractions; various methods for relieving the little "Arabs" of the London streets were adopted; and eventually arrangements were made for finding employment for those who were old enough to become shoe-blacks, errand-boys, and street-sweepers. This beneficent system had begun to operate with happy effect before the time

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of which we are now speaking. As early as 1842 the movement had been accelerated by an earnest band of young men and women, who saw that the only way to achieve an improvement in the condition of the most debased part of the community was to obtain a direct and immediate influence over children who were either utterly neglected or had been abandoned by their natural protectors, and were living in want, misery, and vice. The Ragged School Union had begun, in fact, to exercise a paternal interest in these little waifs and strays of society, and one of the earliest of these associations carried on its work in Field Lane, near Smithfield, once the known haunt of thieves and the receivers of stolen goods—a district historically notorious for the evil exploits of desperadoes whose fate was written in the Newgate Calendar. At the eighth annual meeting of the supporters of this school in 1850 the report stated that 320 children had been received into the school during the preceding twelve months; that the girls were well instructed in knitting and needlework, and that the boys would shortly be able to furnish shoes to the school at the cost price of the material. The collection and donations at the meeting amounted to £40. The sixth annual meeting of the Ragged School Union was held a fortnight afterwards at Exeter Hall, when Lord Ashley took the chair; and it was then stated that there were 94 schools in operation in London and the large towns, with 1350 teachers, the number of children in attendance being on week-days 5174, on week-evenings 5093, and on Sunday evenings 10,366. There were 156 paid teachers and 1200 scholars in industrial classes. The subscriptions had increased to £520, from £338 in the previous year, and the donations, without including an "emigration fund" and a legacy of £1000, amounted to £1631.

There had been no more decided proofs of the great social advances of the nation than the number, variety, and extent of the charitable and benevolent efforts which had grown into established institutions. These, though they were necessarily impoverished by some diminution of their funds during the time of war and consequent depression, were still well supported, as we have seen, and other beneficent organizations were temporarily formed to relieve the distress occasioned by the calamities of the war itself. Directly the pressure of the time was removed by the declaration of peace, much of the public rejoicing seemed to take the form of thank-offerings for the support of those charities which were directed to the alleviation of the condition of the poorest and most ignorant portion of the community, and various societies were formed for meeting the wants of those who were friendless and neglected. To date forward a little for the purpose of showing the rapid growth and influence of the Ragged School movement alone, we may notice as a comparison with the figures just given, that by the end of 1858 the committee of the Ragged School Union had in connection with them 137 Sunday-schools with 21,051 scholars, 110 day-schools with 14,827 scholars, 130 week-evening schools with 8662, making 377 schools with 44,540 scholars; but as most of the Sunday-scholars attended during the week, only the latter were reckoned as the real numbers, and the returns were therefore 23,000 children under week day and evening instruction. Lord Ashley, who had then become the Earl of Shaftesbury, was still at the head of the organization, and the working of the scheme was complete; arrangements having been made for the proper inspection and control of the schools, the provision of instructors for the day-schools,—the Sunday and some of the evening schools being conducted by voluntary teachers,—and even for assisting in getting employment for the older children, and for helping the parents by mothers' meetings, tea-meetings, Christmas treats, penny-banks, and other auxiliaries. The schools were for the "gutter children." No qualification was required but that of need, and when once the school had hold of these children it kept hold, unless the boy or girl wilfully broke away. In 1857 and 1858 nearly 4000 of these young fledglings had been reared and placed in situations; nine shoeblack brigades had been formed, and the three principal brigades, the Red, Yellow, and Blue, consisting of 190 lads, had in 1858 earned £3227, or about £17 each per annum. Other crossing-

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sweeping brigades were afterwards formed; a class of boys who are now known as street orderlies, and employed in sweeping the roads. As numbers of these children were both houseless and destitute, fifteen refuges had been established, containing 538 inmates—boys or girls who had been wanderers, sleeping in the markets or under railway arches, and pilfering or begging to keep themselves from starvation. By one refuge, twenty-one boys (in one year) were saved from crime, and were started fairly in life; some entered the army, others the navy; others became servants, or obtained employment in city shops and warehouses. A boy, who, as early as 1848 went to Australia from one of the first refuges, sent £5 to the ragged school of which he had been a member, and in 1858, when a regular emigration scheme had been established, the matron took ten girls to Canada, placed them in service, returned and took twenty-five more. The clergy of all denominations took up the movement, for it was above and beyond sectarianism. The Rev. William Tyler of Mile End, a well-known Congregationalist minister, and the Rev. Hugh Allen, incumbent of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, were at that time among the foremost in the good work in the midst of that part of London where the dense mass of misery and ignorance demanded hearty unremitting effort; and they were well supported by an army of earnest helpers, who gave their time, and many of them their money, to the cause.

It may be said with truth that the Ragged School movement, then the supreme effort of "the Voluntary principle" in education, averted incalculable evils during the time that the people, or at all events the children of the people, were perishing for lack of knowledge, while a national scheme of instruction was prevented by the irreconcilable hostility of the various religious bodies; but it also rendered a national system of education eventually possible by showing that sectarian differences could be merged in the contest of a great work, and that even religious instruction could be imparted on a broad and recognized basis to children whose moral and intellectual needs, like their physical hunger, demanded bread upon which all could feed. To them those doctrinal distinctions which were the causes of contention that had so long kept their souls hungry, were evidently inapplicable, and in relation to ragged schools the sects for the most part tacitly agreed to be unsectarian.

The Ragged School movement, as it was called, was not alone in the effort to provide the means of education and moral and religious instruction for poor and abandoned children. Other agencies were also at work, and it may very well be understood that earnest men of all shades of political opinion were deeply interested in their success. Mrs. Gladstone had long been associated with charitable efforts of a distinctly practical kind for the relief of distress and for the rescue and protection of friendless and homeless boys and girls; and Mr. Gladstone gave such institutions his aid, and was ready to advocate their claims when his onerous parliamentary duties permitted. It would take us beyond these limits to give a list, or a description, of the special objects of the large number of societies and organizations for relieving ignorance and distress which sprung up during the period. Numbers of them still exist, and successfully carry on largely increased work. We may, however, refer to one local effort to advance education which was afterwards destined to secure good results, and to lead to wider and more organized systems of instruction. The district lying between Saint Luke's and Barbican, including Whitecross Street, Golden Lane, and Chequer Alley, was, and is still in many respects, one of the worst and most poverty-stricken in London—a congeries of lanes, courts, and blind alleys, a puzzle map of crime and destitution, consisting of a large number of foul and wretched tenements inhabited by a dense population. Some efforts had been previously made by a few good women belonging to the Wesleyan Methodists to improve the moral condition of the people of the neighbourhood by holding religious meetings and endeavouring to establish schools and missions; but in 1854 the incumbent of the parish (St. Thomas Charterhouse), the Rev. William Rogers, ascertaining that there were in his district 2386 children of the lowest

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class between the ages of 10 and 14 who did not attend any school whatever, addressed a letter to Lord John Russell, then president of the council, calling his attention to their wild condition and the unmixed poverty of the district. The result was that the Committee of Council on Education voted a grant of two-thirds of the expenses of erecting a new school for the special benefit of the poorest children in the district. In reliance upon this support a freehold site in Golden Lane was procured, and plans were prepared for a building containing three school-rooms, and capable of accommodating 1000 children. To obtain the remaining third part of the expense, viz. £2817, an appeal was made to the various public bodies and the friends of education in general. The stone of the building was laid by Mr. Gladstone in May, 1856, and his address on the occasion was significant, as showing how the subject should be regarded. Adverting to an observation made in the course of the proceedings by the Rev. Mr. Rogers, in reference to the relations between the west and east of London, he said he heartily wished that the great mine which that topic opened up was now, or ever had been, thoroughly worked, and that those who inhabited the western portion of the metropolis were alive to the immense responsibility which attached to them in reference to vast masses of the population of this city, who were as completely unknown to the inhabitants of the magnificent squares and streets of London as if they were not fellow-countrymen, or even fellow-Christians, and who might be better known if they inhabited the remotest quarters of the globe. He did not think it was recollected, but he took it to be undeniably true, that he who built a square or a street of palaces at the west end of London, not only virtually brought a class into existence, and adjacent streets filled with the dwellings of tradesmen, and other streets, more remote and more humble, filled with the dwellings of labourers, who waited upon those tradesmen, but likewise that the quarter of Belgravia filled the quarter of Bethnal Green; and that in the east of London the constant growth and progress of the population were continually going on, not only contemporaneously with, but directly referable to and springing from the wealth of the population of the west, and all the numerous demands which that wealth created, fostered, and multiplied. They had sung, during the ceremony of that day, a psalm, in which it was said that "children and the fruit of the womb are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord." They knew those words were founded deep in the truths of the Divine Word. But there was no man who walked through the streets of London, and especially the more wretched parts of it, who did not feel that those words were a trial of his faith. When they considered what human nature was, and at what cost it had been redeemed—when they reflected what destinies were open to it—how many and great were its vicissitudes—and how severe were its temptations and its trials, it was terrible to think of the amount of labour that remained undischarged. And yet "children and the fruit of the womb are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord;" and, difficult though it might be, yet it was not impossible to carry home to the hearts and minds of men, and into the houses of every class of the community, the blessed and comforting consciousness of that truth, so that, instead of a trial of faith, it should, on the contrary, become the daily food and support of fathers and mothers, who, though it might be their lot to earn their bread—and perhaps scanty bread—by the labour of their hands and the sweat of their brows, might see their offspring growing up in the faith, fear, and love of God. He believed those who, with him, adhered to the principle that it was wise to draw payment from the labouring classes, so called, for the education of their children, were yet prepared to go along with the founders of this school when they were dealing with a class who were not called the labouring class,—by whom he meant, independent of their vocation, persons who had fixed abodes,—but with a floating sea of human life, in which were tossed up and down a huge mass of less fortunate beings, not inaptly termed "the Arabs of modern civilization"—great masses of energy and animal and mental life, but untamed and unreclaimed;

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and he did not for a moment question the wisdom of the principle with which they threw open the doors of their school to that class of the population, and bade them come and receive freely the knowledge which they offered them. Mr. Rogers had in a jocular way observed that among other inducements to his undertaking this work, was the belief that he was to some extent laying the foundation of Christian eloquence in London, seeing that, dealing, as he would do, chiefly with the children of costermongers, he might go far to put an end to that coarse clamour which in this metropolis distracted the minds of those who had sermons to prepare, and prevented them producing efforts worthy of their theme. He (Mr. Gladstone) ventured to go one step beyond that, and say that he knew not why those schools should not lay the foundation of a great deal of other eloquence. He knew not why those ragged boys whom they caught in the street and sought to educate, should not themselves, under the hands of skilful workmen, become contributors to that Christian eloquence the extension of which they all desired. Mr. Rogers, in a pamphlet he had written, had referred to a day when it might fairly be proposed to connect this school with the hierarchy of schools above it, and had well remarked that "a child of this district would have an opportunity of acquiring a good sound practical education, without being a burden to his parents; and, if found worthy to be draughted off to Dulwich College, in accordance with the will and intentions of Alleyn, the universities would be open to him; and who knows whether, at some future time, a denizen of this poor, despised, and degraded district of St. Thomas Charterhouse might not mount the woolsack or fill the see of Canterbury?" Such things had happened before now, and might occur again. In this free country the paths of preferment were open to all. It might be said that every man had "a clear stage and no favour." Many of those who had filled the see of Canterbury had been enabled to point to the lowliness of their origin. The church, even in the worst possible times, had been ever ready to befriend the virtuous and the learned. There was no period when it had not been the privilege and the hope of the poor to rise to eminence by meritorious labours in her service. He hoped that it would never be otherwise, and that the path of the priesthood, adorned at that moment by so many conspicuous examples of piety and learning, would ever be the path in which man might gratify his natural tendency to expand his energies and bestow benefits on his fellow-creatures.

It may be mentioned here that the Rev. William Rogers, who afterwards became, and while these words are being written is still, the rector of Bishopsgate, made no mere fanciful allusion when he spoke of the connection of such schools with the higher educational institutions of the country. He has lived not only to see scholarships for the higher institutions become a recognized distinction for the poorest class of children who receive primary instruction in board schools, but has assisted, by his personal influence and indefatigable exertions, in the cause of popular education, both to extend the advantages of Dulwich College, and to establish several schools of a high character for the value of their teaching, perhaps the most important being that of the Middle Class Schools Corporation, occupying a large building in Cowper Street, City Road (near his old district), where from 1000 to 1200 boys receive a sound and complete education under the direction of competent masters.

In all the efforts which were made for the improvement of the condition of the people Prince Albert took an earnest and active part. Not only was he occupied in the endeavour to establish schools and museums of science and art, that the mechanic and the labourer might acquire a knowledge both of things outside their daily occupation and of the principles and construction of the machinery amidst which so much of their time was passed; but he took a genuine interest in the humble efforts of his Windsor labourers to master the art of writing, and himself examined their copy-books. He early saw that the rapid overgrowth of our great cities, where the want of home comforts and of wholesome recreation for the labouring classes was rapidly developing vice, disease,

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and discontent to an alarming extent, was a problem which, if not effectively dealt with, must in the end become fatal to the habits and physical development of the people, and even dangerous to the state. The magnitude of the difficulties which surrounded this subject was not with him, as it is with many, a reason for doing nothing. He was among the first to show what could be effected in the way of improving the dwellings of the working-classes, not only by the cottages built upon the royal estates at Osborne and Balmoral, but by model lodging-houses erected in the metropolis itself. It was his conviction that, under a proper system, these would pay, and indeed that they must be made to pay, otherwise no permanent improvement could be established anywhere, and still less could any wide measure of progressive amelioration be hoped for. On mere philanthropy the prince was not disposed to lean; but he believed that a mighty change would be initiated if men of kind hearts and sound business heads could be persuaded to invest their capital in providing on reasonable terms homes for the sons of labour, in which the decencies, at least, and the main comforts of domestic life might be within their reach. His views on this subject, regarded at first as somewhat Utopian, have since become accepted truisms. Many of the great employers of labour throughout the country have proved to their own satisfaction the prince's favourite axiom, that the capital sunk in good houses for those who work for them would prove an excellent investment in itself, while at the same time it secured them better workmen and better work. And the success which has attended the building of some of the "model dwellings" and houses for the working-classes in London and other large cities has at all events kept the subject alive, and still calls attention to the necessity for finding remedies for the want of sanitary arrangements in overcrowded neighbourhoods, and the necessity for providing for tenants evicted in order to carry on what are called metropolitan improvements.

Another subject of the greatest interest to the prince was the everyday amusements of the people. That in this country these are too often of a debasing kind is obviously less the fault of the people themselves than of the fact that they are driven to seek in the public-house and the tavern the light, the warmth, the companionship, and the recreation which are not readily to be found elsewhere. How to enable the labourer to dispose of his leisure pleasantly and rationally is a problem of which even now people generally are little more than beginning to seek the solution. Mechanics' institutes, reading-rooms, and public libraries go but a small way to meet the exigencies of the case, and these indeed are only possible in the great centres of population. Something of a much simpler kind the prince felt to be required; some place where the cheerfulness of the public-house could be provided without its drawbacks. The idea has recently been developed into those working-men's clubs and coffee palaces which have been established in many quarters with excellent effect. But so far back as 1857 the idea had been started, and advocated by several philanthropically-minded men, and it was then designed to provide places in which the labouring classes might spend their leisure, men and women meeting together for sober social enjoyment. In discussing the possible establishment of such a place the prince said it should be a reformed public-house. He quite agreed that there should be smoking, but did not agree that it need be in a separate room. He said that it was most important that *the wife and family should come there*, as well as the labourer himself. The women of England were excellent wives and mothers. Now they had to do their best to keep their husbands from the public-houses; with such an institution they might encourage them to go there and go with them. As to the mingling of class with class, he doubted whether it could be carried out. The lower classes would always feel a restraint in the presence of the higher classes.

The part taken by Prince Albert in the opening ceremony of the Manchester Exhibition in 1857 was another opportunity for expressing his deep interest in everything calculated to raise and elevate the nation, and the same desire was manifested by the part he took in an educational conference held

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at Willis' Rooms, over the deliberations of which he presided, and by doing so obtained for the important subject which the conference assembled to discuss, a degree of attention that it would not otherwise have secured.

"We find," said the prince, "on the one hand the wish to see secular and religious instruction separated, and the former recognized as an intimate and inherent right to which each member of society has a claim, and which ought not to be denied to him if he refuses to take along with it the inculcation of a particular dogma, to which he objects as unsound; while we see on the other hand the doctrine asserted that no education can be sound which does not rest on religious instruction, and that religious truth is too sacred to be modified and tampered with, even in its minutest deductions, for the sake of procuring a general agreement."

A burst of loud assenting cheers here showed that the latter part of this statement expressed the views and opinions of the great majority of those present.

"Gentlemen," proceeded the prince, "if these differences were to have been discussed here to-day I should not have been able to respond to your invitation to take the chair, as I should have thought it inconsistent with the position which I occupy, and with the duty I owe to the queen and the country at large. I see those here before me who have taken a leading part in these important discussions; and I am happy to meet them on a neutral ground, happy to find that there is a neutral ground on which their varied talents and abilities can be brought to bear in communion upon the common object, and proud and grateful to them that they should have allowed me to preside over them, for the purpose of working together in the common vineyard. I feel that the greatest benefit must arise to the cause we have all so much at heart by the mere free exchange of your thoughts and various experience. You may well be proud, gentlemen, of the results achieved by your rival efforts, and may point to the fact that since the beginning of the century, while the population has doubled itself, the number of schools, both public and private, has been multiplied fourteen times. In 1801 there were in England and Wales of public schools, 2876; of private schools, 487; total, 3363. In 1851, the year of the census, there were in England and Wales of public schools, 15,518; of private schools, 30,524; total, 46,042. Giving instruction in all to 2,144,378 scholars, of whom 1,422,982 belong to public schools. The rate of progress is farther illustrated by statistics, which show that in 1818 the proportion of day-scholars to the population was one in seventeen, in 1833 one in eleven, and in 1851 one in eight. These are great results, although I hope that they may be received as instalments of what has yet to be done. But what must be your feelings when you reflect on the fact, the inquiry into which has brought us together, that this great boon thus obtained for the mass of the people, and which is freely offered to them, should have been only partially accepted, and upon the whole so insufficiently applied as to render it almost valueless? We are told that the total population in England and Wales of children between the ages of three and fifteen being estimated at 4,908,696, only 2,046,848 attend school at all, while 2,861,848 receive no instruction whatever. At the same time, an analysis of the scholars with reference to the length of time allowed for their school tuition shows that 45 per cent of them have been at school less than one year, 22 per cent during one year, 15 per cent during two years, 9 per cent during three years, 5 per cent during four years, and 4 per cent during five years. Therefore out of the 2,046,848 scholars alluded to, about 1,500,000 remain only two years at school. I leave it to you to judge what the results of such an education can be. I find farther, that of these 2,000,000 children who attend school, only about 600,000 are of the age of nine. Gentlemen, these are startling facts, which render it evident that no extension of the means of education will be of any avail unless this evil, which lies at the root of the whole question, be removed, and that it is high time that the country should become thoroughly awake to its existence, and prepared to meet it energetically. To impress this upon the public mind is the object of our conference. Public

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opinion is the powerful lever which in these days moves a people for good and for evil; and to public opinion we must therefore appeal if we would achieve any lasting or beneficial result. You, gentlemen, will greatly add to the services which you have already rendered to this noble cause if you will prepare public opinion by your inquiry into this state of things, and by your discussing in your sections the causes of it as well as the remedies that may lie within your reach. This will be no easy matter; but even if your labours should not result in the adoption of any immediate practical steps, you will have done great good in preparing for them. It will probably happen that in this instance, as in most others, the cause that produces the evil will be more easily detected than its remedy; and yet a just appreciation of the former must ever be the first and essential condition of the discovery of the latter. You will probably trace the cause of our social condition to a state of ignorance and lethargic indifference on the subject among the parents generally; but the root of the evil will, I suspect, also be found to extend into that field upon which the political economist exercises his activity—I mean the labour market, demand and supply. To dissipate that ignorance and rouse from that lethargy may be difficult; but with the united and earnest efforts of all who are the friends of the working-classes it ought, after all, to be only a question of time. What measures can be brought to bear on the other root of the evil is a more delicate question, and will require the nicest care in handling; for there you cut into the very quick of the working-man's condition. His children are not only his offspring, to be reared for a future independent position, but they constitute a part of his productive power, and work with him for the staff of life. The daughters especially are the handmaids of the house, the assistants of the mother, the nurses of the younger children, the aged, the sick. To deprive the labouring family of their help would be almost to paralyse its domestic existence. On the other hand, carefully collected statistics reveal to us the fact, that while 600,000 children between the ages of three and fifteen are absent from school, but known to be employed, no less than 2,200,000 are not at school whose absence cannot be traced to any ascertained employment or other legitimate cause. You will have to work, then, on the minds and hearts of the parents; to place before them the irreparable mischief which they inflict on those who are intrusted to their care by keeping them from the light of knowledge; to bring home to their convictions that it is their duty to exert themselves for their children's education; bearing in mind, at the same time that it is not only their most sacred duty, but also their highest privilege. Unless they work with you, your work, our work, will be vain; but you will not fail, I feel sure, in obtaining their co-operation if you remind them of their duty to their God and Creator."

The business of the meeting having been thus inaugurated was distributed amongst five sections, by which different departments of the general subject of education were discussed.

Cobden's warnings were not altogether realized, for peace was proclaimed before the distress which had begun to spread through the country had become unendurable; but at the same time there was much want, and trade in general was in a very depressed condition. The budget had, it is true, made immediate provision for the reduction of the income-tax from 16*d.* to 7*d.*, the amount at which it had first been placed by Sir Robert Peel, and at which it was now intended that it should remain for only three years, in an effort to carry out Mr. Gladstone's policy, when he was chancellor of the exchequer and had decreed its abolition by the end of 1860. The total revenue was estimated at £66,365,000, leaving a surplus over expenditure of £891,000; the total amount of remission of taxation was £11,971,000, and it was calculated that the entire debt of £40,000,000, arising out of the Crimean war, would be extinguished in twenty years. This was the budget which had been brought forward by Sir G. C. Lewis before the dissolution on the Chinese question, and on the whole it was a proof of the increasing prosperity of the country in spite of periods of depression and the distress and gnawing

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discontent which had been as usual the reaction after the war-fever. Mr. Disraeli, who spoke of Mr. Gladstone's "wise" proposals for the abolition of the income-tax, moved that it would be expedient, before sanctioning the financial arrangements for the ensuing year, to adjust the estimated income and expenditure in a manner best calculated to secure the country against a deficiency in the years 1858–59 and 1859–60, and to provide for such a balance of revenue and charge respectively, in the year 1860 as might place it in the power of parliament at that period, without embarrassment to the finances, altogether to remit the income-tax. This motion was energetically supported by Mr. Gladstone, who declared that no man could be more deeply interested in the budget scheme than himself, for it concerned a plan in every part contradictory to that which he had proposed, and which had been adopted by the present House of Commons. Successive administrations had aimed at the consolidation and simplification of the financial laws, but the chancellor of the exchequer had condemned the labours of parliament for the last fifteen years. The income-tax, though grievous and inquisitorial, had been introduced to purchase blessings to be wrought out for the mass of the people through its instrumentality. But with what beneficial changes was it proposed now to associate this tax? There was an idea that this year there would be a remission of taxation to the extent of £11,970,000; but omitting war taxes to the amount of £4,470,000—with the cessation of which the government could not be credited—the remission of the income-tax in 1857–58 would be only £4,600,000. Against this sum was to be set £1,400,000 to be laid upon tea and sugar; so that the real amount of taxes remitted in 1857–58 would be only a little over £3,000,000; nor was he satisfied that the supposed surplus of £891,000 would be *bonâ fide* applicable. Mr. Gladstone insisted upon the obligation of parliament to adhere to the stipulation entered into with the country respecting the income-tax. The first grave and main defect in the proposed budget was that it was based upon an excessive expenditure, and at the proper time he should move that the estimates of expenditure be revised and further reduced. Six millions had been added to the expenditure of the country in four years, quite apart from the war—a fact which suggested most serious reflections. The chancellor of the exchequer had taken the expenditure of 1853–54 as that of 1858–59, which Mr. Gladstone treated as a pure delusion, calculating that the expenditure of the latter year would exceed that of 1857–58, and that the real wants of the public service were likely to increase.

Mr. Gladstone urgently denounced the increase of duties on tea and sugar, and said, "In Sir Robert Peel's time you were called upon to remit £1,400,000 of indirect taxes, now you are called on to impose indirect taxes to that amount; then you were called on to fill up a deficiency at your own cost, now you are called on to create a deficiency at the cost of others; you were then called upon to take a burden on yourselves to relieve the great mass of your fellow-countrymen, now you are called upon to take a burden off the shoulders of the wealthier classes in order that you may impose indirect taxes upon the tea and sugar which are consumed by every labouring family in the country. I can only say that, for my own part, I entertain on this subject a most decided opinion, and nothing shall induce me to refrain from giving every constitutional opposition in my power to such a proposition."

Mr. Disraeli's resolution was lost, and it is a significant indication of the confusion of parties at that time, that Messrs. Milner Gibson, Cobden, and Sidney Herbert supported the ministry, Sir James Graham voting with Mr. Gladstone.

Subsequently the subject of the duty on tea and sugar was again brought forward, and some modification of the proposed tax was effected; and though Mr. Gladstone, on the debate on the estimates, brought forward a resolution in favour of the reduction of expenditure, he did not carry it to a division.

That the country was in a condition of commercial depression soon became evident. In the month of November, 1857, the pressure became so severe that there was a crisis in which failures of banking companies and large private undertakings followed each other with

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alarming rapidity. Among these were the Liverpool Borough Bank, with liabilities of £5,000,000. The Northumberland and Durham £3,000,000, and the Wolverhampton £1,000,000; while two of the largest private failures were: Sanderson, Sandeman, and Co. for £5,298,997, and Dennistoun and Co. for £2,143,701. From the statement of affairs made by 146 firms and five banks, the total liabilities were something like 41½ millions, and the deficiency at 7¾ millions. On the 8th of October the bank rate of discount had stood at 5½ per cent and was then raised to 6, on the 12th it rose again to 7 and the funds fell 1½ per cent, on the 19th, discount was 8 per cent, and on the 4th of November had advanced to the unprecedented figure of 9 per cent. On the 11th the bullion in the Bank had diminished to £7,171,000; while the notes in circulation, and the liabilities of the Bank on private deposits and securities, amounted to £60,000,000, the applications for discount being greater than at any former period, and the demand for gold for county banks large and continuous. On November the 18th, when the accounts were made up, there were in the Bank, notes and gold to the value of £1,462,153; while the deposits that might at any time be drawn out amounted to £18,248,003. On the following day the liabilities of the Bank were upwards of £4,000,000 more than they had been in the preceding July, while its available resources were above £4,000,000 less than they had been at that time. This state of affairs, combined with the failures of private banks and large firms principally connected with the American trade, made some immediate measure necessary, and it was determined to suspend the Bank Charter Act of 1844 by which the issue of notes was restricted. It was overriding an act of the legislature, and the government called a short extra session of parliament that they might be indemnified for their action, but it was a necessary exercise of illegality, and achieved the desired result. The issue department of the Bank issued to the banking department £2,000,000 in excess of the amount permitted by the statute, and the latter department issued to the public only £928,000 in excess, that being found sufficient. On the 1st of December the over-issue was entirely returned, and public confidence was greatly restored by the relief granted, and by the announcement that parliament would meet at an early date to consider the financial condition of the country.

The commercial condition of the country was disturbed, and had become alarming. Industrial prospects had not for some time been such as to reassure those who were engaged in them. There had been much distress among the labouring population, and as we have seen there were some attempts on the part of a few lawless fellows, who themselves did not belong to the industrious class, to instigate riots, which were quickly suppressed. There were few political disturbances, however. Chartism, and much that belonged to it, appeared to have been merged in more constitutional and legal endeavours to obtain reforms in parliament, and in the laws affecting the social condition of the people. Political meetings were held, and they were sometimes turbulent, but they were no longer attended with public disturbances of a political character. Two years earlier, many changes had taken place in regard to those demonstrations to which reference has been made in a previous page. These changes had been signalized by the confession of Charles Kingsley, who, in a letter to his friend Mr. Ludlow, spoke in his frank, earnest, characteristic way of his own unfitness for a reforming leader at the time that he was so prominent,—but we may venture to think not practically and permanently influential—in that Christian socialist movement of which the theories are somewhat vaguely indicated in *Alton Locke*, *Yeast*, and *Parson Lot*.

"For myself," he says, "on looking back, I see clearly with shame and sorrow that the obloquy which I have brought often on myself and on the good cause has been almost all of it my own fault—that I have given the devil and bad men a handle, not by caring what people would say, but by *not caring;* by fancying that I was a very grand fellow, who was going to speak what I knew to be true, in spite of all fools (and really did and do intend so to do), while all the while I was deceiving myself, and unaware of a canker at

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the heart the very opposite to the one against which you warn me—I mean the proud, self-willed, self-conceited spirit which made no allowance for other men's weakness or ignorance; nor, again, for their superior experience and wisdom on points which I had never considered—which took a pride in shocking, and startling, and defying, and hitting as hard as I could, and fancied, blasphemously, as I think, that the Word of God had come to me only, and went out from me only. God forgive me for these sins, as well as for my sins in the opposite direction; but for these sins especially, because I see them to be darker and more dangerous than the others."

This was in 1855, and he was perhaps harder upon himself than he need have been, in consequence of seeing how little he had directly effected in relation to the result, to which he had at one time looked forward with some eagerness. But he appears not to have estimated the indirect effect which his books and speaking, as well as the utterances of some others of the school of Mr. Maurice, had produced upon the general "view" of those outside political Chartism and Socialism, but well within the influences which tend to foster the recognition of a common brotherhood among men, to promote principles calculated to increase manly independence among the labouring classes, and to lead them into a higher and purer atmosphere of thought and brotherhood. Kingsley's Christian socialism had some resemblance to its precursor, the Young Englandism of which Mr. Disraeli was an exponent in earlier days, but it had this essential difference—that instead of its being founded on the union of the agricultural population and a condescending aristocracy, it was to rest on the union of the working-classes with the church, and this made all the world of difference when we remember that by the church, Kingsley meant "the Christian ideal of the church," which, whatever may have been his conception of it in some minor respects, undoubtedly meant infinitely more than the Church of England merely "as by law established." Even in the hot political period Kingsley could not refrain from declaring that the Charter was founded on "the mistake of fancying that legislative reform is social reform, or that men's hearts can be changed by act of parliament." In fact Kingsley's books and many of his sermons had an immediate and also a lasting influence, but that influence appears not to have been in the direction which he at the time expected. They set men thinking of truths related to the social questions which they professed to discuss, but did not lead to the political solutions of the social puzzles of the day. His deep and noble moral and spiritual convictions were uttered to the hearts of his readers, and were weighty enough to overbear and make comparatively harmless the errors of his political judgment, as many people may experience who open *Alton Locke* and read it, now that the tumult and the conflict of the period to which it refers have passed away and are almost forgotten.

There had been, it is true, a semi-political demonstration in 1855, which was known as the Hyde Park Riot, but this was a rough protest against a bill proposed by Lord R. Grosvenor for the purpose of suppressing Sunday trading, a measure containing clauses which would altogether have prohibited the poorer portion of the community from obtaining articles of necessary consumption during Sunday, while it of course did nothing to put an end to every kind of indulgence by the more wealthy class. The introduction of a bill which would at once prevent the costermonger, the tobacconist, the publican, and the itinerant vendor of fish or fruit from selling their wares during any part of the Sunday, would in itself have met with strenuous opposition, for it was customary for the lower section of the people to purchase much of the provision for the day on the morning of the day itself; and this was too often made necessary because of the late hour at which wages were usually paid on the Saturday, before the establishment of the Saturday half-holiday. But in addition to this, the clauses of the bill were particularly irritating, as they inevitably provoked comparison between the condition of those who, though they possessed ample larders and well-stocked cellars, were not prohibited on Sundays from attending their clubs, where they could obtain all

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kinds of refreshment, and summon attendants at their will; and that of the labouring population, who, after a week's hard work, were to be precluded from indulging in their small Sunday luxuries, unless they had purchased them on the previous day. The bill, as it was proposed, provoked wide-spread and bitter opposition, and in London "the masses,"—as it had some time past become the fashion to call the labouring population,—took a remarkable method of showing their displeasure. The demonstration took place on Sunday, the 24th of June, 1855.

A few days previously, placards had been displayed throughout the metropolis, inviting the working-classes and others to attend in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon to see "how the aristocracy observed the Sabbath." In obedience to this call several thousand persons had assembled in the park between two and three o'clock on Sunday. A great number of policemen were distributed throughout the park, but did not interfere with the free movement of the persons assembled, a large majority of whom appeared to be of the better class of artisans, accompanied, in numberless instances, by their wives and families. The equestrian ride in Rotten Row was totally deserted, but soon after three o'clock a variety of carriages began to make their appearance in the drive running along the right bank of the Serpentine. The vast crowd at once took up a position on each side of the road, extending from the Achilles statue to the Serpentine Bridge; and as each carriage passed along, indulged in loud hissing and groaning, accompanied by deafening cries of "Go to church!" "Why do you allow your servants to work on Sunday?" "Shame on you!" "Down with the Sabbatarians!" "Away with the Sunday Bill." In one carriage a lady stood up and held in her hand a prayer-book, but the only effect it had on the crowd was to make them shout out, "Walk, walk, and let your horses rest and your coachman go to church!" Lord and Lady Wilton, Lady Granville, and several others of the nobility and gentry, were obliged to leave their carriages at the demand of the multitude. In the majority of instances the occupants of the carriages did not venture to return down the ride, but went home by another route. A great number of the members of the legislature were present looking on. The crowd remained until nearly eight o'clock, but afterwards joined other mobs in some of the fashionable squares, where, as well as in the roads leading to these quarters, they did some mischief.

The opposition to the bill was upheld by the *Times*, in which a correspondent wrote:—"After all, one cannot wonder at such popular ebullitions and demonstrations—nor can we prevent this ratiocinative process of 'the million'—hasty, harsh, and presumptuous though it may be—when we witness, on one hand, the perpetual attempts of the legislature to torture the poor into an observance of the Sabbath, and notice, on the other hand, the unfettered enjoyment by the rich, of comforts and liberties, on the very same day. Thus, for instance, after leaving the park I called at my club, and, at a time when not a poor wretch in the metropolis might purchase a drop of beer, I obtained for myself whatever liquid refreshment I fancied, and found other gentlemen similarly engaged and similarly privileged. Two minutes afterwards a bishop's carriage, drawn by a pair of well-groomed horses, driven and guarded by coachman and footmen in elegant liveries, and conveying two reverend gentlemen (who might, for aught I know, have this very day preached from the text 'Thou shalt keep holy the Sabbath-day'), dashed by the door of the club, and I really could not help feeling that, after all, the park demonstration was neither unaccountable nor unnatural, seeing that both Sunday trading and Sunday labour are practised with impunity by the bishops themselves, and that Lord Robert Grosvenor's bill does not contain a clause which will, in the remotest degree, interfere with the Sabbath enjoyments of the rich."

On the following Sunday the police mustered in force, but were distributed, and, to a great extent, were concealed from the immense crowd which again assembled. It had been decided to endeavour to quell the demonstrations by force, and there was ample oppor-

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tunity. Those who were responsible for the attempt appeared either not to perceive, or not to care, that they were thus emphasizing the injustice of class legislation contemplated by the bill. Again to quote from the *Times*:—"Carriages were admitted to the drive; and when the hooting began the police rushed out from their ambuscades, and made unsparing use of their truncheons on every person within their reach. So vigorous was their onset that the people were driven about in all directions, the constables pursuing and hitting away right and left. By a very clever manœuvre, for which the very highest credit is due to the gallant constable in command at that particular point, a portion of the crowd was driven into the Serpentine. To avoid the truncheons, some of the baffled foe, as is reported to us, absolutely took to the water, and endeavoured by swimming to gain the opposite bank. But no resource is unknown to British valour. The police had boats at their service, and the fierce creatures were brought back in triumph to the shore. Need we say that the police were victorious in this hotly-contested affair?"

Of course the conduct of the mob cannot be defended, but the whole proceedings showed that a grave error had been committed, and the conduct of the police on the side of aristocracy, as well as on that of "law and order," was seriously condemned, and led to a hot discussion in parliament. But the mover and supporter of the bill, alarmed at the storm they had raised, or tardily convinced of the just unpopularity of the measure, hurriedly withdrew it, though not in time to prevent a repetition of the riots on the following Sunday. It was well that the bill had been withdrawn before defiance was provoked still further by some words which were used during the debate by Mr. Dundas, who declared that he had never seen greater forbearance or moderation exercised on any occasion than that exercised by the police. This was in face of a demand for a committee of inquiry into the alleged outrages on the people. Petitions for this inquiry were presented to the House by Mr. Duncombe, who was still a popular "tribune." He said he had been requested to present those petitions, and to make those statements, all of which could be proved before a select committee, for which he would move, for the sake of the peace and tranquillity of the town on the following Sunday. If the statements he had made were incorrect, the home secretary could refute them; but he was prepared to prove them. Having read some letters from parties describing the violence of the police, the hon. gentleman repeated that something must be done before Sunday if the government wished the peace to be preserved. The people would be satisfied with a committee of inquiry, but they certainly would not remain content if the matter were to be hushed up. The bill had been withdrawn; but who was compromised by that proceeding? Why, the House of Commons. He was told that the people were determined to go to Hyde Park on the following Sunday, unless inquiry were granted, in great numbers, and to go armed. If they had been armed on the previous Sunday there would certainly have been loss of life. In conclusion, he asserted that either inquiry must be granted or the park must be closed on Sunday.

The action of the authorities had in fact aroused a riotous temper, which it would be exceedingly difficult to quell; but on the other hand inflammatory speeches and articles levelled against the Sunday Bill, and defending the position assumed by the populace, had the effect of promoting further acts of hostility.

A dense crowd of persons assembled before the police court, Marlborough Street, at an early hour on the Monday morning, to learn the result of the complaints against about seventy persons taken into custody on the Sunday. When Mr. Hardwick, the sitting magistrate, made his appearance in the street, for the purpose of taking his seat on the bench, the mob began some to cheer and some to hoot. Several persons cried out, "Act with justice!" and one person flung a stone, which, however, missed the magistrate, and struck a person near him. Mr. Hardwick having entered the court was in the act of passing one of the windows, when a stone was flung from the street which broke a pane of glass, but did no further damage. The magistrate, who bore

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these attacks with unruffled temper, intimated to the inspector that if the persons outside persevered in their disorderly conduct he would procure the assistance of a sufficient civil force, and cause the street and avenues of the court to be cleared. A pause of three hours took place in consequence of the doubt which existed as to the home office allowing the charges to be heard at that court, power being vested in the government of removing charges to Bow Street, to be heard there. This power had been several times exercised with reference to cases arising within the jurisdiction of the court, and always with great inconvenience to all parties—prosecutors, witnesses, and prisoners. About two o'clock a serious conflict happened between the police and the continually-increasing crowd outside. A newly macadamized road offered facilities to the mob to revenge themselves on the police, and of this they availed themselves when the information was conveyed to them that the prisoners were still locked up. The constables drew their truncheons upon their assailants, and drove them back with tremendous force into the narrow streets and lanes in the neighbourhood of the court. The conflict was short, sharp, and decisive. The police were the victors; and after a short time succeeded in conveying several of their opponents to the station-house to be added to the number with whom the magistrate had to deal. An additional body of police then made their appearance in front of the court, and began to clear away the mob that had assembled, when they were received with yells, groans, and other marks of disapprobation. The constables again freely used their truncheons, and at last drove the people back, none being allowed to remain in front of the court. Another long delay took place, during which there were several communications between the treasury and the magistrate, while a continual series of conflicts was kept up between the police and the crowd. After a good deal of discussion between Mr. Hardwick and Mr. Ballantine, who appeared on behalf of a number of the prisoners, they were nearly all allowed to go out on their own recognizances to appear next day. On Tuesday the cases were resumed. The offences were thus stated: eleven for being riotous; twenty-one for throwing stones; ten for assaults upon the police; five for being riotous and obstructing the police; three for attempting to pick pockets. The other prisoners were unconditionally discharged at a late hour on Tuesday night. Mr. Clarkson, on the part of the government, intimated the withdrawal of the charges against persons charged simply with riot. The others were dealt with simply as police cases. Preston, the first prisoner, a gentlemanly young man, was charged with throwing a stone at the police, which he denied. The magistrates sentenced him to a fine of ten shillings or a week's imprisonment. This was a sample of the whole of the cases, all of which were visited with similar punishment. Some of the prisoners acknowledged the charges against them, but pleaded the great excitement.

The police of course acted under orders, and though they probably exceeded their duty, their position was a difficult one. Public sympathy with the rioters was mainly occasioned by the violent language as well as the riotous proceedings employed by some of the supporters of the bill, who saw an opportunity to pronounce in favour of measures of suppression. The disturbances might have become very serious, especially as an attempt was made to concentrate a large mob upon Grosvenor House and the adjoining gardens. A large number of windows were broken, and valuable articles of furniture destroyed or injured by the stones flung by the crowd; the police-constables who attempted to interfere were assaulted, and there were symptoms of a serious outbreak. Among those who, with some difficulty, got clear of the crowd, was Lord Palmerston, who was on horseback, and who mistook, or affected to mistake, the cries of the mob for cheering, and raised his hat. He rode down a side street and so got clear, but his groom, whose horse was more easily frightened, had much trouble to escape. Lord Brougham also sat in his carriage calmly smiling, but the coachman had hard work to control the restive horses. The whole mutual attitude was a mistake, since the frequenters of the Drive and Rotten Row were not for the

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most part persons who desired to abridge the comforts or the conveniences of the labouring classes, or who supported the proposed bill against all Sunday trading. On the other hand it is exceedingly doubtful whether the great majority of those who, after the first demonstration, assembled to perpetrate outrages, really represented the people who would have been most affected by the inconveniences attending such a measure. Mr. Dundas, however, used language which may be said to have represented to excess that hard, irritating protest which is always potent to arouse popular indignation. He declared that the mob consisted chiefly of boys and young men under twenty, who leaned over the iron rails and screeched at every carriage which went past, and showed intense delight when they frightened a spirited horse and endangered the lives of those in the carriage. He said he saw the police endeavour to drive back "this *canaille*" with "the greatest moderation," and that "these rascally boys ought to have been more severely dealt with." Mr. Dundas seemed to grow into indignation as he proceeded, and in reply to Mr. Duncombe's suggestion said, "So we are threatened with another disturbance next Sunday, and it is said that men will come armed to oppose the police. I hope the honourable gentleman, the secretary of state for the home office, will take the strongest measures to prevent such a collision. Prevention is at all times better than cure, and I would remind the right honourable baronet that nothing will frighten a mob more than the crash on the pavement of the trail of a six-pounder." It was a foolish speech, not having the merit of being quite original, and was also an anachronism. The rumour of a similar remark in the old turbulent days when Wellington was opposed to the riotous demonstrations made under the name of reform, aroused furious passions and embittered the contest; but this later rendering was received with no more indignation than contempt. The time had gone by for six-pounders. The bill was withdrawn, and the promised commission of inquiry came to nothing. If the promoters of the Hyde Park outrages had continued to assemble and to repeat the disorders, public feeling would at once have turned against them. The Sunday Trading Bill was abandoned, and the "Sunday Beer Bill," as it was called, which ordained the refusal of publicans to serve refreshments on Sunday mornings to any persons who were not "*bona fide* travellers" at a distance from their homes, soon occupied attention. The decision of what constituted a *bona fide* traveller having become a standing jest, led to the discussion of the bill itself with a certain amount of good humour, which was increased by the perception that an honest endeavour to diminish the sale of liquor, and during a large part of the Sunday to close the places where it was obtained, was intended as an effort on behalf of public decency and sobriety.

It will not be out of place in direct relation to these topics, to consider what was still the condition (and it would be well if we could add, that it has now entirely ceased to be the condition) of some of the districts in which the people of London were compelled to live; and what were the provisions made for securing them against fraudulent tampering with their food and drink by unscrupulous adulteration.

The name of Dr. Letheby must be familiar to numbers of readers, for at the time which we are now considering, it was identified with those important decisions depending on the skilful analyst and the possessor of medical knowledge which can be immediately made available for the public service.

The homes and physical condition of the poor in some of the worst neighbourhoods had of necessity excited public comment when sanitary matters had occupied the attention of parliament, and for the sake of the general health and safety it was deemed necessary that some detailed inquiry should be made into the best means of dealing with the filthy slums which were the disgrace of London and some of the large manufacturing towns of the kingdom. During the cholera epidemic, and on many occasions when the increase of fever, small-pox, and other infectious diseases caused a temporary panic, the subject had been ur-

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gently brought forward, and, as we have seen, the legislature had passed measures authorizing inspection and ordering certain provisions to be made for remedying some of the evils complained of. But more stringent regulations were needed. It was known that in the eastern district of the metropolis whole neighbourhoods of filthy tenements remained without the most ordinary means for securing decency and cleanliness, and that in other parts of London similar places were to be found which became dangerous centres of disease and demoralization. It was to Dr. Letheby that the task of inquiring into the state of the foul neighbourhoods eastward was entrusted, and his report disclosed a condition so horrible that people began to wonder why the question had never been thoroughly investigated before. To a large majority of the inhabitants of the west-end, and to many persons who lived not far from the infected places, their existence was almost unknown, and demands for sanitary reform had been but faint and ineffectual. There were not sufficient means to enforce the provisions of the Acts of Parliament which related to sanitary improvements, in cases where the officials whose duty it was to apply them were ready to make things pleasant for the owners of such property. In many instances these infected overcrowded tenements belonged to the parochial representatives of that or a neighbouring district, against whom subordinate paid officers of health were unwilling to raise complaints.

The revelations made by Dr. Letheby were bad enough to arouse greater attention to the subject, for he gave the kind of details which were most likely to arrest attention. Of 2208 *rooms* which he visited, and which were the abodes of beggars, vagrants, thieves, and the class that comprises the criminals, the vicious, the idle, and the casual underpaid workers at miserable callings,—1989 contained 5791 inmates belonging to 1576 families. The members of various families were in many instances occupying the same room, regardless of all the common decencies of life, and where from three to five adults, men and women, besides a train of children, were accustomed to herd together like brute beasts or savages; where all the offices of nature were performed in the most public and offensive manner, and where every human instinct of propriety and decency was smothered.

"Like my predecessor," said Dr. Letheby, "I have seen grown persons of both sexes sleeping in common with their parents; brothers and sisters and cousins, and even the casual acquaintance of a day's tramp, occupying the same bed of filthy rags or straw; a woman suffering in travail in the midst of males and females of different families that tenant the same room—where birth and death go hand in hand, where the child but newly born, the patient cast down with fever, and the corpse waiting for interment, have no separation from each other and from the rest of the inmates." In one alley near Houndsditch he found a row of filthy and ruinous houses containing in all seventy-six rooms, letting at weekly rents of from fifteen pence to one and ninepence each, and inhabited by sixty-three families comprising 252 persons. In one room there were a man, two women, and two children, and the corpse of a girl who had died in child-birth a few days before still lay upon the bare ground without shroud or coffin. The place was a hotbed of horrible disease, and every adult male in the place had shortly before been attacked with fever.

Dr. Letheby determined to attempt a chemical analysis of the air, that he might see whether it contained some peculiar product of decomposition which rendered it so pestilential, and he found it not only deficient in oxygen, but with three times the usual proportion of carbonic acid, besides a quantity of aqueous vapour charged with alkaline matter having a loathsome stench, the product of putrefaction and of fetid exhalations. Such conditions were not peculiar to this one place. In the district near Whitecross Street, already referred to, similar abominations were to be found, and there were other areas of disease and filth in Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Westminster, and Bloomsbury, while St. Giles' and Seven Dials were partly destroyed, but the remnants of neither of them had been cleansed and purified. Not only the physical but the social and moral pestilence and degradation

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arising from such dens were earnestly pointed out by Dr. Letheby; and in order to remedy them it was suggested that the registration of common lodging-houses should be enforced, and that the condition and number of their inmates should be under the control of the officers of health. It was also suggested that the metropolis should be brought under the authority of a single municipality elected by the ratepayers of the various districts. The first part of the proposed plan was adopted, and has since been enlarged; but for some years afterwards foul, ruinous, and pestilential tenements in the same districts continued to be crowded with human beings, nor has the operation of the legislature even yet been able to put an end to all the horrible abuses that were then disclosed. Something, but comparatively little, was done, until another fever epidemic some years afterwards once more emphatically called alarmed attention to the subject. Then, as we shall see, it again took a foremost place in the public regard, but with no commensurate result. Not in London alone, but in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, and in most of the important towns of the kingdom, the same story had to be told in more or less revolting detail; and though London perhaps maintains an evil pre-eminence for the preservation of condemned districts, the wretched inhabitants of which, if evicted, could find no adequate provision for their shelter, and would endeavour to crowd as closely into the adjacent houses, it is one of the unhappy contingencies of so vast a capital, the local jurisdiction of which is divided among numerous incomplete if not incompetent bodies, that private or corporate interests should be found to have become so concreted as to take a very long time to demolish, even by the application of special laws and under the stimulus of repeated outcries for reasonable supplies of light and air and water, and the means of preserving ordinary decency.

In the following year, though comparatively little was done with regard to cleansing the foul places of the metropolis, where vice and misery assorted with pestilence and famine, another great work was undertaken. The Thames was no longer to be an open sewer. The almost tropical heat of the summer of 1858 had caused sufficient evidence of the accumulating evils of the drainage of London into the river to reach the Houses of Parliament in a very practical form. The stench from the stream as it flowed past the palace of the legislature at Westminster was so abominable and alarming that it told the story in terms not to be lightly disregarded, and the result was the more prompt acceptance of Mr. Disraeli's proposal to bring in a bill for the main drainage of London. The work would cost at least £3,000,000, and it was to be provided for by the imposition of a special rate on the metropolis for the purpose of purifying the river and completing the system of main drainage, the money to be borrowed on the guarantee of the government, and repaid in forty years by annual instalments by means of a special rate of threepence in the pound, to be called the sewage rate. The work was to be completed in five years and a half, and the whole expenditure of the money and the completion of the scheme was intrusted to the Metropolitan Board of Works, which had been constituted under the Metropolis Management Act of 1855.

An act ordering that the vaccination of children should be compulsory had passed in 1853 for England, though its provisions were not extended to Scotland till 1863; and doubtless it had been effectual in diminishing the dangers to be apprehended from epidemics of small-pox, which in former times had often been so fatal in their consequences. Unfortunately no adequate provision for enabling public vaccinators or private practitioners to obtain a proper supply of pure vaccine or lymph, accompanied the act, which has, therefore, continued to be less valuable than it might otherwise have become, especially as the assertion that the virus of diseases of a loathsome and dangerous type may be communicated by the use of vaccine matter taken from an impure source, has never been refuted.

The Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, in which Lord Radstock, Lord Robert Grosvenor, Lord Ebrington, and other noblemen and gentlemen took an active part, and in relation to which Dr.

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Southwood Smith had successfully investigated the condition of the poorer neighbourhoods, had already achieved much good work by the erection of dwellings with a good water supply and efficient drainage, and by promoting the enforcement of the Common Lodging-houses Act, which forbade overcrowding in lodging-houses, and directed the police to enforce the law; but nothing seemed effectual against the constant letting and sub-letting of dilapidated tenements, the owners of which kept in the background. The gin-shops in such neighbourhoods flourish, for they drive a roaring trade amidst a people who are glad to escape from the horrors of the places in which they live, that they may seek temporary forgetfulness amidst the brilliant lights and showy attractions of the tavern or the "palace" bar, where their scanty and ill-prepared food may be supplemented by ardent spirits or heavy beer. But at that time the food and drink consumed by them and their neighbours was found to be often grossly adulterated. This was generally understood, but people were not quite prepared for the revelations made by the *Lancet*, the leading medical and surgical paper, of which the well known Thomas Wakley, surgeon, member of parliament for Finsbury, and coroner for Middlesex, was editor. Both as member and as coroner Mr. Wakley had became famous for his bluntly outspoken opinions, and though he was a good deal disliked in some quarters, and often ridiculed in others, he was strong and determined enough to hold his own, and to make his voice heard on the subject of several abuses which he set himself to correct. The institution of an "Analytic Sanitary Commission" by the *Lancet* was one of the methods by which he attacked the system of adulteration, and the results of the investigation of this commission, which was under the superintendence of Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, were rather startling. Week by week the public learned that almost every article of food and drink consumed at ordinary meals was probably subjected to adulteration before it reached them; and that the substances used were frequently in large proportions, and of a kind exceedingly injurious to health.

Not since 1820, when the famous book entitled *There's Death in the Pot*, by Frederick Accum, gave a shock to the public, had such disclosures been made, and the *Lancet* commission took a ready way to call the attention both of the sufferers and of the culprits themselves to the results of its inquiries. Dr. Hassall not only went out and about, purchasing samples of all kinds of produce in different neighbourhoods, and afterwards subjecting them to analyses and to searching investigation by the microscope, but the details of his discoveries were published week by week along with the names and addresses of the dealers from whom the articles had been obtained.

There can be little doubt that many of the requisites of our daily consumption are still frequently adulterated, although we are now protected by the operation of an act of parliament specially directed to the detection and punishment of dealers who fraudulently mix foreign ingredients with substances sold under the name of pure commodities, but the extent and unscrupulousness of the system of adulteration laid bare by this commission were alarming. The mere admixture of inferior with superior qualities of the same commodity, or the substitution of substances with similar properties for the genuine article, were comparatively unimportant frauds, in face of the fact that actively poisonous ingredients were introduced in large quantities into food and drink for daily consumption, for the purpose either of increasing weight, improving appearance, or enhancing profits by the substitution of a cheaper material.

Coffee was mixed with mahogany sawdust, mustard with flour and turmeric, vinegar with sulphuric acid, pepper with dust, ground rice, or linseed-meal; cayenne pepper and curry powder with white mustard seed, ground rice, deal sawdust, salt, and brick dust, while red lead (often in poisonous quantities) gave it colour. Bread bought in cheap neighbourhoods contained alum and salt for the purpose of correcting the sourness and dark colour of the dough made from inferior or damaged wheat. The largely adulterated bread was found in the low-priced loaves of poor neigh-

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bourhoods, but other articles were adulterated without relation to the localities in which they were purchased, and the spurious substitutes were amply present in a very large majority of cases. The presence of alum in bread was almost universal, and it is still often asserted that its use is necessary while people demand a white loaf; but out of twenty-eight loaves bought in every quarter of London Dr. Hassall found alum, and in many instances it was present in considerable quantities in high-priced loaves, a fact afterwards explained (in consequence of the indignant remonstrances of the "Pure Bread Company") to proceed from the adulteration of the flour itself with alum before it was purchased by the baker. Tea was proved to be frequently a deadly poison prepared in China, where the desired colour was given to it by the use of gypsum and Prussian blue, while adulteration was effected by a compound of sand, dirt, tea-dust, and broken leaves worked up with gum into small nodules, and containing 45 per cent of earthy matter. These nodules were "faced" with black-lead, Prussian blue, or turmeric, according to the kind of tea to be sophisticated, while French chalk gave the fictitious leaf its spurious bloom. Curiously enough the lower-priced teas were found to be the more genuine; but a good deal was done in the way of redrying tea-leaves which had been used at hotels, clubs, and coffee-houses, and mixing them with bay leaves, sloe leaves, and other substitutes; gum and a solution of copperas being used to give consistency and colour.

Coffee, even when sold as *genuine*, was mixed with chicory. This mixture in certain proportions had been permitted by a Treasury minute of 1840, and the quantity of chicory had increased till Mr. Gladstone brought in a resolution that the words "mixture of chicory and coffee" should be placed on any package containing both ingredients. But the worst of it was that chicory itself was adulterated with roasted acorns and other vegetable substances, dogs' biscuits, burnt sugar, red earth, and baked horses' and bullocks' livers. In fact it was discovered that the articles used to adulterate, were themselves adulterated, and that thus the inquiry would "horrors on horror's head accumulate." The milk of the nursery was mixed not alone with water, but with annatto, flour, starch, and treacle, if with nothing worse; butter was derived from lard and fat; fresh butter from the common salted article; orange marmalade from turnips, apples, and carrots; pickles and preserved fruits were green with verdigris; and the ornamental sweetmeats with which infancy was delighted or pacified, contained Prussian blue, Antwerp blue, gamboge, ultramarine, chromate of lead, red oxide of lead, Brunswick green, and arsenite of copper, while plaster of Paris entered largely into the composition of many of them.

We so often hear now of salesmen or others being summoned and fined for attempting to dispose of meat or the carcasses of animals unfit for human consumption, that we may readily believe some forms of flesh food were pretty largely adulterated both with inferior meat and other substances. Happily Smithfield market had been abolished, and some of its evils had been abated. One of the witnesses examined before the commissioners who decreed its fall, had declared that quantities of diseased meat were bought by soup shops, sausage-makers, alamode beef and meat pie shops, &c. One soup shop (a firm which had a large *foreign* trade), were doing five hundred pounds a week in diseased meat. Anything in the shape of flesh could be sold at a penny a pound, or eightpence a stone. He was certain that if one hundred carcasses of cows were lying dead in the neighbourhood of London he could get them all sold in twenty-four hours. It wouldn't matter what they died of. The London market was very extensively supplied with diseased meat from the country, he said; and he also declared that an insurance office in London in which graziers could insure their beasts from disease, made it a practice to send the unsound animals dying from disease to their own slaughter-houses a hundred and sixty miles from London, to be dressed and sent to the London market. Cattle, sheep, &c., were insured by this office against all kinds of diseases, one of the conditions being that the diseased animals

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when dead became the property of the insurance company, the party insuring receiving two-thirds of the value of the animal, and one third of the salvage; or in other words, one third of the amount the beast sold for when dead. They were, he said, consigned to a salesman in Newgate Market. This evidence was sickeningly significant, and it is not to be supposed that the sale of diseased and putrid meat had ceased immediately after the condemnation of Smithfield Market, and while the butchers' shambles about Newgate Street, and the slaughter-houses, lanes, and alleys of Cowcross and its neighbourhood were scarcely abolished, especially as we know that in London as well as in other great centres of population continual vigilance on the part of inspectors and officers of the law is still necessary to prevent large quantities of diseased or putrid meat from being quickly disposed of. At the same time it scarcely needs to be mentioned that the descriptions of food into which such meat is converted are found in largest quantities in neighbourhoods inhabited by the poorest part of the population.

We may see from what has been already indicated, that the period succeeding the close of the Crimean war was one of considerable excitement, but one also of great social development. Immense efforts were made for the extension of education in the direction of some general system separable from the sectarian difficulty, and yet preserving the means of religious instruction, while, at the same time, schools were established and supported on a basis of merely secular and moral teaching. On the whole, the large balance of opinion was in favour of retaining the reading of Scripture in schools, whether they were professedly founded on an unsectarian or a "secular" basis, the word secular being often interpreted to mean much the same thing as unsectarian, as distinguished from doctrinal religious teaching; and the parents generally concurring in a desire that their children should be taught to regard the authority of the Scriptures as conveying the highest sanction for religion and morals. Several schools, not only for ordinary instruction, but for the maintenance and industrial training of destitute boys and girls, were opened, and were among the most significant institutions of the time.

Advances were also to be observed in much of the popular literature. Not only were more periodicals and magazines of the higher class, like the *Saturday Review* and others, commenced, but a larger number of cheap newspapers and other publications were issued, many of them of an educational and domestic character. The abolition of the newspaper stamp duty in June, 1855, greatly contributed to this movement. This tax had been originally imposed for the purpose of checking the issue of seditious publications. It underwent several changes as to the amount charged, and in the beginning of the present century had stood at fourpence. In 1836, as we have seen, it was reduced to a penny, and at that sum it remained as represented by a red stamp impressed upon every copy of a newspaper. In addition to this there was a heavy duty on each advertisement appearing in a paper, and all these charges combined to make such publications dear, and the knowledge of public events limited and uncertain. No important daily newspaper was published at a less price than sixpence before the abolition of the advertisement duty, but the remission of that tax enabled the proprietors to reduce the price, while many new publications came into existence. The abolition of the stamp duty gave the further relief that was needed to enable enterprising persons to start that great engine of public opinion and public information—the penny newspaper, and both in London and the provinces many influential papers were either originated or considerably enlarged or improved. At first the red stamp was either removed altogether or allowed to stand in lieu of postage, but papers started which needed no stamp, and could be sent through the post. The *Morning Star* was brought out under the new auspices, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily News* soon followed; and eventually the *Standard* and other high-priced papers were issued at the popular penny, but that was not till after a further remission of charges by the reduction and ultimate abolition of the duty on paper.

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The period of which we are speaking was a time of transition, and a time, therefore, when many evils that needed remedying were exposed. The aggressive temper which had been exhibited for some months seemed to be strangely emphasized by crimes of violence and cruelty, while commercial laxity and financial disasters were accompanied on the criminal side by extensive and sometimes remarkable frauds and robberies. Among the most prominent of these was the appropriation of trust money by one of the oldest and most respected firms of private bankers in London—the house of Sir John Dean Paul, Strahan, & Bates. The discovery was a great shock to a large number of estimable people, for the head of the firm was associated with many religious societies, and subscribed to numerous charities. Criminal proceedings were taken against the firm, and they were tried in the Central Criminal Court on the 26th of October, 1855, for fraudulently appropriating to their own use certain Danish bonds of the value of £5000 committed to their keeping as bankers by Dr. Griffith, prebendary of Rochester. The case for the prosecution was stated by the attorney-general. It was proved that Sir John Dean Paul instructed the secretary of the National Insurance Company to sell Dr. Griffith's bonds; and Dr. Griffith deposed to conversations subsequent to the bankruptcy, from which it appeared that Mr. Strahan and Mr. Bates were accessory to the transaction. Sir F. Thesiger, who appeared for Mr. Strahan, defended him on the ground that the sale of the Danish bonds was effected solely by Sir John Paul; that he received the proceeds; and that there was no proof that Mr. Strahan was privy to the transaction; and further, that Mr. Strahan, having made a disclosure of the circumstances before the Court of Bankruptcy, was not (according to the Act of 7 and 8 Geo. IV.) liable to be indicted on account of such circumstances. Mr. Serjeant Byles, for Sir John Paul, admitted the facts as stated by Dr. Griffith, but said that it was his intention to replace the bonds, as was shown by his subsequently purchasing others to a similar amount. He also maintained that Sir J. Paul, having made a full disclosure in the Bankruptcy Court, was no longer liable to criminal proceedings. Mr. James, for Mr. Bates, rested his case upon his total ignorance of the transaction in question. The court then adjourned to the following morning, when Baron Alderson, having charged the jury, after an absence of half an hour they returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. The judge proceeded to pass sentence. Commenting on the heinous nature of the offence, he observed that all the prisoners had been well educated, and moved in a high position of society. The punishment which was about to fall on them, therefore, would be far more heavy and more keenly felt than by persons in a lower condition of life. It would also, he regretted to say, afflict those who were connected with them. These, however, were not considerations for him at that moment: all he had to do was to say that he could not conceive any worse case of the sort that could arise under the statute upon which they had been convicted, and that being the case, he had no alternative but to pass upon them the sentence which the act of parliament provided for the worst class of offences arising under it, that was, that they be severally transported for the term of fourteen years.

Another case which caused great excitement was that of John Sadleir, M.P. for Sligo borough, who in February, 1856, committed suicide on Hampstead Heath, by swallowing a quantity of essential oil of almonds. His body was found early in the morning on the rise of a small mound at the back of Jack Straw's Castle, the head close to a furze bush, the clothes undisturbed, and the hat at a distance. It was taken to Hampstead workhouse. In the course of the inquest the evidence showed that the deceased had been concerned in a series of gigantic embezzlements and forgeries. Two letters written by him before he left the house were laid before the jury. In one of them, addressed to Mr. Keating, M.P. for Waterford, were the words:—"No one has been privy to my crimes; they sprung from my own cursed brain alone; I have swindled and deceived without the knowledge of any one. . . . . It was a sad day for all when I came to London; I can give but little aid to

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unravel accounts and transactions." The full extent of Sadleir's embezzlements and forgeries was never exactly known. One fraudulent transaction in respect to the Royal Swedish Railway consisted of an over-issue of shares and obligations to the amount of at least £150,000. In respect of the Tipperary Bank, the manager, his brother, had permitted him to overdraw more than £200,000, and, with other fraudulent mismanagement, the deficit of the bank exceeded £400,000. The assets were stated to be little more than £30,000. The misery caused by this infamous confederacy was unspeakable. Not only were the depositors in the south of Ireland—chiefly small farmers and tradesmen—defrauded of their savings, but the shareholders were stripped, for the most part, of everything they possessed. The means taken to entrap the last-named class were unusually nefarious. On the first of February—one month before the crash—the Sadleirs published a balance-sheet and report, in which the concern was represented as most flourishing. A dividend at the rate of £6 per cent with a bonus of £3 per cent was declared, and £3000 was carried to the reserve fund, raising it to £17,000. By means of this fabrication a considerable number of persons, most of them widows, spinsters, and half-pay officers, were induced to become shareholders, and lost their all. Endless suits were brought by attorneys who had purchased debts due by the company, against these unhappy people. Some declared themselves insolvent, while others fled to the United States with as much of their property as they could hastily secure. James Sadleir had absconded under circumstances which gave rise to much discussion, and many large financial businesses in London suffered considerably from his frauds.

The failure of the Royal British Bank in August, 1856, was also the cause of widely-spread misery and confusion, since a large number of shares were held by persons of comparatively small means. The share capital in this country was stated to be £300,000, of which £150,000 was stated to have been paid up. The debts due to depositors amounted to £500,000, the assets were found to be discounted bills and other securities which were mostly worthless, and above £100,000 had been advanced to a Welsh coal mine which was not worth one-third of the value. Everybody in the management had been helping himself to the money. A Mr. Gwynne, a retired director, owed £13,600; Mr. John M'Gregor, M.P., the founder of the bank, £7000; Mr. Humphrey Brown, M.P., above £70,000; and a Mr. Cameron, the manager, about £30,000. The unfortunate shareholders were called upon by the Bankruptcy Court to pay £50 on each of their shares; some of them fled to Boulogne and elsewhere, many were ruined, and public confidence was so shaken that for a long time such investments were looked at with much suspicion. The government instituted criminal proceedings against the manager and the most obviously dishonest directors, and in February, 1858, some of them were sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

Crimes of violence and murderous assaults were numerous and were attended with great brutality. Street outrages and robbery were also connected with a new method of attack named after the Spanish instrument of execution, the "garotte" or "garota." The assailant, coming suddenly from behind, placed his arm round the neck of his victim, so that by a sudden constriction of his muscles great pressure was exerted on the throat and the head was forced back, while an accomplice robbed the half-strangled sufferer of watch, money, and other valuables. There was seldom time to cry out, for the attack was entirely unexpected, and the person robbed was mostly left in a half-insensible condition. Assaults of this kind became so frequent that something like a panic was the result, until fear was succeeded by indignation, and heavy sentences were demanded against some of the "garotters" who had been arrested. Many of the London shops exposed "anti-garotters" for sale, in the shape of short sharp daggers, loaded canes, life-preservers, and "knuckle-dusters" or thick leather gloves, covering part of the hand and fitted with projecting iron spikes or plates cut into facets,—a modern reproduction, in fact, of the old Roman cestus. Swordsticks and revolvers were commonly carried by men who lived

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in the suburbs, and whose business or pleasure called them out at night. People armed themselves, more to the danger of themselves and their friends than to that of the robbers; but some of the latter had severe handlings, for the blood of the braver portion of the population was up, and a dead-set was made against cowardly footpads who selected old and weak men or helpless women for their murderous assaults. In some neighbourhoods stout fellows well armed with cudgels were on the alert, and the garotters themselves made one or two awkward mistakes. In one instance an attack was made on a pedestrian who was passing over Waterloo Bridge at midnight. The ruffians followed and pounced on their prey. They had mistaken their man, however. The belated passenger was a famous pugilist. The conflict was short and decisive. One of the garotters was found an hour or two afterwards lying insensible, and the other had fled. But the most effectual remedy was the infliction of flogging as a part of the sentence on prisoners convicted of garotting. Mere imprisonment with hard labour was tried until the end of the year 1861 and seemed to have little result in checking the evil, but directly a dozen or two of strokes with the "cat," laid on by a strong-armed warder in the presence of witnesses who afterwards reported some of the details, became a recognized punishment for this offence, the cowardly ruffians abandoned a form of crime which exposed them to a retribution involving severe physical suffering. Probably, however, they became alarmed at the resentment everywhere expressed against them, and at an apparent intention on the part of a number of determined men in various districts to show no quarter to a garotter, but to shoot him down, or in some way to disable him at once. It will easily be seen to what constant perils resulting from mistakes, from accidents, and from the too prompt aggressiveness of timid persons unaccustomed to the use of weapons, this panic had given rise.

There is no need to refer particularly to the crimes of more than ordinary atrocity which were committed during a time of public excitement, after so many months during which daily talk was of war. In surveying the aspects of that period it appears as though, at the very time that great and strenuous efforts were being made to establish all kinds of agencies for bringing instruction to the lower classes of the population, ameliorating the condition of the poor and the abandoned, and redeeming the depraved and the vicious, misery, poverty, and crime stood forth in more appalling shapes, as if to show the urgent need of powerful and immediate influences for their transformation, or to test the faith and the sincerity of those who professed to believe that earnest and unremitting effort would effect the desired improvement.

Among the most terrible crimes were several cases of poisoning. In that which excited most horror the murderer was William Palmer, a surgeon of Rugeley, in Staffordshire, who was not of very reputable character, but was well known among his neighbours, had for some time kept race-horses and been mixed up with transactions on "the turf," and had, in fact given up his practice and made it over to a former assistant, except in the case of two or three old patients. In the course of his pursuits as a sportsman Palmer became intimately acquainted with John Parsons Cook, a young man of respectable family, who had inherited some £12,000 or £15,000, and become a frequenter of races and a betting man. For two or three years Palmer had been in pecuniary difficulties, and had to raise money on bills. It appeared from the charge made against him on his trial that his circumstances became hopeless, that he owed various persons large sums of money, and that he had had recourse to forgery. One bill for £2000 bore the forged acceptance of Sarah Palmer, his mother, a woman of considerable wealth, and on whose security money would therefore be advanced without hesitation. This bill was discounted, but other pressing claims coming on, he did not meet it when it became due, and had to continue paying upon it. Then his wife died, and as he had effected an insurance on her life for £13,000, and the amount was realized, he was able to discharge some of his more immediate liabilities. He afterwards induced his brother to effect an insur-

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ance for £13,000 and to assign the policy to him. He had, to the amount of £11,500, bills in the hands of a bill-discounter, and every one of them bore the forged acceptance of his mother. His brother died and the amount of the insurance on his life was applied for, but the insurance office declined to pay it. Palmer was being pressed with demands from his creditors; he had for some months been acquainted with Cook in betting transactions, and induced him to assign two horses as security for an advance of money which would more than cover the sum instantly required. The person who made the advance sent it in the shape of some warrants and a cheque made payable to Cook's order. To this cheque Palmer forged Cook's endorsement, and it went to enable him to take up a forged bill, and so to escape detection.

The intimacy between Palmer and Cook continued, and it was necessary to prevent discovery of the forgery. But in addition to this, it appeared that Cook had won a considerable sum of money, amounting to above £2000, at Shrewsbury, and £700 or £800 at Worcester races, and the latter sum he was known to have had in his possession when he was with Palmer and another person at Shrewsbury, and afterwards with Palmer at the Talbot Hotel at Rugeley, nearly opposite Palmer's house. Cook had been suddenly taken ill at Shrewsbury, after swallowing some brandy and water which Palmer had urged him to drink. At Rugeley the same symptoms were repeated, and Palmer was sent for, soon after he had parted with him for the night. After everything that Palmer had administered the patient was violently sick, and though other practitioners were called in they seem to have had no suspicion of anything wrong, though one of them could not agree with Palmer that Cook was suffering from a bilious attack, and that it was that which caused the vomiting. All this time Palmer was acting in the most cold-blooded, indifferent, and composed manner; but he was really administering antimony in broth, coffee, and other liquids. This did not prove fatal, and he afterwards prescribed strychnine in pills as a remedy. There were several witnesses of Cook's sufferings, and an elderly medical man gave a certificate of death from apoplexy. While this gentleman had given Cook medicine the effects of the antimony had been to some extent obviated; but neither he nor other people seem to have understood the convulsions and rigid contraction of the muscles of the chest and neck, caused by strychnine. Palmer might have evaded serious inquiry but for the fact that the stepfather of the murdered man went at once to Rugeley, and there made some keen observations, and acted with remarkable promptitude. Palmer continued to preserve a cool and unconcerned demeanour even during the ensuing post-mortem examination, for he had counted on there being no probability of detecting the presence of strychnine. But if strychnine left little or no trace, the symptoms which had been seen and noted by competent judges at two examinations, as well as by those present before the death, could, it was believed, have been caused only by the administration of that poison, and the traces of antimony were in themselves sufficient to prove that the first symptoms which had been observed were attributable to the broth and other liquids administered by Palmer. With all his coolness he was tying the noose for himself. He induced the postmaster at Rugeley to open a letter from the chemist to whom the contents of the stomach of the murdered man had been sent for analysis. He had previously endeavoured to bribe the post-boy, who was to convey the sealed jars in which they were deposited, either to upset the fly or to contrive somehow to break the jars and spill the contents; and he sent a present of game to the coroner, along with a letter, suggesting that an experienced physician had certified to the death, which was obviously from natural causes. We will not dwell on the particulars of the trial or of the details of the evidence in this dreadful case, which lasted several days, the medical witnesses being numerous, as they consisted of the most famous analysts and physiologists of the day. The suspicions that gathered round this deliberate poisoner were terrible. The bodies of his wife and his brother were exhumed. There was no doubt that they, too, had been murdered, and a

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verdict was brought in accordingly. Society stood aghast. There was no telling how many of his acquaintances he had destroyed. The poison itself, too, was deadly; its effects were new and strange. Its operation had been but little known. It was thought that it might be used and leave no actual trace. The very name strychnine became a word of fear. Few people could be found who would have respited or reprieved William Palmer, though he went to the scaffold declaring that he was not guilty, and that he himself was a murdered man. While he was on his trial, the person who had discounted a bill purporting to have been accepted by the prisoner's mother brought an action against her to recover the money. The defence was that the acceptance was a forgery, and Palmer was brought from prison to give evidence. When asked who wrote the name "Sarah Palmer" upon the bill, he answered, "Ann Palmer." "Your wife?" was the next inquiry. "Yes." "Now dead?" "Yes." "Did you see her do it?" "Yes." He had caused his wife to forge his mother's signature, and had afterwards poisoned her for the sake of realizing the large sum for which he had not long before insured her life.

It was the Palmer case which drew immediate attention to the necessity for a law regulating the sale of poisons. Lord Campbell, who had been the judge at the trial, inquired whether the government intended legislating on the subject, and was told that a bill was in course of preparation by the home secretary.

The Redpath frauds were also illustrative of the reckless criminality which appeared to prevail among a certain class of men who had entered on a career of extravagance, and were anxious only to maintain a position in the world of fashion.

Redpath was the name of the official who had the care of the stock-register books of the Great Northern Railway Company. To support his assumption of being a person of considerable means, with a town residence in Chester Terrace and a villa at Weybridge, he altered the sums standing in the names of the stockholders to much larger amounts, and sold the fictitious stock on the market, forged the name of the supposed transferrer, and passed the sum to the account of the supposed transferee in the register, either attesting it himself or causing it to be attested by a young man, who, it appeared, was not aware of the fraud. Of course such transactions were certain to be discovered, but it was not till the directors began to notice an extraordinary disproportion between the amount paid for dividends and the rateable capital stock that a committee of investigation was appointed, and the fraud was detected. The amount appropriated reached about a quarter of a million sterling. Redpath fled to Paris, but afterwards returned to London, and was arrested.

It may easily be understood that the public excitement was very great when crimes against person and property were so frequent, and their details were so rapidly and completely made known, by means of cheap newspapers, which circulated amongst a number of people who had previously been accustomed to learn only the occurrences of the week instead of the events of each day. It happened, too, as it usually does happen, that many strange stories and some really extraordinary circumstances kept the popular imagination in a feverish condition. "The Waterloo Bridge mystery," as it was called, happened at a date a little later, in 1857, and it will perhaps be worth while to glance at it as an illustration of the peculiar kind of stimulus which seemed to be constantly presented to an already overheated fancy for a combination of the horrible and the grotesque.

A little after daybreak on the 9th of September, 1857, two boys rowing up the river saw a carpet-bag tied round with a cord on one of the abutments of Waterloo Bridge. From the bag a cord hung down into the water, and from this it was to be inferred that it had been lowered from above. The boys rowed off with their prize, and though the bag was locked, contrived to force or cut it open, when, to their dismay, they found that it contained the mutilated remains of a human body hacked and sawn into twenty pieces, and packed with a quantity of clothing soaked with

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blood, and pierced with cuts which appeared to have been made with a sharp-pointed knife or dagger. The lads hastened to be rid of their dreadful burden, and communicated with the police. The bag with its contents was removed to Bow Street police station, where a more complete examination was made. The head and the viscera were wanting, and there was no mark on the clothing which could lead to identification.

Subjected to the acute scientific examination of Professor Taylor, the eminent physiologist and anatomist, the remains, which had been partly boiled and salted, were pronounced to be those of an adult male, about 5 feet 9 inches high, and probably of dark complexion. There was no evidence of any peculiarity, no mark of disease or of violent injury inflicted during life except (and the exception was significant) one stab between the third and fourth ribs on the left side,—such a stab as would probably penetrate the heart,—and presenting the character of a wound inflicted before or soon after death. The blood which stained the clothes, it was said, must have flowed from a body while still alive. The body had become rigid before the clothes were removed, and the clothes themselves were probably those belonging to the man whose remains were under examination, and who must have been subjected to great violence while alive. Public opinion was divided, popular speculation was active, and often extravagant. Weak-nerved and timid people felt a thrill of terror. It was remembered that there had been more than one undiscovered assassination, that rewards had been offered for still undetected murders, that more than one person had mysteriously disappeared. On the other hand there were matter-of-fact sceptical people, who, till the examination refuted it, held to the assumption that the remains were those of some animal. Then a very general opinion gained ground that it was a disgusting practical joke,—a hoax perpetrated by medical students who had placed in the bag the portions of a subject from the anatomical theatre of one of the hospitals. This was refuted also. Professor Taylor emphatically declared that the body had not been dissected or used for the purpose of anatomy, that the parts useful to the anatomist had been roughly severed and destroyed, that the corpse had been hacked and sawn to pieces within eighteen or twenty-four hours after death, and by some one ignorant of the anatomical relation of the parts. This was the deduction from all the appearances, and it left the mystery unsolved. It has never since been explained, and though a reward of £300 was offered by the government for the discovery of the supposed murderer, no information was ever obtained. Many people who weighed the probabilities of the case came to the conclusion that the "Waterloo Mystery" was associated with an act of vengeance or of precaution perpetrated by the agent or agents of some foreign secret society, who had assassinated either a political spy, or one of their own number whom they had suspected of treachery.

In relation to serious criminal offences we may here glance for a moment at the change which had been made in the punishment of convicts sentenced to heavy penalties. We have already seen that the old system of transportation practically came to an end with the growth and development of our colonies. The free and honest colonists would no longer submit to be invaded by successive detachments of convicts, the worst of whom had to be sent to perpetuate the hideous depravity of Norfolk Island, while a large number became servants and labourers requiring martial law to keep them in subjection, and only a few obtained that ticket-of-leave which left them at liberty to work successfully and to accumulate property, or to lead lives which at last would reinstate their children in the ranks of "respectability." It could not be denied that the frequent deportation of convicts, and their release under necessary restrictions, which kept them in servitude where there was at the same time a native population ignorant of morals, and debased even from savagery by the vices which they had learned from the worse than savage white man, who came direct from the jail or the hulks, was a crying evil. To this contamination the Aus-

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tralian farmers and townspeople would no longer submit, and to its injustice the Cape Colonists, as we have already seen, offered an armed resistance.

Practically the transportation system was at an end. Many of the convicts themselves liked New South Wales well enough. The idle ruffians, who were little better, nay, were much worse than brutes, could take alternate spells of low debauchery and the corporal punishment that would never be inflicted even on a beast in a truly moral community. Criminals in England who fancied they could turn over a new leaf if they had a chance, deplored that they could not be sent to "a new world." A lingering notion for some time prevailed that to Western Australia, where there was no such rooted objection, some might still be sent, but they would have been too few to delay a complete revision of the methods of dealing with our worst criminals. Those who were retained in prison or sent to the hulks because their sentence was for less than ten years, had become brutalized and degraded under the existing system. The hulks were a remnant of barbarism. They were a national disgrace and must be abolished, unless we meant by punishment to perpetuate and indelibly to brand, instead of to efface the mark of lowest evil. The bill, introduced into the House of Lords in 1853 by Lord Chancellor Cranworth, had proposed to retain the punishment of transportation only for convicts who had been sentenced to long terms of punishment:—receivers of stolen goods, housebreakers, burglars, cattle-stealers, and those guilty of violent assaults, attempts to do grievous bodily harm, or the perpetrators of outrages of an atrocious character. Those whose punishment was to last only seven years were to be kept in penal servitude, and were, in case of good conduct, to receive a remission of their punishment under the ticket-of-leave system. This bill had been found inadequate to provide for the altered conditions by which transportation was virtually abolished, and in the first session of parliament in 1857 Sir George Grey proposed changes which were to lengthen the terms of sentences of penal servitude to an equal duration with those of the periods of transportation for which they were substituted—to give the judges a discretionary power to pass sentences of intermediate severity between those of ordinary imprisonment and the minimum of transportation—to allow prisoners sentenced to penal servitude to be removed to certain colonies—and to continue the practice of mitigating sentences as a reward for good conduct in prison, but to restrict the range of their remission within much narrower limits, while rendering the discharges, generally speaking, unconditional.

These new regulations had the effect of abolishing transportation, while retaining the power to send criminals to any penal settlement in the colonies; and it was time that some such change should be made as that which was effected by limiting the operation of the ticket of leave. It was only in Ireland that the real meaning of such a conditional and partial remission of the sentence was properly understood and acted upon. Sir Walter Crofton, who was the chairman of the board of prison directors for Ireland, understood the principle and successfully adopted it. If a man there was discharged from custody because his conduct had led to the belief that he was worthy to be intrusted with a certain degree of liberty, he was still under the observation of the police. He had been through a term of hard labour, during which he might hope by industry and good conduct to obtain a remission of some part of his term, and eventually to receive some small gratuities or rewards. Conditional freedom was granted when the prisoner had passed through a certain amount of discipline and gave some evidences of a desire to amend. But the ticket of leave did not include absolute freedom. The holders of those tickets were not only known to the police, but were required to report themselves periodically, and were liable at any time to be sent back to penal servitude if they lapsed into crime or were seen to be resuming their former habits and companionships. This worked well in enabling the ticket-of-leave men to obtain employment without concealing their condition. It became known that to have obtained this conditional liberty they must have displayed

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an energetic determination, not only to work, but to retrieve their character; and employers of labour were satisfied to recognize in the system a reformatory influence which was found to be on the whole successful and encouraging.

In England, however, the ticket of leave was quite a different thing. Since that time an attempt has been made to modify its operation here, so that it may be assimilated to what it had then become in Ireland under the direction of Sir Walter Crofton; but either the working of the plan is impossible in London or other large towns in England, or it has for some other reason failed. All that we have at present attained is the burden of a ticket-of-leave part of the population, who too often drift downward into the class of "habitual criminals," and who, under any circumstances, do not find it easy to obtain honest employment. They are expected to report themselves, it is true, and are theoretically under police surveillance; but it is to be feared that they are seldom regarded with anything but suspicion and dismay. Neither the prison authorities nor the police look upon them frankly as probably reformed characters, and therefore the public and employers of labour suspect them, and refuse to give them the only opportunity by which they can complete the achievement of a new character. This is partly the result of the condition of things in 1857 before Sir George Grey introduced his amendments of the working of the system. The ticket of leave then meant (in England) little less than the complete discharge of a number of prisoners who had for a certain time given assiduous attention to their prison tasks, and had contrived to persuade the chaplain and the authorities that they were reformed characters. Of course there *were* some among them who had determined to begin afresh with a new chance; but there were, it was feared, many more who took up their old trade under new advantages. Amidst reports of crime, and alarms caused by many acts of lawlessness and outrage, a new terror was ever present, in the thought that a number of hardened and abandoned ruffians had been let loose from prison to prey on society under the license of a ticket of leave.

But we can scarcely change this subject without taking into account another complication connected with the punishment of crime. While statesmen were puzzled, and the public were alarmed at the problem presented by the questions of transportation and penal servitude, a feeling of compassion not unmixed with indignation against the authorities was aroused in consequence of some revelations of the manner in which prisoners were punished—or, as many people said, cruelly tortured—in some of the jails to which culprits were committed for long terms of imprisonment. It was in 1855 that the governor of Birmingham borough jail was tried at the Warwick assizes for cruelties perpetrated on a youth named Edward Andrews, who was "done to death," or in other words was so persecuted and oppressed that he committed suicide in the prison in April, 1853. The chaplain gave the poor boy a good character so far as it went. He said "he appeared to be of a mild disposition." He (the chaplain) went into the lad's cell and found him crying as a person cries who is in much pain. The word "murder" was used frequently. He was strapped to the wall in such a way that his limbs were compressed, and one of the straps was a tight collar round his neck. The chaplain could not get his finger within the collar. The punishment was for not accomplishing an amount of labour on a crank, which he was too weak to turn for any length of time as it was overweighted for punishment. He was continually under punishment, drenched with water for "shamming," placed in the straitwaistcoat, strangled with the collar, hung up by the hands to hooks or nails. Inhuman cruelty turned dislike into spite, and suspicion into diabolical persecution. The details were sickening. The governor, who had been a lieutenant in the army, was found guilty; the surgeon of the jail was implicated in an assault on another prisoner; but both he and the governor were acquitted on that particular count, though they were convicted of omitting to make entries in the jail books as ordered by act of parliament. The governor was sentenced to *three months' imprisonment*. There is no need to dwell on the details of the trial.

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A well known writer, Mr. Charles Reade, afterwards made the persecutions of the boy Andrews, and the whole of the disclosures, into a powerful and of course a highly-coloured episode in his exciting novel entitled, *It is Never too Late to Mend.* This adaptation of the evidence of the cruelties practised in the Birmingham county jail, which was accepted as an indication of the illegal and monstrous treatment too often inflicted on a certain class of prisoners, continued to be read with resentment long after it had ceased to belong to reality, and it was reproduced on the stage, where it has recently been revived, though it has certainly become an anachronism.

Amidst the comparatively small excitements and anxieties of the year successive reports had arrived which may be said to have temporarily excluded the ordinary news and topics of the day from prolonged discussion. By about the middle of June 1857, it became known that a serious revolt had occurred among the Sepoys in our army in India, and it was feared that the whole of the native troops would join in a general mutiny, and, aided by a large proportion of the population, would endeavour to overthrow British rule in Hindostan.

It is usually represented that the intelligence of the mutiny came upon the government here with the suddenness of a surprise; but if this was really the case, the government must have been more careless and less informed than a good many other people who had long regarded the rumours from India with some anxiety. Probably the chief surprise was at the rapid and wide-spreading growth of a disaffection, which had in a few days apparently attained such proportions that our force there was unable at once to cope with it.

Nobody has been able to pronounce with certainty on the actual causes, or to fix the time of the original conspiracy, which produced the Indian mutiny. The episode of the "greased cartridges," the distribution from village to village of the *chupatties* or cakes of unleavened bread, have been declared to be mere accessories; the complaint of the "greased cartridges" to have been a fictitious excuse for an insurrection which had long before been decided on, and for which the incident of the introduction of the Enfield rifle among the Sepoys seemed to give an opportunity. It was evident that the mutiny had been planned and prepared for some time before the first outbreak at Meerut, but people in England found it difficult to believe that a mere revolt could be so serious as to call for immediate reinforcements, and to produce even more anxiety than had been felt during the actual wars which had made us masters of Hindostan. It was true that fifty years before, in 1806, there had been as general and as threatening a revolt at Vellore, when the family of Tippoo Sahib thought to turn the outbreak to account, and to restore the power of their house by joining the mutineers. That also was an event which required us to put forth our strength as though to engage in a war; but since that time much had been achieved. We had grown stronger and held India with a firmer, though not with so harsh a grasp. The glove upon the hand by which we kept our hold was of leather rather than of steel. The power of English rule to encourage or to restrain had been so long felt, that even a serious outbreak was looked upon as a temporary disturbance to be promptly, and if necessary, sternly, repressed, that a progressive government might be resumed. By a progressive government of course was meant continued annexation of provinces under native princes, who relinquished their territory, became our willing tributaries, or rather nominal subordinate rulers, and who, in return for these concessions, were mostly led to expect large or moderate pensions which they did not always receive.

That several of these princes came to the conclusion that they had been cajoled and hardly used was not unnatural, and that some of them should have cherished the idea of making reprisals, or of seeking an opportunity for revenge, was not surprising to those who understood the native character, which in this respect did not greatly differ (except, perhaps, in patient intensity of hatred), from that of many other people. That these princes and chiefs should, under any circumstances,

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even by the aid of a mutiny, be able to overthrow us nobody believed, even during the darkest hour and the most terrible tidings of the conflict. At the worst we were bound to trample down the insurgents, if only for the sake of their own countrymen. "We must hold our own in India at any cost," was the determination come to by everybody in England, and it was done; but there was perhaps nobody who dreamed what that cost would be, nor how at last the fiendish atrocities of the mutineers so steeled the hearts and nerved the arms of our soldiers and officers that, but for the wise restraints imposed by the policy of the calm and able governor, who was at the time nicknamed "Clemency Canning" in angry scorn of his just humanity, a war not of repression alone, but of extermination, might have raged in the land of which we were already masters.

The mutiny of 1857 differed from merely military revolts, one of which had happened in a Bengal regiment at Lahore in 1849, and against which the higher military commanders in India had more than once warned the government. Both Sir Charles Napier and Colonel Hodgson had called attention to the probabilities of an outbreak, and the latter had pointed out that the admission of the higher caste of Hindoos too freely into the Bengal army was a dangerous means of fomenting sedition, but none of those who saw a probable danger seemed to contemplate any such explosion as that which actually took place.

It should be remembered that the condition of India had greatly changed during a comparatively short period. The inventions and discoveries of science had been taken thither, railways had been established, the electric telegraph was in operation, the old slow processes of agriculture, even if they had not been superseded by modern methods and appliances, had been vastly improved by a new system of irrigation for the rice-fields and plantations. Broad roads had been formed, and places formerly distant, because of the difficulties of transit, were brought near together. A material revolution had taken place, but it was a revolution which, while it conferred immeasurable advantages on the country, and was designed to benefit the people, was all in favour of the permanency of British rule, and was in fact accompanied by the introduction of a system of native education, which included special provision for the instruction of native girls, calculated entirely to abolish some of the oldest and most obstinate superstitious customs, and to substitute, for the dark and cruel observances of the Hindu tradition, the reasonable and humanizing influences of European society and of the Christian religion.

But it must not be supposed that the conduct and demeanour of English subaltern officers, or of official civilians, always tended to commend British authority by promoting the moral influence which is enforced by example. While many superior officers and civilians of high standing conscientiously endeavoured to introduce to India a system which should gradually bring about a change in the moral and social condition of the people, abolish the tyranny and oppression by which the natives had suffered under the rule of their own princes, and inspire them with confidence in English institutions and English administration of the laws; the British manner of regarding native races over whom conquest or treaty had given us authority, had not been corrected. The ordinary British officer usually seemed to be imbued with the notion which prevailed in some higher quarters, that the oriental mind can only be influenced by fear, and though he did not apparently act with deliberate cruelty, he was too often ready to visit small offences or negligences with angry severity, occasionally accompanied by unjustifiable acts of physical violence. He became a bully from the mistaken notion that in that way alone he could exercise immediate control. The natives to him were a "set of niggers," over whom he thought he should exercise almost absolute authority. His common attitude towards them was that of contemptuous toleration, sometimes good-humoured, but seldom either conciliatory or considerate. Without much ability or inclination to understand their peculiarities, or to look into the meaning or obligation of their customs, he almost entirely disregarded many things, a recognition

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of the importance of which was a part of their religion. Some of their sacred observances, the neglect of which they believed would entail dreadful penalties, he regarded as "a parcel of rubbish," not worth the attention of any sensible person, and he did not fail to treat them with marked indifference, if not with open derision. His business was to help "to hold India," and he troubled himself very little about the way in which it was to be held, except that while the natives were quiet and submissive they were to be tolerated, and even their fantastic ceremonies might be permitted; but that the way to keep them in a condition of subordination was to show them the clenched fist or the raised stick whenever there was a reasonable pretext for threatening.

There had been more than one warning, which might have prepared the government at home as well as the authorities in India for some attempt at mutiny among the troops, or for a sudden outbreak of a fanatic no less than a military character. As early as 1851, at Meerut, the very place where the revolt subsequently commenced, Colonel Hodgson published a pamphlet in which he called attention to the admission of men of the Brahmin or priestly caste to the ranks of the Indian army, in spite of certain prohibitions, and this he declared was the source of disaffection and sedition among the troops. In this respect Colonel Hodgson's explanation differed from that of some other persons. Instead of regarding the selection of British officers to take exclusive command of native troops as a grievance which provoked the men, who could feel no personal confidence in superiors possessing no sympathy with their religion, customs, or mode of thinking,—he declared that the promotion of native officers failed to encourage the men to fulfil their duties to the state. He said, "On all occasions of discontent and insubordinate caballing, how very rare it is to see a native officer come forward in a firm and unequivocal manner to disclose what has come to his knowledge, and thereby to evince a becoming consciousness of the duty he owes to his own rank and to the government which conferred it! It would be the height of credulity to imagine the possibility of evil intention existing in the lines without his most entire cognition; and therefore by failing in moral energy he virtually becomes an accomplice, shrinking from the manly performance of his duty as a commissioned officer, which imperatively requires a prompt disclosure of such seditious designs. It is lamentable to know that, with his increased rank, he acquires not the slightest perception of his increased responsibility. He still remains in all his feelings and sentiments a common soldier, and seldom assumes the moral tone of a commissioned officer."

There was weight in these representations, especially when it is considered that in the native regiments the observance of distinctions of caste must have had enormous influence, and that whatever may have been the results of discipline in securing the professional obedience of the private soldier to his officer while on duty, it was always possible that the private might be a Brahmin, and the officer (promoted only for military efficiency or for some other reason) might be of a caste so inferior that he was compelled secretly to regard his subordinate with veneration. But, as we have noticed, an equal source of danger was perhaps to be found in the inferior character and low tone of many of the English officers commanding native regiments. General Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, had strongly but ineffectually remonstrated against this defect, and Colonel Hodgson endorsed his representations by writing: "It is chiefly upon the zeal, loyalty, competency, and conciliatory deportment of the European officers that the efficiency and allegiance of the Sepahees must depend. The British officer of the native army must always look upon himself as a very closely connected part of it; should he in the smallest degree alienate himself from the men, or in any way evince by his demeanour that their interests and professional honour are something distinct from his, or superciliously neglect to become acquainted with all the circumstances of those under his command, he is deficient in a most essential portion of his official qualifications. Unless he is familiar with all their habits and peculiarities, and properly mindful of their

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just rights and requirements, it is impossible that he can exercise any personal influence amidst trials and dangers, or prove capable of animating them during the arduous and trying scenes of war. . . . The European subaltern officer of the native army, too, generally looks upon the performance of regimental duties as a task, irksome if not humiliating. He has very little ambition to acquire the character of a good regimental officer. He has scarcely joined the corps when his every effort is strained to quit it, so as to escape from what he is apt to pronounce drudgery and thraldom. . . . A wide chasm separates the European officer from his native comrade—a gulf in which the dearest interests of the army may be entombed, unless a radical change of relations between the parties is introduced." This was written in 1851, and the colonel went on to say that the great secret of the success of the British in India had been a most judicious and careful avoidance of every act that would greatly alarm the religious and conventional prejudices of the natives, or call in question our national good faith. This may in general terms have been the principle on which the chief authorities had theoretically proceeded, and even before the rule of the East India Company had been practically superseded by that of the British government, operations for the complete subjugation of the country had been conspicuously allied to the profession of a more imperial policy of combined firmness and conciliation. We have already noticed that remarkable changes had been introduced by the extension of roads and railways, the adoption of a cheap postage system, the increase of public works, and the establishment of schools; and these improvements had been chiefly effected within ten years, under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, who succeeded Lord Hardinge as governor-general in 1847. Such changes could not be made without exciting the antagonism of the more fanatic portion of the native population, and the opposition of the devotees of the old cruel and immoral superstitions. Suttee was abolished, and widows were no longer burned at the funeral pyres on which the bodies of their husbands were consumed. Thuggism, or the system which founded a kind of religion on assassination, was, if not entirely stamped out, at least made an offence the perpetrators of which were pursued and condemned to death or to heavy punishment. Lord Dalhousie effected many changes which preceded the bill introduced by Sir Charles Wood in 1853, abridging the power of the East India Company. Sir Charles Wood, in his speech on that occasion, referred to the existing evils of the mixed government, the maladministration of justice, the want of public works, and the laws for the tenure of lands. Much had been already accomplished for India, but still it did not follow that it possessed the best government that could be devised. The question was whether that rule should continue in a double character of a home government and a government in India, or whether it should be administered singly by a secretary of state. The proposed measure was to continue it in the latter character, but to diminish the patronage of the court of directors, and to extinguish their power of nomination to office, so that civil and scientific appointments should depend on merit alone. The bill was opposed by Joseph Hume as premature and unstatesmanlike, and the debate became involved in a tangle which nothing but a real and almost personal knowledge of Indian affairs could unravel. Lord Macaulay, however, supported the proposed measure, because it would introduce present improvements and leave a scope for further improvements when required. In some shape or other a double government was most suitable for India, and he thought that the changes proposed in the machinery at home,—which absorbed too much attention, would impart to it a greater amount of vigour and ability. But India must be governed *in* India. Whatever might be the instructions from home, the local authorities must exercise a discretion. As to patronage, if the governor-general were allowed to nominate the civil servants, the most monstrous age of jobbing the world had ever seen would commence. Because the plan proposed by the bill would fill the service with fit and superior men by the plan of competition, he was

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earnestly desirous it should pass without delay. Another advantage which he saw in the bill was the opportunity it gave of admitting into office natives who could successfully compete with European candidates. "We shall not," he said, "secure or prolong our dominion in India by attempting to exclude the natives of that country from a share in its government, or by attempting to discourage their study of western learning; and I will only say, further, that however that may be, I will never consent to keep them ignorant in order to keep them manageable, or to govern them in ignorance in order to govern them long."

Lord Dalhousie was just the man to carry out in an energetic and comprehensive manner the provisions made in the bill for material and educational improvements, but he also established a widely embracing scheme for the permanency of British rule. India was to be governed, and therefore the more of India we had to govern the better, and the sooner we could acquire the power to control territories which were under the evil administration of native rulers, the sooner the interests of all parties would be secured. That was the principle on which he seemed to act, and he carried it out with consummate boldness and ability, but never apparently without sufficient reason. In less than ten years he annexed the Punjaub, Nagpore, Jattara, Jhansi, and Oudh. In each instance he took what appeared to be necessary, or at least highly expedient action; and in some cases he exhibited a reluctance to proceed to extremities, until no alternative was left to him. The murder of some of our officers in the Punjaub by the consent if not at the instigation of a native prince was the cause of the occupation of the territory by a British force under Lord Gough, who, after having been unsuccessful at the battle of Chillianwallah, in a battle with the combined forces of the Sikhs and the Afghans, retrieved our position by the crushing defeat inflicted on the enemy at Goojerat, a victory so complete that the annexation of the Punjaub followed, and the despatch of the famous diamond, the Koh-i-noor, to England was a token of the submission of the Maharajah of Lahore.

The annexation of Oudh was accomplished on the strength of an existing understanding, that the East India Company had agreed to defend the sovereigns of that territory against either foreign or native foes only on condition that they should govern their subjects in such a way as to afford protection to life and property; whereas the King of Oudh was a tyrant and a robber, his government a mere abandonment of the country to a set of bandit chieftains who recognized him as their head. There were, in every case, apparently good reasons for the subjugation of the native princes, and the inclusion of their subjects and territories under the supreme protection of the British empire. The governor-general, while he set forth those reasons, did not hesitate to say that our policy was to obtain as direct dominion over the territory of the native princes as we already held over the other half of India. This policy was from his point of view beneficial to the native races, and worthy of the prestige and commanding position of England; but it need hardly be pointed out that the native rulers themselves began to exhibit signs of mingled fear and anger when they saw the rapid absorption of their authority and the annexation of their territories, and these feelings were shared by a large proportion of the population, especially in Oudh, whence we principally derived the men who composed our Sepoy regiments, and where the Brahmin caste was the most numerous and influential. Lord Dalhousie's policy was that of a man of great ability, and it was of an essentially majestic character; but it had not sufficiently taken into account the consent of the people themselves, or the power of those who were their superiors in an intricate system, by which caste was associated with the authority and the sanction of religious belief and observance. The allegiance of the Sepoys, who made the great majority of the active armies on which we had to rely for ordinary military service, could not, after all, be invariably and implicitly trusted against all the influences of nationality, when it began to be whispered not only that the authority of native rulers was to be entirely superseded, but that the sacred institutions and observances by which

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the native races were distinguished were to be degraded and obliterated by the unsparing domination of the British conquerors. It should be noted, too, that many of the Sepoys were men of caste, rank, intelligence, and ambition, and that they would not be slow to take advantage of any opportunity for self-aggrandizement. The question perhaps was, Had that opportunity arrived? The English, it was known, had been engaged in an exhausting war with the other great nation of the north,—the Russia of which the Afghans, at all events, had heard much. At the same time there had been another war in Burmah; a third was going on in Persia; and troops were, it was said, about to be despatched to China, where the governor had defied British authority. Was it not reasonable to suppose that the strength of so small a country as Britain would be exhausted by these repeated and continuous efforts? There were in some quarters direct intimations that this was the case, for had not an agent of Seereek Dhoondoo Punth, or as he was familiarly called Nana Sahib, of Bithoor, the adopted son and successor of Prince Bajee Rao, Peishwa of Poonah, been to London to endeavour to make good the claim to a pension which the East India Company had granted to the prince when he was dethroned, but which Lord Dalhousie had refused to continue to his son in defiance of the national customs, which conferred on the adopted child all the rights of heirship. This agent, Azimoolah Khan, had been to Constantinople, had been to the Crimea, had been the lion of London drawing-rooms, and had interpreted what he had seen and heard as signs of impending disaster to the power and authority of England. Azimoolah Khan, the quiet, insinuating, handsome young Mohammedan agent, had his tale to tell when he returned home, not only of the conquests which his manner and appearance had achieved among English ladies in fashionable assemblies, but about the wane of British influence and the coming decay of British dominion in the East. It was this smooth snake who afterwards played his part with the bloodthirsty murderers at Cawnpore, where he also mercilessly struck down helpless women and children.

When Lord Canning succeeded Lord Dalhousie as governor-general, the native armies had increased to an overweening number as compared with the European force. Each of the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had its own army, and united they amounted to 300,000 men, of whom only 43,000 were British.

The army of Bengal recruited from the people of Rajpootna and from Oudh, the annexation of which had caused much dissatisfaction and uneasiness, was the most dangerous in case of revolt, and perhaps the most likely to become disaffected. It consisted of 118,600 natives and 22,600 European soldiers. The cavalry was chiefly composed of Mohammedans, and to the instigations of bitter and bigoted Mohammedans, among other causes, the mutiny was afterwards attributed. The infantry was formed from the most warlike and high-spirited of the Hindoos, belonging, it was believed, to the pure Brahminical caste, and they were therefore more likely to regard with silent, but none the less decided, distrust the annexation of the kingdom, which they suspected might only precede the suppression, or at least the disregard, of those religious distinctions which they held to be of sacred importance. Here were enough elements of danger to make a mutiny probable at any moment. Only a spark was wanting to kindle the materials into a flame. It was not long before the spark fell, and the flame leaped up and spread into a conflagration. The abolition of *suttee*,—the influence of the European teaching, and of the doctrines of Christianity, in abolishing many of the more superstitious observances, even among those who still professed to retain their former religion,—the changes made in the laws of succession and the inheritance of landed property,—and finally, the annexation of Oudh, and the consequent abolition of the old rule of brigandage and rapine, exercised by a number of fierce and tyrannical chieftains, sufficed to produce deep dissatisfaction among the influential natives who were interested in maintaining the old order of things. The Mohammedans occupied themselves in fomenting an insurrection under the pretence that they were anxious to

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re-establish the ancient rule under the King of Delhi, a feeble old man upwards of eighty years of age, whose sons were ready to assert their claims and to take an active part in the revolt.

It will, of course, be seen that the inevitable influence of better government, greater freedom, and the teachings of a higher religion in abolishing slavish customs, as well as in destroying degrading superstitions, differs essentially from the effects of that contemptuous disregard which does not scruple needlessly to outrage opinions and observances, that, however absurd they may appear to be, are yet part of a widely spread, or even a national, social, and religious organization. The main body of Sepoys of Oudh were believed to have held their allegiance to the British government, while only the legitimate influences inseparable from the new rule were in operation, and until the numerous and busy promoters of sedition succeeded in persuading them that not only was their nationality and their religion to be superseded, but that by an act of immediate outrage their caste was to be derided, and their most sacred obligations defiled.

It would be impossible to determine at what particular moment this representation wrought the mutiny; but the authors of it were not slow to seize with adroit alacrity on one particular occurrence to which they pointed as the first attempt to ruin the Brahminical caste, and to make those who held it worse than pariahs—excommunicated and accursed.

The introduction of the Enfield rifle made it necessary to use a new kind of cartridge, in the manufacture of which some kind of grease or oil had to be used in order to render it effective. How this was made known it would be useless to conjecture, but it was said that in the course of some dispute between a Mohammedan and a Brahmin, the latter referred to his caste, when the former retorted, "Your caste, indeed! the English government will soon make you bite cartridges greased with cow and pig fat, and what will become of your caste then?" Whether this was one of the inventions of the time matters little. It is certain that the report spread among the natives that the new cartridges were to be soaked in unclean grease, and for a high-class Hindoo, or even a Mohammedan, to place in his mouth anything so defiling would have been abominable. Not a single cartridge had been issued to the troops at this time, and when it was known that so much antipathy had been expressed on account of the greasy matter used in their construction, none were supplied, though at the same time it was denied that the fat of cows or pigs had been used. Of course it may be said that those in authority should have been well acquainted with the Hindoo caste and the importance which the Brahmins attached to keeping themselves undefiled. The mistake of proposing to use cartridges which were prepared with any kind of grease, when the men were compelled to put them into their mouths that they might bite them before loading their rifles, was either inexcusable folly and ignorance, or a specimen of that indifference to which reference has been made. The greased cartridges were not issued; but unhappily the suspicious Asiatic temper was aroused, and ready to flash out on the least sign of the hated thing against which cunningly devised warnings had been circulated with extraordinary rapidity. Some cartridges made at Semapore differed slightly in the colour of the paper from those formerly used, and at Barrackpore where these were given out discontent began to manifest itself. The men were assured that the difference in colour was not the effect of grease, that not a particle of fat of any sort had been used in their manufacture, and that there was not the slightest desire to insult or to change the religion of the native soldiers. To allay suspicions a chemical examination of the cartridges was ordered in order to prove that they were in no way defiled with the unclean substance; but the emissaries of the conspiracy were still busy in the ranks, and on the 25th of February, 1857, a regiment of men on parade refused to receive their ammunition. The same night they broke open the huts where their arms were piled, took possession of the rifles and ammunition, and carried them to their lines. The colonel summoned the cavalry

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and artillery, and going to the parade ground called upon the men to lay down their arms; this was done and the insurgents dispersed. The mutinous regiment was afterwards ordered to Barrackpore, whither they were taken by British cavalry and artillery, European troops having been sent for from Burmah. Two days before the regiment was finally disbanded at Barrackpore, a private Sepoy named Mungal Pandy, who seemed to have intoxicated himself to fury with a copious dose of "bhang," came suddenly on parade with a loaded musket and fired at the adjutant. He missed his aim and the lieutenant tried to seize him, but was wounded in the hand by a sword which the Sepoy brandished. The sergeant-major, who went to the assistance of the lieutenant, was also wounded, and his life was only saved by the help of another Sepoy, who was afterwards rewarded for his good conduct. Mungal Pandy was tried by court-martial and hanged, a sentence which he acknowledged to be a just punishment for his having obeyed the counsel of evil advisers. The name of Mungal Pandy was remembered from the circumstance that as he was the first actively hostile mutineer, the European soldiers bestowed the title of Pandies on those Sepoys who afterwards revolted, and the term became a common designation.

The mutiny spread with alarming rapidity. In Futtyghur, a *chowkejdar* or village policeman had been seen to run up to another and give him two *chupatties* or little cakes of salted unleavened bread. He ordered the man to whom he gave them to make ten more and give two to each of the five nearest *chowkejdars* with the same order. In this way the cakes were distributed, the whole district was in commotion and the excitement spread to other places. It was evident that the *chupatties* were intended as mysterious signals, the meaning of which was unknown except to the initiated, and perhaps only intended to keep up excitement and expectation. All this time reports had been spread that the greased cartridges were for the purpose of debasing the Hindoos, and forcing them to abandon their religion. On the 16th of May the governor-general issued a proclamation contradicting these rumours, and warning the natives against being led astray by false representations.

It was well that we had such a man as Lord Canning for governor-general — calm, brave, self-possessed, and ready. It was well, too, that Lord Canning himself had such administrators in the Punjaub as the two Lawrences —Sir John, afterwards Lord Lawrence, who had been from his youth in the civil service of the East India Company; and his brother, the gallant Sir Henry, who was the military member of a board of three appointed by Lord Dalhousie on the annexation of the province. Sir John Lawrence was afterwards named Chief Commissioner of the Punjaub, and he may be said by his wise and prompt action to have saved it at the very beginning of the mutiny. At the time of the outbreak there were in the presidency only three European regiments at Burmah and three at Peshawur, the eastern and western extremities of the empire. In the Punjaub, which absorbed the greater proportion of the forces, there was a regiment at Lahore, and one at Sealkote, Ferozepore, Jallundur, Umballah, and Rawul Pindee; while the greater portion of the artillery was also in the Punjaub territory with a large local army of Punjabees and Sikhs.

There were three European regiments at Simla, in the hills, and two at Meerut, a town on an affluent of the Ganges, 35 miles north-west of Delhi, with a population of about 29,000; but in Oudh, a country just forcibly annexed and swarming with a hostile population, there was only one. There was a regiment at Agra, and one at Calcutta; but Delhi, a place inhabited by bigoted Mohammedans, surrounded by strong fortifications, and containing both military stores and treasures, was left unprotected by any European regiments, though there were three regiments of native infantry and a battery of native artillery in cantonments on the high ground about two miles north of the city. On the 10th of May at Meerut, which is about 38 miles from Delhi, eighty-five men of the native cavalry were brought up on parade to be tried by court-martial for refusing to fire with the cartridges that had been sup-

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plied to them, which were of the same kind as those they had been using for several months. These men were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, and were marched off chained and handcuffed to the jail. The European troops at Meerut consisted of detachments of the 60th Rifles, 6th Dragoon Guards (carabineers), and the Bengal artillery, who were posted about 3 miles from the native camp. The court-martial was held on a Saturday, and on the next evening (that of Sunday) the native regiments suddenly rose in furious mutiny, fired upon their officers, and marched off to the jail to release the prisoners. The prison was set on fire, and above 1000 convicts set free. These with the rabble of the town joined the mutineers and committed horrible atrocities on the European residents—ladies and little children being stripped, murdered, and their bodies hacked and slashed with swords. Nearly every European house was attacked, and a great number of officers were killed. The alarm first reached the troops when they were preparing for church parade, and they immediately marched on the native lines and poured in a fire of grape and musketry. One regiment of native infantry and the cavalry which was also stationed there fled towards Delhi; and though the carabineers pursued them and cut many of them down a large number escaped. Had they been all killed the mutiny might have been less terrible and would have been sooner suppressed. But the night was dark, the insurgents set fire to the bungalows, and the women and children required immediate protection. The 11th Native Infantry took no part in the mutiny, but they remained neutral except in the matter of protecting their own officers. They neither helped to prevent the station being burned, nor interfered when women and children were being hacked to pieces or were frantically seeking for some place of concealment. On Monday morning the 11th of May, the Sepoys of the 3rd Light Cavalry who had escaped from Meerut reached the walls of Delhi, and these were but the forerunners of the great army of insurgents, which afterwards came from all quarters to the city ready for any outrage. They entered the gates of Delhi without opposition, and immediately began to attack with swords and carbines every European whom they met. After several civil officers had been killed, notice was sent to the brigadier, and a regiment of native infantry with two guns was marched down from the cantonment. It passed through the Cashmere Gate in good order, but once in the city it met some of the mutineers, and instantly the Sepoys of which it was composed ran to the side of the road and left the officers to the fire of the enemy. All the officers were shot down, and the regiment then joined the mutinous Sepoys, who were drunk with bhang, in the work of carnage, riding up to their victims at full gallop and shooting them without mercy.

A crowd of residents in great terror made their way to the Flagstaff Tower in front of the cantonments. A company of native infantry was stationed there, and a large party of ladies and gentlemen with several officers who were well armed went up to a round tower which commanded the road. But the regiment there was also mutinous. The explosion of a magazine in the city was the signal for them to rush to arms and join the insurgents. The best chance was for the Europeans to make an effort to escape, and most of the ladies got away in conveyances escorted by the gentlemen on horseback, the larger part of them reaching Kurnaul, while others sought a refuge at Meerut. But elsewhere within the walls of Delhi, the scene was one of horror. The aged king was at the palace, and many Europeans had fled thither to claim his protection. With his knowledge and in the presence of his two sons they were brutally cut down or shot—ladies being stripped and forced to walk about naked before they were hacked to pieces, their infants having been tossed on the points of bayonets before their eyes. The mutiny had now grown to a wild frenzied lust for blood. No cruelty seemed too horrible for the Sepoys to perpetrate. The English officers who stayed with their regiments as an act of duty, and strove to restrain them from joining in the revolt, were mostly shot down or stabbed to death. In a fortified bastion near the Cashmere Gate, a number of Europeans, mostly women and children, had sought

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shelter, and it was supposed that the native troops would protect them; but the wretches only waited till the place was filled with these defenceless refugees, upon whom they began firing when there were no means of escape. Some few of the poor creatures got away by dropping down into the ditch from a bastion of the tower, and with the help of two or three of the officers escaped to the bushes and the jungle, whence they were afterwards rescued by an escort of cavalry from Meerut. In a house near the great mosque of Delhi a number of Europeans had taken refuge, and as they had no water to drink, they begged to be taken to the palace. The rebels swore that if they would lay down their arms, water should be given them, and that they should be taken in safety to the king. They did so, and were immediately seized, placed in a row, and shot without mercy.

The principal magazine in Delhi was under the care of Lieutenants Willoughby, Forest, and Raynor. Directly they heard of the revolt, these officers ordered the gates to be closed and barricaded, while inside the gate leading to the barrack were placed two six-pounders, loaded with grape, beside which stood gunners with lighted matches in their hands ready to fire. The principal gate of the magazine was defended by two guns with *chevaux de frise* on the inside, and two six-pounders commanding the gate, and a small bastion in the vicinity. Within sixty yards of the gate were three more six-pounders, and a howitzer which could be so managed as to act upon any part of the magazine in its neighbourhood. Arms were given to the native troops who were inside the magazine, but they received them so reluctantly that it was evident they only wanted an opportunity to join the mutineers. These arrangements had scarcely been made when guards from the palace came and demanded possession of the magazine in the name of the King of Delhi. No answer was given to this summons, and soon afterwards scaling-ladders were placed against the wall. The troops inside immediately clambered up the sloped sheds of the magazine, and joined the insurgents by descending the ladders, after which the enemy appeared in great numbers on the top of the walls, where an incessant fire was kept up on them by the two gunners, Buckley and Scully, who loaded and handled their guns with steady precision, firing round after round as long as a shot remained, though the Sepoys kept up a volley of musketry within forty or fifty yards. When the last round was fired Lieutenant Willoughby gave the order for exploding the magazine, and Scully immediately obeyed by firing the trains. A terrific explosion took place, and those who escaped from beneath the ruins rushed out through the sally-port on the river front, Lieutenant Willoughby being so seriously wounded that he died shortly afterwards, but the two other lieutenants surviving. Delhi could then only be retaken by the operations of a besieging army determined to force a way in.

On the 11th of May news of the mutiny at Meerut reached Lahore. Sir John Lawrence was away at Rawul Pindee, in the upper part of the district, but Mr. Robert Montgomery, the judicial commissioner, was a man capable of acting on an emergency. Not a moment was to be lost in keeping the mutiny out of the Punjaub, which was the direction from which the insurrection must be stamped out; while the loss of it would have been more than a disaster, and might have resulted in at least the temporary paralysis of our ability to cope with the enemy, and the possible necessity for slowly reconquering a large part of India infected by the rebellion. The first thing to be done was to recapture Delhi, and with such a force as would effectually defeat and punish the insurgents. The immediate question was: Had the native soldiers at Meean Meer, a large military cantonment five or six miles from Lahore, already been tampered with till they were ready for revolt? Nobody could tell, and it was necessary to act with decision. The probabilities were that messages of sedition might have reached those regiments, and though there was a danger of driving them to rebellion by harshly assuming that they were already disaffected, there was a still greater risk in leaving them in a position to spread the revolt through the

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province. There was to be a festival at Lahore on the night when the intelligence of the mutiny reached the commissioner—a grand ball and supper—and the entertainment was not postponed. It was in full swing while the leading civil and military officials held brief but earnest council. It was decided at once to disarm the native troops. A parade was ordered to be held at daybreak at Meean Meer, and when the four columns of Sepoys came on the ground, so well had the military disposition been made, that the head of the columns came in front of twelve guns charged with grape, the artillerymen standing ready to fire, and the European soldiers behind with loaded muskets. The word of command was given to the Sepoys to pile arms. There was nothing for it but to obey, or to be swept by the fire from the cannon, and shot down by a volley from the British infantry. The arms were piled and borne away in carts under the guard of European soldiers. Similar precautions were taken at Mooltan, in the lower province, and the Punjaub was saved. The great point, then, was to attack Delhi, and Lord Canning, knowing that there was not a moment to lose, boldly determined on an expedient which, though it required indemnification from the government, was the act of a man eminently capable of grasping even such a desperate situation as that in which he found himself. The termination of hostilities with Persia had fortunately released the forces from Herat, under Sir James Outram, Colonel Jacob, and Colonel Havelock, and they were hastening onward to the seat of the mutiny, but further reinforcements were needed in less time than that in which troops could arrive from England. Lord Canning knew that a force had been despatched to China to put an end to the war there: but the Chinese war could wait, while delay in India might be fatal: he therefore intercepted the troops which were on their way to Canton, and pressed them into the more imminent service of the suppression of the Indian mutiny.

At the end of May the mutiny broke out in the cantonments at Lucknow, amongst the lines of the 71st N. I., and soon became general. The Sepoys burned down some of the buildings, and fired into the mess-room of the officers. One or two officers were afterwards shot dead; and it was not until a part of the 32nd had charged the rebels, and the artillery opened upon them, under the personal direction of Sir Henry Lawrence, that they gave way and quitted the cantonments. They retired to Moodripore, where they were joined by the 7th Light Cavalry, who murdered one of their officers on the spot.

The state of Lucknow now became threatening in the extreme; but Sir Henry Lawrence hoped by vigorous measures of repression to strike terror into the minds of the inhabitants and prevent a general rising. Numbers of men convicted of tampering with the troops were hanged on a gallows erected in front of the Mutchee Bhawn, and two members of the royal family at Delhi, and a brother of the ex-king of Oudh, were arrested and imprisoned there. The Residency itself was crowded with women and children, and every house and outhouse was occupied. Preparations for defence were continued, and thousands of Coolies employed at the batteries, stockades, and trenches, which were everywhere being constructed. The treasure and ammunition, of which, fortunately, there was a large supply, were buried, and as many guns as could be collected brought together. The Residency and Mutchee Bhawn presented most animated scenes. There were soldiers, Sepoys, prisoners in irons, men, women, and children, hundreds of servants, respectable natives in their carriages, Coolies carrying weights, heavy cannons, field-pieces, carts, elephants, camels, bullocks, horses, all moving about hither and thither, and continual bustle and noise was kept up from morning to night. There was scarcely a corner which was not in some way occupied and turned to account.

Sir Henry Lawrence was, as we have seen, governor of Oudh, to which he had removed from taking part in the government of the Punjaub in consequence of some difference of opinion between him and his brother John. Like the rest of the mutineers the irregular cavalry stationed near Lucknow had refused to bite their cartridges, and their discontent was communicated to the troops in the city

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itself. Sir Henry was then suffering from severe illness, but he succeeded in disarming some of the mutineers, and fortified and provisioned the Residency at Lucknow. Directly he could place himself at the head of his troops he marched out against a body of rebels at a place called Chinhut, but they were already in such numbers that he was compelled to retire. On his return he found that the native troops at Lucknow, who had previously held aloof from the revolt, were in mutiny, and it required an immediate attack upon them by a part of the 32nd Regiment and the artillery to drive them to Moodripore, where, however, they were received by another body of mutinous Sepoys. The rebels were in such force that Sir Henry Lawrence found he could do nothing except prepare Lucknow for a siege and wait for help from without. The brave commander himself was to be one of the first victims. On the 2nd of July, he was up at daybreak at work, and, suffering from fatigue and the weakness of recent illness, was lying on a sofa that he might, by the rest which it afforded, continue to give directions. His nephew and another officer were with him. Suddenly the crash of a shell was heard, the room was filled with dust and smoke, one of the officers was flung to the ground, and, in fear for his chief, called out directly he could make his voice heard, "Sir Henry, are you hurt?" "I am killed," was the faint but calm reply, and it was found that a splinter of the shell had given the general a mortal wound in the thigh. On the morning of the 4th he died, still calm and uncomplaining. He had made all the arrangements possible for the work which his successor would have to perform, and before he died, desired that the epitaph on his tomb should be—"Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." The task of relieving Lucknow was to fall to another great and faithful general, Henry Havelock, but it could not be immediately accomplished.

For three months, night and day, the garrison were employed in beating back their assailants, who were able to take up positions in the mosques and other buildings outside the town, where at a short distance they could fire tremendous volleys of musketry into the British position. It was declared that 8000 men sometimes fired at once upon the defenders; but the British held their own, made sorties and spiked the enemies' guns, worked countermines, and so harassed their assailants by repeated sallies, that at last it was a conflict between a comparative handful of brave and determined men, who would fight against any odds, and a horde of bloodthirsty wretches who, like wolves, prowled round the place but feared to approach too near, as the terrible Sahibs would rush out upon them, and in spite of numbers, drive them back with repeated loss.

But meantime a still more fearful struggle had been going on at another city about fifty miles (as the crow flies) from Lucknow. The very name of Cawnpore is still remembered as a word of horror, even though it may be hoped that it has long ceased to be associated with feelings of vengeance; but in the last months of 1857, it could not be mentioned either here or in India without exciting a passion of indignation which it was painful to witness. The atrocities perpetrated at Cawnpore roused the British troops, officers and men, to a pitch of fury that impelled them to attack almost single-handed whole companies of the mutinous Sepoys, and without a moment's hesitation to fight against numbers so overwhelming, that apparently only the frenzy of hate and a fierce determined purpose of revenge could have sustained the physical power which enabled them to break and scatter the opposing hosts, and to slay without pause, and with no more thought of fear than of mercy.

Cawnpore was one of the first-class military stations in India, for on the annexation of Oudh it had become necessary to maintain a strong military force there. It commanded the bridge over which passed the highroad to the town of Lucknow, the capital of the province. When the mutiny broke out in Meerut, there were in Cawnpore about 3000 native soldiers, consisting of two infantry and one cavalry regiment and a company of artillerymen. There were only about 300 English officers and soldiers, and the population of Europeans and the mixed race numbered about 1000, including the women and chil-

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dren, officials, railway staff, merchants, shopkeepers, and their families. The native population was about 60,000. The garrison was under the command of Sir Hugh Wheeler, an old Bengal officer who had nearly reached his 75th year at the time of the breaking out of the mutiny. The whole territory represented by the surrounding stations was now in insurrection, and at all these places the rebels, many of whom at first pretended to be faithful that they might disarm suspicion, begun to murder indiscriminately all the Europeans, not sparing the ladies and children. In some cases the most solemn oaths were taken by the rebels that, if the English officers would give up their arms and cease further resistance, the lives of all in the place should be spared; but the oaths were not kept, the officers being killed, the children cut to pieces in presence of their mothers, and the women sabred one after the other with fiendish cruelty. At Allahabad the officers were shot down, and a Mohammedan moolvie having set himself up as the officer of the King of Delhi, all the Europeans who could be secured were barbarously murdered and many of them tortured. The place was taken less than a week after by Lieutenant-colonel O'Neill, who drove out the enemy and burnt the village to the ground. Where the Europeans contrived to escape to a fortified station, they were scarcely able to hold their own until the arrival of the English troops. In several cases they failed to do so and were murdered. Cawnpore was an important, but at the same time a poorly fortified place, standing on a peninsula between the Ganges and the Jumna, and built on the south bank of the Ganges, there nearly a quarter of a mile broad in the dry season, and more than a mile across when swelled by rains. Seeing the dangerous temper of the Sepoys, Sir Hugh Wheeler had begun to form an intrenched camp round the hospital barracks, between the soldiers' church and some unfinished lines for European troops. It was an ineffectual defensive position, and so far as could afterwards be judged it would have been better if he had concentrated his force at the treasury and the magazine, for his intrenchment was formed only by a mud wall about five feet high. Before the 1st of June the European non-military residents at Cawnpore had moved into the church and other buildings near the intrenchment, within which the records and the commissariat treasure chests were placed; a quantity of ammunition had been buried under ground, though from some extraordinary oversight the magazine which had been deserted had not been blown up. Sir Hugh Wheeler's position was a desperate one, and he had sent a secret messenger more than once to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow to ask for aid if he could possibly send it; but Sir Henry was obliged to reply that he could not spare a single man, for he was himself in a sore strait waiting for relief from without.

It was at this juncture that Sir Hugh Wheeler, after some hesitation, came to the fatal conclusion to ask aid of the Chief of Bithoor. He was the son of a Brahmin of the Deccan, and had been adopted by Bajee Rao, the ex-Peishwah of Poonah, whose large compensatory pension of 800 lacs of rupees he had expected to inherit. Lord Dalhousie had in his settlement of Oudh either neglected or had refused to entertain this claim, and so Doondhoo Punth, or, as he was more frequently called, Nana Sahib, had become a doubtful friend if not a concealed foe to the British government. It is not easy to say whether, when Sir Hugh Wheeler sent to him at his house at Bithoor, a small town about twelve miles up the river from Cawnpore, he was already decidedly hostile or whether he was still treacherously uncertain—waiting to see what turn affairs might take—but it soon became evident that he had no good intentions. That Nana Sahib was a crafty, cruel, and treacherous villain there can be no doubt; but he had mixed much with Europeans, and though he was unacquainted with the English language, had acquired manners of refinement which distinguished him as a native gentleman, while at the same time he was regarded as a friend to the British residents, among whom he had been so often well received. He lived in a semi-princely state, his house was fortified, and he was allowed a retinue of 200 soldiers and three field-pieces. To him Sir Hugh Wheeler applied, and he

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promptly—perhaps with suspicious alacrity—came with his guns and his men to Cawnpore. This pleasant gentleman, who had so often been the host and the guest of the English military and civil officials, and whose fat unwieldy person and slow easy-natured manner were as well known in the district as his luxurious mode of living, was either a deep dissimulator waiting for an opportunity to wreak vengeance for the refusal of his claim to a pension, or his supposed wrongs flamed up when they met the spark of opportunity, and all the wild beast nature in him, long subdued by custom, grew into sudden ferocity. What happened when he reached Cawnpore seems to have been this: the mutineers demanded that he should become one of their leaders, if not their chief, and lead them on to Delhi, the centre of the revolt. The smooth Azimoolah Khan, his confidential adviser, opposed this. Why should he, who had his own cause to make good as an hereditary ruler with a grudge against the hated English, be absorbed in the pretensions of the family of Tippoo Sahib? Let him act there and then, by taking possession of the country round Cawnpore. He yielded so soon, that it must be doubted whether he had not all along reserved the notion of turning against the English, and he at once called on Sir Hugh Wheeler to surrender the intrenchments. The surrender was not made, and the mutineers were ordered to make a general assault on the mud walls behind the open space. That assault was repulsed with heroic bravery by about 400 men who could fight, out of 465 who were there within the frail defences, with about 280 married women and girls and as many children. It was then that the answer was brought back from Lucknow that Sir Henry Lawrence had not a man to spare. The beleaguered garrison at Cawnpore would have to resist to the bitter end unless assistance arrived from afar to release them. It seemed as though the intrenchments would inclose only the dead or the dying before that succour could arrive. The fire of the mutineers continued night and day, and the rebel army was reinforced by swarms of the vilest miscreants of Oudh, the slinking ruffians who had escaped from jail, or being in hiding had crept forth like wolves or vultures to share in the carnage. But though they kept up an incessant fusillade, they never attempted an assault on the position without being driven back in a fright, or falling dead in numbers before the desperate valour of the now diminishing defenders, who were not only in constant danger from the bullets of their enemies, but were suffering the pangs of thirst. No water could be obtained except from one well, which was constantly covered by the Sepoy guns, until an expedition to replenish the water-bottles became a "forlorn hope" never accomplished except at the expense of wounds, if not of the death of one or other adventurer. In all these long weeks not a bucket, not a spongeful of water could be spared for the purpose of personal cleanliness, and that in such a climate and among a community largely consisting of English ladies and children accustomed to habits of refinement. The magazine and the treasury had been taken by the Sepoys. The 3d Oudh battery which was in the trench with the Europeans began to mutiny, and were disarmed and sent out of the place, leaving about 300 fighting men including the officers of the native regiment, and eight mounted guns. Nana Sahib was joined by a large body of Oudh natives, who had the reputation of being the best fighting men in India, and he then ordered a grand assault, but with the usual result. The indomitable garrison, daily diminishing in numbers, with only such rations of water as could be drawn at great risk at night when the fire slackened a little, and with a diminishing supply of meat, because there were no sheltered places in which to preserve the cattle, yet drove back the enemy with such effect that the rest of the Sepoys began to think it was useless to attempt to scale those puny ramparts while there were any Englishmen left behind them. Unless Nana Sahib could take Cawnpore his influence would melt away rapidly, and therefore Hindoo craft and treachery took the place of courage. He conferred with his lieutenant Tantia Topee, and with his agent Azimoolah, and the result was a message to the intrenchments that all those who were in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and

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who were willing to lay down their arms, should receive a safe passage to Allahabad.

The mutiny broke out at Cawnpore on the forenoon of the 7th of June, and from that day to the 24th an almost incessant fire had been kept up on the intrenched camp. It was on the last-mentioned day that this message was sent by Nana Sahib, offering in effect to allow all in the camp to go to Allahabad in safety, if they would abandon the intrenchment and give up the treasures and stores. What else was to be done? Allahabad was in the hands of the English. To the offer was added a promise of food and boats to carry the garrison, the women and children. There were many sick, and several dying. Some of the women and children who had died had been thrown at night into a well outside the intrenchments. There was no possibility of giving them burial. Scarcely a corner of the buildings had escaped the shot and shell of the enemy, who at last had thrown live-hot shells and had thus set fire to the barracks, which burned so fiercely that it was difficult to remove any of the women and children, and about forty of the sick and helpless perished. All the medicines were destroyed. Tents had been struck to preserve them from the bombardment. Who would have neglected a chance of release? The proposal was assented to by General Wheeler, and for the two days following, the frightened residents in the intrenchment enjoyed comparative quiet to prepare for the journey.

"On the 26th," wrote Lieutenant Delafosse (one of only four survivors of this treacherous scheme), "a committee of officers went to the river to see that the boats were ready and serviceable; and everything being reported ready, and carriages for the wounded having arrived, we gave over our guns, &c., and marched on the morning of the 27th of June, about seven o'clock. We got down to the river and into the boats without being molested in the least, but no sooner were we in the boats, and had laid down our muskets and taken off our coats to work easier at the boats, than the cavalry gave the order to fire. Two guns that had been hidden were run out and opened on us immediately, while Sepoys came from all directions and kept up a fire. The men jumped out of the boats, and, instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. Only three boats got safely over to the opposite side of the river, but were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. Before these boats had got a mile down the stream, half our small party were either killed or wounded, and two of our boats had been swamped. We had now only one boat, crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. The two guns followed us the whole of the day, the infantry firing on us the whole of that night." Those in the boats who were not killed by the fire of the Sepoys were seized and carried back to Cawnpore, where the men were all shot, and the women carried to a building which had been formerly used as an assembly-room, and kept close prisoners. They were not kept long in suspense as to their fate. The Nana having learned on the 15th that the British troops had carried the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and that nothing could stop the irresistible march of Havelock's column, issued, through the Begum, a frightful order to slay the entire company. His instructions were but too faithfully obeyed. The Begum approached the building in which the Europeans were confined, accompanied by five men, each armed with a sabre; two of them appeared to be Hindoo peasants, two were known to be butchers, Mohammedans, and one was dressed in the red uniform of the Maharajah's body-guard. "The horrible work commenced by half-a-dozen Sepoys discharging their muskets at random through the windows upon the defenceless victims. The five men armed with sabres were then observed to enter the building quietly, and close the doors. What next took place no one was spared to relate. Shrieks and scuffling were heard at significant intervals, acquainting those outside that the hired executioners were earning their pay. The one in the red uniform was observed to come to the door twice, and obtain a new sabre in exchange for one handed out hacked and broken. The

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noise gradually lessened, and at nightfall the executioners could lock the doors and retire from the building, with the feeble moans of a few half-slaughtered women ringing in their ears. Three at least survived till the morning (the 16th), when the doors of the slaughter-house were once more opened, and the naked bodies and dismembered limbs dragged ignominiously across the compound to a dry well situated behind some trees which grew near by. The three (says the writer here quoted) prayed for the sake of God that an end might be put to their suffering. Their prayer was heard. Their bodies were cast with the others into the well, and the bloody work fitly finished by the slaughter of two fair-haired children, who in some unknown manner had escaped the sword the night before, and were moving in childish terror about the well. One person was of opinion that the man who threw them in, first took the trouble to kill the children—others thought not."

"I have seen the fearful slaughter-house," writes the *Times'* correspondent, "and also one of the First Native Infantry men, according to order, wash up part of the blood which stains the floor, before burying the quantities of dresses, clogged thickly with blood; childrens' frocks, frills, and ladies' underclothing of all kinds; also boys' trousers, leaves of Bibles, and of one book in particular, which seemed to be strewed over the whole place, called *Preparation for Death;* also broken daguerreotype cases only, lots of them, and hair, some nearly a yard long; bonnets all bloody, and one or two shoes. I picked up a bit of paper with on it 'Ned's hair, with love,' and, opened, I found a little bit tied up with a ribbon."

An officer in Havelock's corps thus describes the appearance of the place when the avenging army entered the town on the 17th:—"I was directed to the house where all the poor miserable ladies had been murdered. It was alongside the Cawnpore Hotel, where the Nana lived. I never was more horrified. The place was one mass of blood. I am not exaggerating when I tell you that the soles of my boots were more than covered with the blood of these poor wretched creatures. Portions of their dresses, collars, children's socks, and ladies' round hats lay about, saturated with blood; and in the sword-cuts on the wooden pillars of the room, long dark hair was carried by the edge of the weapon, and there hung their tresses—a most painful sight. I have often wished since that I had never been there, but sometimes wish that every soldier was taken there, that he might witness the barbarities our poor countrywomen suffered. Their bodies were afterwards dragged out and thrown down a well outside the building, where their limbs were to be seen sticking out in a mass of gory confusion."

A thrill of horror at these fiendish outrages, a moan of lamentation that they had occurred before help could reach the victims, a lightning flash of fury against the wretches who had committed such crimes, went through England, and had been already experienced by the Europeans and the army in India. The avenging sword was already impending over the assassins, and the footsteps of the general who directed it was on the track which they had marked with blood. Sir Colin Campbell, that stout veteran of the Crimea, had been appointed by the government in London, commander-in-chief of the Indian forces, and he it was who was sent out, to hasten, with fresh troops, to the relief of the forces already engaged. He lost no time about it. A few hours after he had received orders he embarked, and he reached Calcutta on the 14th of August, where he at once issued an address to the army—an army which, after it had been considerably reinforced, amounted to fewer than 5000 men. But another general was sternly treading on the heels of the enemy before Sir Colin arrived at the scene of action. The name of Henry Havelock was already known in India; but in a few weeks it was to sound like a stirring trumpet blast not only over the East, but throughout England, so swift and brilliant was the heroic march of the small force that he led to victory and to the execution of the sentence for which the world was waiting. There was in General Havelock something of the staid, grave Puritan type of soldier, but with much underlying

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sweetness. He was more than sixty years old, and had for thirty-four years been serving in the East. He was in the Burmese war of 1824, and the Sikh war of 1845. Always of a serious temperament, Havelock had been known, even when he was a Charterhouse school-boy, by the half-endearing sobriquet of "old phlos," meaning old philosopher; and his religious training as a member of the Baptist communion had tended to deepen and intensify his earnest character by the sanctions and influences of religion. It may be said that Havelock's was a very rare, if not a unique character, among officers in the army in modern times. Not because there are not good and religiously disposed gentlemen holding her majesty's commission, but because his earnestness and example were exerted for the purpose of influencing the men under his command, and *did* influence them, so that at all events drunkenness and profane language were not tolerated in their ranks, and the observances of religion held a definite, and, as it appeared, an honoured and sacred place among their daily engagements. Perhaps never since the old Puritan or the Huguenot times had there been an entire regiment with the characteristics which distinguished "Havelock's Saints," as they were called; and they carried the resemblance still further when fighting had to be done by doing it with all their might. They seemed to go to their terrible work as Cromwell's Ironsides went to theirs, or in the manner of the French refugees at the Battle of the Boyne.

Unhappily General Havelock had not reached Calcutta in time to make an effort to avert the horrible tragedy at Cawnpore; but immediately on his arrival he went to Allahabad to organize the troops which had arrived there in small detachments from various places as quickly as the imperfect means of transport would allow. With 1200 men he pushed forward at once, half way to Cawnpore, and on the road was joined by Major Renard, who, with 800 men, had been suppressing the revolt in that neighbourhood. The whole force was about 1400 British bayonets, eight guns, and about 500 of the native troops. A force of the mutineers 3500 strong occupied Futtehpore, a place full of garden inclosures, strong walls, and houses of solid masonry, approached by swamps, fronted by hillocks, villages, and large groves, which were occupied by the enemy, who began to cannonade the advancing fronts of the British, and to threaten their flanks with cavalry and infantry. But Havelock, by a rapid disposition of his men, and the quickness and range of the fire from the Enfield rifles, was able to push his artillery forward, and commence a tremendous volley, under cover of which the British line advanced, and the enemy, abandoning three of their guns, fell back on the town, from which, however, they were subsequently driven and pursued when they endeavoured to make a stand, so that at length they broke in disorder and fled, leaving twelve cannon and numbers of dead upon the field. The victorious column then marched on to Cawnpore, driving out the rebels at the various places on which they encountered them, in a series of sharp engagements which lasted till they were within eight miles of the city. It was on hearing of the advance of the British column that Nana Sahib ordered the massacre of the women and children. He then took up a position at a village where the Grand Trunk road united with the road leading to the military cantonment of Cawnpore. His intrenchments rendered both roads impassable, and his guns had been drawn up all along his position, which consisted of a series of villages. It was evident that he expected the British to attack in front, but Havelock was too able a soldier to fall into such an error. He halted his troops for two or three hours in the mango groves, that they might rest from the burning heat and cook their rations. Then moving them off so that they could defile round the left, so arranged them, that the guns were at intervals ready for attack or defence. It was a difficult manœuvre, for the enemy, perceiving it, began to play shot and shell from the whole of his guns; but our men advanced in the face of the heavy fire, took the guns, drove out the mutineers, and afterwards entirely routed them. At daybreak, before our column had recommenced its march, a tremendous explosion was heard. It was the magazine at Cawnpore, which the miscreant Nana Sahib

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had blown up as he quitted the place, where, it is said, he stayed long enough to order the murder of one woman, who had escaped or survived the massacre; he then fell back upon his fortress at Bithoor; but he feared to stay there, for he knew that his life was not worth a moment's purchase if the British should force it and capture him.

We have already indicated the horrible spectacle that awaited Havelock's column when the men entered Cawnpore. Among the stories current afterwards was a report that the soldiers had picked up and divided among themselves a tress severed from the head of one of the murdered girls, and had sworn that for every hair a Sepoy should die. If that vow was ever made, it was kept to the full.

General Neill, who was afterwards killed on the entry of the troops into Lucknow, soon arrived from Benares, and was left in charge at Cawnpore while General Havelock continued his march. That march was marked by a series of tremendous conflicts, which commenced immediately after crossing the Ganges and through the part of the Oudh territory towards Lucknow. The troops of Nana Sahib, that is to say, the army of the mutinous Sepoys, had occupied strong positions on the route, and had planted their artillery so that, with their vastly superior numbers, they had a tremendous advantage. But the spectacle at Cawnpore would, if anything had been needed, have fired our men to even more daring than that of attacking with the impetuosity of anger what might have seemed to be overwhelming forces. They rushed at the foe, broke through intrenchments, sprang upon the earthworks, and, with ringing cheers and unbroken spirit, drove the flying Sepoys into full retreat, capturing their guns and giving no quarter.

The column was worn out with fatigue, and had to recross the river to Cawnpore, where they joined General Neill's troops, who were being menaced from Bithoor by a strong body of rebels—a body of Nana Sahib's troops—who had occupied a plain densely covered with thickets, flanked by villages, and intersected by streams; while behind were the narrow streets and brick houses of Bithoor. Another battle had therefore to be fought by the weary column, and it *was* fought and won, the enemy being driven out and the guns captured, though the want of cavalry prevented pursuit.

These were the kind of battles fought in that horrible mutiny, and nine of them had been Havelock's share. His column was reduced to 700 men, and he fell back on Cawnpore for breathing time and to wait for reinforcements, which Sir James Outram was bringing from Calcutta. Sir James Outram, who was returning from the Persian war, which had been brought to a conclusion, was sent to Oudh as chief-commissioner with full civil and military power, and had he marched to Cawnpore in that capacity he would have superseded Havelock and snatched from him his well-earned laurels; but with a noble sense of justice which the general must have deeply appreciated, he wrote to tell of his coming, and concluded the letter by saying: "To you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already struggled so much. I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity as commissioner, placing my military service at your disposal, should you please, and serving under you as a volunteer."

On the 19th and 20th of September the relieving force had crossed the Ganges—infantry, artillery, and a few cavalry, in all about 2500 men and with 17 guns. They had to fight their way by another series of engagements, and the troops, tired, ill-fed, and after marching in a deluge of rain, had to rest under their tents before advancing on the town.

It was not till the 25th of September that the welcome clamour of the relieving force aroused the sufferers at Lucknow, who had been besieged by the rebel Sepoys for eighty-seven days. The fighting during the day was so severe that at nightfall Sir James Outram proposed to halt till morning within the courts of the Mehal. "But," writes General Havelock, "I esteemed it to be of such importance to let the beleaguered garrison know that succour was at hand, that with his ulti-

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mate sanction I directed the main body of the 78th Highlanders, and the regiment of Ferozepore, to advance. This column rushed on with a desperate gallantry, led by Sir James Outram and myself, and Lieutenants Hudson and Hargood of my staff, through streets of flat-roofed loopholed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up; and, overcoming every obstacle, established itself within the inclosure of the Residency. The joy of the garrison may be more easily conceived than described; but it was not till the next evening that the whole of my troops, guns, tumbrils, and sick and wounded, continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy, could be brought step by step within the enceinte and the adjacent palace of the Fureed Buksh. To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa. Our advance was through streets of houses such as I have described, and thus each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear. The killed, wounded, and missing—the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear, some or all, have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe—amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men."

Amongst those who were killed was General Neill, shot dead by a bullet, and surely no better or braver soldier fell in India that year. Although the beleaguered garrison at the Residency was thus nominally relieved, it was impossible to extricate the helpless mass of women and children, and non-combatants, from their perilous position by attempting to march back upon Cawnpore. The generals, therefore, determined to remain at Lucknow, strengthening the garrison by the troops they had brought, and to wait until Sir Colin Campbell, the new commander-in-chief, should come up and secure their safety. During this time the column known as Greathed's Column had been performing prodigies of valour against the rebels in various places, and it may be said that the brilliant victory at Agra, and the exploits which were followed by the continuation of the march of the column under Brigadier Hope Grant to Cawnpore, and thence to the Alumbagh on the 8th of November, contributed largely to the rapid success of the operations which stamped out the mutiny.

By the end of September eighty ships had successively reached Calcutta from England, carrying 30,000 troops. As the regiments arrived they were sent up the country to Cawnpore as quickly as possible, but it was not till the 9th of November that Sir Colin Campbell was able to march from Cawnpore for the final relief of Lucknow, then hemmed in by overwhelming numbers of the rebels.

On the 15th of November, the march of Sir Colin Campbell to the Residency was telegraphed from the Alumbagh, and, not heeding the danger, many gallant fellows mounted the tower of the fortress to watch the onward career of that cloud of fire and smoke which marked the position of the veteran's army.

Most of us have heard the story of the Scotch nurse who was in the fortification when hope had almost left the beleaguered garrison, and who suddenly started up, declaring that she heard the sound of the pibroch of the Highland regiments, and that the British were on the march to deliver them.

The troops under Sir Colin Campbell must have been miles distant at that time; but, if the story be true, the prophecy was fulfilled, for the army of relief came in almost without stopping, and the Highland regiments swept down on the cowardly foe with irresistible force whenever they were ordered to the charge, their bagpipes sounding the notes of war, and the men answering with wild cheers.

Early on that morning the British troops advanced to attack the Secunderbagh north of the canal. By a running fight which lasted two hours, they gained a position at the Dilkhoosa and Martiniere, the former, which means "Heart's delight," being a palace of brick, in a kind of park, the latter a school, both strong positions near the canal, and on the road to the very heart of the Residency. So important were these points, that at three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy attempted to dislodge the

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British forces, but after a severe struggle were repulsed heavily, and on the 16th, the commander-in-chief advanced straight across the canal, after a fierce fight, in which the rebels suffered enormous loss. On the head of the column marching up a lane to the left, fire was opened by the rebels, and a sharp fight commenced on both sides, lasting for about an hour and a half. It was then determined to carry the place by storm through a small breach which had been made. "This," wrote the commander-in-chief, "was done in the most brilliant manner by the remainder of the Highlanders, with the 53d and the 4th Punjaub Infantry, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston. There never was a bolder feat of arms, and the loss inflicted on the enemy, after the entrance of the Secunderbagh was effected, was immense. More than 2000 of the enemy were afterwards carried out. Captain Peel's royal naval siege-train then went to the front, and advanced towards the Shah Nujjeef, together with the field battalion and some mortars, the village to the left having been cleared by Brigadier Hope and Lieutenant-colonel Gordon. The Shah Nujjeef is a domed mosque with a garden, of which the most had been made by the enemy. The wall of the inclosure of the mosque was loopholed with great care. The entrance to it had been covered by a regular work in masonry, and the top of the building was crowned with a parapet. From this, and from the defences in the garden, an unceasing fire of musketry was kept up from the commencement of the attack. This position was defended with great resolution against a heavy cannonade for three hours. It was then stormed in the boldest manner by the 93d Highlanders, under Brigadier Hope, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston, who was, I regret to say, severely wounded; Captain Peel leading up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry within a few yards of the building to batter the massive stone walls. The withering fire of the Highlanders effectually covered the naval brigade from great loss. But it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate. This brought the day's operations to a close."

Next day a building, called the mess-house, which was of considerable size and defended by a ditch and loopholed mud wall, was taken by storm; "and then," says the commander-in-chief, "the troops pressed forward with great vigour, and lined the wall separating the mess-house from the Motee Mahal, which consists of a wide inclosure and many buildings. The enemy here made a last stand, which was overcome after an hour, openings having been broken in the wall, through which the troops poured, with a body of sappers, and accomplished our communications with the Residency. I had the inexpressible satisfaction, shortly afterwards, of greeting Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, who came out to meet me before the action was at an end. The relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished." While the commander-in-chief was thus winning his way to the Residency, by his own admirable strategy and the resistless gallantry of his troops, General Havelock and the garrison pent up within its walls were not idle. Mines were driven under the outer wall of the garden in advance of the palace, which had been already breached in several places by the rebels; and also under some buildings in the vicinity; and as soon as it became known that Sir Colin Campbell was attacking the Secunderbagh these mines were exploded. Two powerful batteries, which had been erected in the inclosure, masked by the outer wall, were then brought into play, and poured shot and shell into the palace. At last the advance sounded. "It was impossible," wrote General Havelock, "to describe the enthusiasm with which the signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned. Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession, and have since been armed with cannon and steadily held against all

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attack." Sir Colin Campbell's great object now was to effect the removal of the non-combatants from the Residency, including the sick and wounded, without exposing them to the fire of the enemy. For this purpose he formed a line of posts on the left rear of his position, which were maintained unbroken, notwithstanding many attacks and a vigorous fire kept up by the rebels.

"Having led the enemy to believe that immediate assault was contemplated, orders were issued for the retreat of the garrison through the lines of our pickets at midnight on the 22d. The ladies and families, the wounded, the treasure, the guns - it was thought worth while to keep, the ordnance stores, the grain still possessed by the commissary of the garrison, and the state prisoners, had all been previously removed. Sir James Outram had received orders to burst the guns which it was thought undesirable to take away; and he was finally directed silently to evacuate the Residency of Lucknow at the hour indicated. The dispositions to cover their retreat and to resist the enemy, should he pursue, were so ably carried out that the enemy was completely deceived, and did not attempt to follow. On the contrary, he began firing on our old positions many hours after we had left them. The Dilkhoosa was reached at 4 a.m. on the 23d inst. by the whole force." Thus the relief of Lucknow was effected. The triumph was saddened by the death of Sir Henry Havelock, who, already worn out by the tremendous exertion he had undergone, had also been suffering from dysentery, which at last became incurable. He was removed to the Dilkhoosa, in the hope that a change to a more salubrious air might mitigate the disease; but he died in a few days.

We must for a moment return to Delhi—the core and centre of the mutiny. We have seen how, before the arrival of reinforcements from England, and the co-operation of forces brought together from distant stations, the mutiny had to be met by a mere handful of men, who found themselves opposed to a vast body of rebels led by a trained army with weapons, ammunition, and artillery; stimulated to the wildest ferocity, and ready for any cruelties. These conditions were severely felt when our troops set out for the recapture of Delhi. General Anson, who was then commander-in-chief, had gone to Simla just before the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut, and when tidings of the revolt reached him he hastened down to Umballah, where he collected as many troops as could be spared and proceeded toward Delhi. He only reached Kurnaul, where he died of cholera on the 27th of May, and was succeeded in command by Major-general Reed, an aged officer, whose broken health unfitted him for much active service. On the 8th of June, Reed reached the camp of Major-general Sir Henry Barnard at Alleepore, where a large number of troops had assembled; and at the same time Brigadier-general Wilson came up from Meerut with as strong a force as he could bring together, having defeated a body of insurgents on the way, and taken twenty-six guns. On the 8th of June the combined force set out after midnight, and as General Reed had fallen sick the command devolved on General Barnard. The enemy occupied a fortified position with a heavy battery before the city, but they were charged with the bayonets of the 75th Regiment and driven from their guns. Sir Henry Barnard then divided his forces, the column under General Wilson marching along the main trunk-road, while he led his men through the ruined and deserted cantonments to a ridge held by mutineers with their artillery. A short sharp fight sufficed to drive them back, for our men had already learned the fate of their countrywomen, and they smote fiercely and unsparingly. The place was carried, and at the same time Wilson's column, with the impetus of vengeance, had charged its way through high-walled gardens and climbed over obstacles, without pausing in its effort to reach the murderers, who were driven before it, and compelled to retreat in confusion into the city. The Ghoorkas, a hardy tribe of hill soldiers, aided our troops with admirable courage and loyalty, which they continued to display throughout the campaign. The two generals met at a place called Hindoo Rao's House, a

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strong brick building on the top of a high hill on the north of the city, and half-way between the former cantonments and the Morce Gate of Delhi. It was near this place that the camp was afterwards pitched, and the house was chosen as the position for bombarding Delhi by means of three batteries constructed to throw shot and shell. In front of the camp was the old cantonment, in the rear a canal, on the left the river Jumna. The ground on which the troops took their position was high and rocky, so that it was well adapted for the siege, during which for months our small force had to struggle against the efforts of the enormous rebel army which had swarmed into the city. The fortifications of Delhi extended about seven miles, with an area of about three square miles, the eastern sides being defended both by the river Jumna and an irregular wall with bastions and towers, solid walls of masonry, parapets for musketry, and all the regular appliances of a great stronghold. On the western side of the city the last spurs of a range of mountains made a low ridge where a number of ravines of considerable depth formed a kind of hollow way, which was of great use in protecting the besiegers; while the large quantities of trees, brushwood, and masses of old building outside the city were also of some advantage by affording cover for the siege operations. We need not follow the details of the siege, which went on for week after week, during which the mutineers would steal out of the city under cover of the rocks and brushwood and endeavour to surprise our camp, but only to be driven back by the Guides (a corps of Sikh soldiers), or by our riflemen, who would pursue them to the very walls of Delhi, every prisoner who was taken being either shot or killed on the spot. Day by day the British lines were extended till our small besieging force reached the ridge nearest the walls, and lay near the Moree and Ajmeer Gates.

A legend had long been circulated among the disaffected natives that the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassy would witness the downfall of British power in India. How the prophecy originated it would be difficult to tell, but it is easy to imagine the use that was made of it. This centenary was the 23d of June, 1857, and in London a meeting was held for the purpose of erecting a statue to Clive in his native town. There was a good deal of talk about India, and reference was made both in and out of parliament to some disturbing rumours, but nobody appeared to regard the matter as very serious; nobody was aware that a wide-spread rebellion had been growing for six weeks, that regiments were being hurriedly collected in the Punjaub and the north-west to join the small force at the siege of Delhi. Neither the anniversary nor the prophecy was forgotten at Delhi, and the mutineers made a desperate sortie, great numbers of them coming out and keeping up an attack on the English batteries, but only to be driven back with crushing defeat. But with the force at the command of the British generals it appeared impossible to storm the city, and during the heavy rains of July the troops lay in their encampment occupied chiefly in resisting the attacks of the enemy, and firing upon the city. First the health of General Barnard and then the strength of General Reed gave way, and the latter made over the command of the army to Brigadier-general Wilson. Without heavy artillery it would have been futile to attempt to storm the strong walls and great fortifications of Delhi, and on the 25th of August it was evident that the enemy was moving out of the city with the intention of crossing the canal and attacking our troops in the rear. General Nicholson was at once despatched with 3000 men to the point at which it was supposed they would cross. The mutineers were drawn up in position between the bridge and the town, but the word was given to our men to cross a broad and deep ford, and directly they had reached the other side they formed in line and charged, broke the ranks of the enemy, and utterly routed them, forcing them to run across the canal and leave all their guns. General Nicholson then blew up the bridge and returned. Not till the 4th of September did the siege train arrive from Meerut, and then not a soldier from England, for all the reinforcements which had by that time arrived were engaged between Calcutta and Cawnpore.

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But Delhi must be taken, and the siege-guns were at once placed in position to silence the fire of the enemy from the walls in front of the intended line of attack, between the Water Gate and the Cashmere Gate. On the 13th the Cashmere Bastion was in ruins, the Moree Battery nearly silenced, and the magazine and works at the Water Bastion destroyed. Then out went an order to the army, declaring the general's reliance upon British pluck and determination, cautioning the men to keep together and not to straggle from their columns, reminding the troops of the murders committed on their officers and comrades, as well as on women and children; and while announcing that no quarter should be given to mutineers, calling upon the men "for the sake of humanity and the honour of the country to which they belonged, to spare all women and children who came in their way." The Cashmere Gate was to be blown up, and through the breach the army was to force its way in and storm the city. It was a desperate service which was required by the explosion party, and it was done in the face of death. The sappers and miners, covered by the fire of the 6th Rifles, advanced to the gate at double quick march; the first being those who carried the powder-bags, followed by Lieutenant Salkeld, Corporal Burgess, and the remainder of the devoted band. The advanced men of the forlorn hope reached the gateway unhurt to find that part of the drawbridge had been destroyed; but walking like cats across the beams that remained, each laid his bag of powder at the gate, though the enemy was firing at him through a wicket. Sergeant Carmichael fell dead as he lodged his bag in its place. Havildar Mahor, of the native sappers, was severely wounded; but the work was done, and the advanced party slipped down into the ditch to make room for Lieutenant Salkeld to bring up his party to fire the charge. Before he could set light to it he was shot in the leg, and handed his slow-match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded at the moment that he had accomplished the duty. A havildar and a Sepoy of the Sikh regiment also fell, one wounded, the other killed, and Lieutenant Salkeld afterwards died; but the match had been set, the explosion shook the air, the bugle sounded to the assault, and amidst the crash and roar the entrance to Delhi was carried by the column under General Nicholson. The men desperately fought their way into the city, re-formed, and moved to the direction of the Cabul Gate; but their general had fallen, and their progress was checked by the tremendous fire poured on them from the guns that commanded the narrow pathway. But a second column had stormed the Water Gate and taken possession of the walls, where they turned one of the enemy's guns upon the Lahore Gate to silence the heavy fire of the mutineers. A third column followed through the breach of the Cashmere Gate, took possession of the round tower which had been the scene of the early massacre, and fought their way to the Great Mosque, which they could not force for want of artillery, its arches having been bricked up, its gates closed, and a heavy fire of musketry protecting it. Two troops of horse artillery and a cavalry brigade under Major Tombs and Brigadier Hope Grant had formed in front of the walls, desperately fought their way to the Cabul Gate, and under a terrible fire prevented the enemy from attacking our batteries. Once within the city our troops had to force their way, fighting with swarms of armed rebels, who had taken up every point of defence in streets and buildings. As the men took up their hardly-won positions the light guns were brought forward and discharged on the houses of the neighbourhood. By the 20th the Lahore Gate was in our hands, and the city was practically taken. The king had made his escape from the palace with two of his sons, the people of the city left it and went outside the walls, and at last the rebel troops fled precipitately, abandoning their camp, a great deal of their property, and their sick and wounded. Then 4000 to 5000 of them retreated across the bridge of boats into the Doab (the country between the Jumna and the Ganges), while the remainder took their way down the right bank of the river, leaving Delhi in our hands. The gate of the palace was then blown in, and the head-quarters of General Wilson established there.

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That building, supposed to be one of the most magnificent palaces in India, with its fine wall and splendid entrance, its hall of justice built of white marble, its royal throne inlaid with gold and mosaics, had been defiled by the mutinous rabble. The interior was filthy and disorderly beyond description, for the revolted Sepoy had revelled in its cool archways. "I went all over the state apartments and the harem," wrote an officer. "The latter is a curious place, and had a remarkable appearance: its floor covered with guitars, bangles, &c., and redolent of sandal-wood. The fair daughters of Cashmere had their swing in the centre of the room. They had left in a great hurry: dresses, silks, slippers, were lying on all sides. On leaving the place I met a doolie surrounded by some cavalry and a few natives on foot. Its inmate was a thin-faced, anxious-looking old man. This was the King of Hindostan, the descendant of the great Moguls, entering his palace in the hands of his enemies."

To this reappearance of the king at the palace hangs a tale which, at the time when it became known, caused no little excitement and some disapprobation. One of the officers who held a prominent place in the suppression of the mutiny was Lieutenant Hodson, the commander of a body of cavalry known as "Hodson's Horse." He had once been in the civil service in the Punjaub, and was reported to have left it in consequence of having exhibited a high temper towards one of the native rulers which brought him under the implied censure of his superiors; but being a man of cool determined courage and considerable ability he entered on a military career, and soon became famous as the leader of a dashing troop.

At the taking of Delhi he was acting as chief of the intelligence department, and had learned that the king and his sons had escaped to a large building, the tomb of the Mogul emperor Humayoon, and there taken refuge. Hodson at once applied to General Wilson for leave to take them prisoners, and the authority was given. He had already written to say that if he got into the palace of Delhi the House of Timour would not be worth five minutes' purchase, and it would seem as though he had deliberately made up his mind not to spare the king or the princes. General Wilson probably knew nothing of this, but had, in giving permission for the royal family to be arrested, stipulated that the life of the king should be spared. Hodson had already learned that the king had offered to surrender himself on this condition; and with a small body of horse went to the place where the old man was concealed, and promising that he should be personally protected, took him back to Delhi. His captor then went at the head of a hundred men to the immense pile known as the tomb of Humayoon, to look for the king's sons. After great difficulty they were induced to come out, were put in a carriage, and sent off towards Delhi under a small escort.

Hodson had entered the mausoleum, where some thousands of mutineers and the rabble of Delhi, armed with all sorts of weapons, had assembled. The cool daring of the lieutenant was equal to the occasion. He sternly called upon them to lay down their arms, and as his manner implied that he had a sufficient force to compel obedience, the weapons were relinquished. Having seen that they were collected and removed, Hodson returned towards Delhi, and in the city overtook the escort, which was in the midst of a disorderly crowd apparently about to attempt a rescue. Without hesitation he galloped up and exclaimed, "These are the men who have not only rebelled against the government, but ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful exposure of innocent women and children, and thus, therefore, the government punishes such traitors taken in open resistance." He then borrowed a carbine from one of his men and shot them both on the spot. The effect is said to have been instantaneous, the Mahometans of the troop and some influential Moulvies who were among the bystanders, exclaiming, "Well and rightly done! Their crime has met with its just penalty! These were they who gave the signal for the death of helpless women and children, and now a righteous judgment has fallen on them."

This proceeding of Lieutenant Hodson was

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not regarded with favour by the government, however, and met with considerable reprobation among many thoughtful men, who recognized in it another example of a high-handed way of dealing, not calculated to be of such permanent effect as a regular and legal course of procedure. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to estimate the necessities or the expediencies imposed by such a situation as that in which those who were in command found themselves during the terrible period which we have been considering, and an acquaintance with some of the details of which is necessary for a clear understanding of subsequent legislation with regard to India.

Lieutenant Hodson was himself killed shortly afterwards. That the deed—which he had done on his own responsibility—was not regarded as itself outrageous may be seen by the fact that the other sons of the king were executed almost immediately after they were captured; and probably this was the dreadful alternative to prevent further plots and conspiracies by which the mutiny might have been revived or prolonged. "In twenty-four hours I disposed of the principal members of the house of Timour the Tartar," wrote Hodson after the deed was done. "I am not cruel, but I confess that I do rejoice in the opportunity of ridding the earth of these ruffians." Shocking words, no doubt, but they found an echo not only in India but in England. The horrors of the mutiny, and especially the atrocities of Cawnpore, had aroused a fierce, nearly savage desire for retribution. Men, and even women, almost ceased to regard the bloodthirsty, cruel Sepoys of Oudh as human beings. They would have had them hunted and slain like wild beasts; and the encouragement of this feeling of revenge awoke, as it were, the wild beast nature in themselves. Amidst the dreadful scenes of carnage, and with the evidences of the cruelty and treachery of the mutineers yet before them, it can scarcely be wondered at that even the generals should have ordered no quarter to be given. With the cries of tortured and murdered women and children still in their ears, and with the probability of having yet to cope with a horde of the perpetrators of such crimes, it is not surprising that our commanders should have felt it necessary to follow up the victories of their small forces by adopting some methods of "striking terror" among the natives. "Whenever a rebel is caught," wrote General Neill while in charge of Cawnpore after his arrival from Benares, "he is immediately tried, and unless he can prove a defence he is sentenced to be hanged at once; but the chiefs or ringleaders I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of women and children took place. To touch blood is most abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think by doing so they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a sabahdar, a native officer, a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed; but I made the provost-marshal do his duty, and after a few lashes soon made the miscreant accomplish his task. When done he was taken out and immediately hanged, and after death buried in a ditch at the roadside. The well of mutilated bodies, alas! containing upwards of two hundred women and children, I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave." To read this is very horrible now that the "large grave" has become "a garden and a shrine," and the great Indian mutiny of 1857 and 1858 has become only a terrible chapter in history; but these reports of retribution were very generally received with satisfaction, along with accounts of the execution of mutineers by being blown from the mouths of cannon, a mode of death which "struck terror," not only because of its public display and its awful suddenness, but because of the dismemberment and, one might say, the dispersion of the body of the criminal, and therefore, according to the native superstition, the prevention of a future state of existence. There is no need to dwell upon these details; but there can be no doubt of the truth of Mr. Cobden's assertion that the Indian mutiny and much of our

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experience in India had tended to demoralize the nation, because of the feelings of fury and revenge which accompanied and succeeded the dreadful conflict. Numbers of people not only would have excused cruelty, but seriously spoke of torturing the wretches who were caught red-handed in the mutiny. Happily there were those who saw with deep distress that the encouragement of such language and the perpetuation of a craving for vindictive punishment would assimilate the people in England to the Sepoys against whom they were demanding vengeance. Mr. Disraeli, who held very pronounced opinions against the policy of Lord Canning, was among those who protested against the wild cry for torture and revenge, the raising on our altars the statue of Moloch instead of the image of Christ. He reminded his hearers that the counsels of cruelty would make Nana Sahib himself the model of a British officer.

Mr. Disraeli, in the debate on the mutiny on the 27th of July, first intimated a policy which may be said to have foreshadowed the "imperial" line of procedure of which he afterwards made so prominent a feature in relation to our government in India. He had urgently demanded further information on Indian affairs, and had denounced the policy which had been pursued. Our empire in India was, he said, founded on the principle of *Divide et impera;* but that principle was put into operation by no machiavellian devices, but by availing ourselves of the natural circumstances of the country. There were in India so many independent states, so many princes of different races, so many religions, and even so many languages, that if you honestly performed your engagements, it was totally impossible for a fatal combination to be formed against you. "Why did the Mohammedans and Mahrattas fail in India? The two principal causes of the downfall of those dynasties were: first, that they persecuted the people whom they had conquered on account of their religion; and secondly, that when their treasuries became empty they confiscated the land of the chief proprietors. England, on the contrary, always came in with a guarantee of their lands, and a solemn engagement not to tamper with their religion." It is not difficult to see that these remarks were levelled against the policy of Lord Dalhousie, and they were made also to tell against that of Lord Canning. The forcible destruction of native authority in India, the disturbance of the settlement of property, and the tampering with the religion of the people, were, said he, the causes to which directly, or indirectly, all our difficulties were to be traced.

But his opponents might have answered, the suppression of those robber chiefs who, by their tyrannical exactions, kept the population of the country in a state of misery, and prevented any regular form of government,—the introduction of a system of land laws, and of succession designed to put an end to the condition of slavery in which the wretched ryots and the agricultural labourers among the Hindoos had been reduced,—and the abolition of the suttee, of dacoitry, and of the barbarous inflictions of a debasing superstition which had become indistinguishable from public crimes,—were the cause of the difficulties of a government which could not have continued to exist unless these things had been firmly and emphatically dealt with. The truth seems to have been that, as Disraeli afterwards indicated, there was not a sufficient impression of imperial good faith among the Hindoos. There was enough of high-handed interference: too much of a half-missionary and half-military method of converting the natives; and by no means enough regard to implied contracts with the dethroned princes, and with those who could prove, even without undue recourse to the Hindoo law of inheritance of landed property, that they were entitled to considerable indemnities or to large pensions which had either been withheld, reduced, or converted into small annuities. It would perhaps have been exceedingly difficult for Disraeli to point out how the government of India could have been upheld had the policy of non-intervention and of entire unintrusion been adopted, but he had a course to recommend. It was this: "You ought at once, whether you receive news of success or of defeat, to tell the people of India that the relations between them and their real ruler

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and sovereign Queen Victoria shall be drawn nearer. You must act on the opinion of India on that subject immediately, and you can only act upon the opinions of Eastern natives through their imaginations. You ought to have a royal commission sent by the queen from this country to India immediately to inquire into the grievances of the various classes of that population. You ought to issue a royal proclamation to the people of India declaring that the Queen of England is not a sovereign who will countenance the violation of treaties—that the Queen of England is not a sovereign who will disturb the settlement of property—that the Queen of England is a sovereign who will respect their laws, their usages, their customs, and above all their religion. Do this, and do it not in a corner, but in a mode and manner which will attract universal attention and excite the general hope of Hindostan, and you will do as much as all your fleets and armies can achieve."

Disraeli had some notion,—which he afterwards developed into the proposition that England's empire was oriental—that we could establish an imperial rule in India on a basis of condescending conciliation, but it would have been difficult to point out how this was to be accomplished, unless the way were to be paved for it by administrative changes similar to those which had already been effected and which he opposed and condemned.

Cobden, on the other hand, was of opinion that we should never really govern India in any true or constitutional sense—that we had "attempted an impossibility in giving ourselves to the task of governing one hundred millions of Asiatics." His reasons for this belief were characteristic. "If the plan were practicable at the great cost and risk that we *now* see to be inseparable from it," he wrote to Mr. Ashworth, "what advantage can it confer on ourselves? We all know the motive which took the East India Company to Asia—monopoly; not merely as towards foreigners, but against the rest of their own countrymen. But now that the trade of Hindostan is thrown open to all the world on equal terms, what exclusive advantage can we derive, to compensate for all the trouble, cost, and risk of ruling over such a people?—a people which has shown itself, after a century of contact with us, to be capable of crimes which would revolt any savage tribe of whom we read in Dr. Livingstone's narrative, and which had never seen a Christian or European till he penetrated among them. . . . I can't even co-operate with those who seek to 'reform' India, for I have no faith in the power of England to govern that country at all permanently, and though I should like to see the Company abolished—because that is a screen between the English nation and a full sight of its awful responsibilities—yet I do not believe in the possibility of the crown governing India under the control of parliament. If the House of Commons were to renounce all responsibility for domestic legislation, and give itself exclusively to the task of governing one hundred millions of Asiatics, it would fail. Hindostan must be ruled by those who live on that side of the globe. Its people will prefer to be ruled badly—*according to our notions*—by its own colour, kith, and kin, than to submit to the humiliation of being better governed by a succession of transient intruders from the antipodes." These opinions, however, as Cobden acknowledged, were not adapted for the practical work of the day. "What is to be done now? Put down the military revolt in justice to the peaceable population, who are at the mercy of the armed mutineers. It is our duty to do so. We can do it, and I have no doubt it will be done. But then comes our difficulty. With the experience of the present year we can never trust a native force with arms again with the feelings of security which we formerly indulged. . . . Yet we cannot possibly administer the affairs of that country without a native force, and we are now actually raising an army of Sikhs, the most warlike of our subjects in all Asia, whom we disarmed when we took possession of the country, and of whom Lord Dalhousie said in a letter not ten years ago, that every man was against us." Speaking of the horrible massacres and the fiendish ferocity of the Sepoys, Cobden said in a letter to Mr. Bright, "It is clear that they (the mutineers) cannot have been inspired

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with either love or respect by what they have seen of the English. There must be a fierce spirit of resentment, not unmixed with contempt for the ruling class, pervading the native mind. From the moment that I had satisfied myself that a feeling of alienation was constantly *increasing* with both the natives and the English (we had some striking evidence to this effect before our committee in 1853), I made up my mind that it must end in trouble sooner or later. It is impossible that a people can permanently be used for their own obvious and conscious degradation. The entire system of our Indian rule is that the natives will be the willing instruments of their own humiliation. Nay, so confident are we in this faith, that we offer them the light of Christianity and a free press, and still believe that they will not have wit enough to measure their rights by our own standard." It may be mentioned that as a matter of policy, and necessary policy, Lord Canning had placed restrictions on the press in India when he found it was used for spreading sedition, and he had also refused to countenance the formation of armed volunteer corps, since he mistrusted either the intention of those who had stimulated the movement, or the use that might be made of such a distribution of arms at the very time when it was becoming necessary to deprive the natives of their weapons and to disband their regiments. In these proceedings he was blamed, almost at the same time that he was also accused of undue leniency and "clemency," because he refused to become a party to the panic which would have resulted in punishing the atrocities of the Sepoys with atrocious reprisals. Doubtless Lord Canning, like his predecessor, had masterful and imperious views of the government of India; but Mr. Disraeli would have been puzzled to point out how to rule otherwise, and Mr. Cobden himself would have admitted that if we could rule at all, it must be by strong and definite government, though not by degrading and oppressing the hundred million of Asiatics. The position which was assumed by Lord Dalhousie and his successor did not necessarily involve the temper displayed by many of the subordinate civil and military officers. Cobden declared that even the humiliation to which the native Hindoos were subjected might have been borne if the English with whom they came in contact had displayed exalted virtues and high intellectual powers. This, of course, was easy to say, but as a matter of possible government it would have been difficult to procure a large number of men of such qualities to fill the offices of subalterns in India or to enter the civil service there.

Exalted virtues and high intellectual powers are not common commodities, or they would of course cease to be conspicuous, and those who possessed them were scarcely less wanted in England than in India. But Cobden was not beside the mark when he spoke of a low morale and an absence of mental energy having been the most conspicuous faults of the British officers, so that the business of the regiments had now fallen into the hands of the natives. He saw too, what Klapka, the Hungarian general saw, and spoke of with anxious deprecation, that from the wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter and execution of the Sepoys, of whom 100,000 were said to be in the mutiny, there was a danger that the assassinations and massacres on one side, and the retributive carnage on the other, would perpetuate and deepen the feeling of alienation and promote a horrible ferocity and bloodthirst on both sides. Klapka pointed out that large numbers of the Sepoy soldiers had probably joined in the mutiny without any personal sympathy with it, but only from the habit of following their own officers and acting on their orders *en masse*. Cobden said, "Had it been a mutiny of a company or a regiment, it would have been of doubtful policy to hang or blow from the guns all the *privates* concerned. But when an entire army of 100,000 men have planted the standard of revolt it is no longer a mutiny, but a rebellion and civil war. To attempt to hang all that fall into our power can only lead to reprisals and wholesale carnage on both sides."

We may not unprofitably note these various opinions, since they at all events illustrate the declaration that the government of India must practically be carried on in that country itself.

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This declaration was common to critics on both sides, and their respective objections at least went to show that it was well founded.

But whatever may have been the force and importance of these representations—and that they deserved deep attention was attested by the events preceding and following the mutiny, as well as by the ferocious counsel of people here who would have slain, tortured, and if possible have exterminated the rebellious Sepoys—the mutiny had been suppressed. The recapture of Delhi was practically the end of the insurrection.

The King of Delhi—the miserable survivor of the house of which he had been the chief, and the last of the line of Great Moguls—was tried and sentenced to exile, or to what in a less distinguished criminal would have been transportation. But transportation was at an end. The colonists at the Cape of Good Hope would not receive even an ex-sovereign who had become a convict, and he was subsequently taken to Rangoon. Nana Sahib—the arch-fiend of the massacre—had disappeared, nobody knew how or whither. It was years afterwards that a rumour came from India of the capture of the chief of Bithoor, but it was a case of mistaken identity. The fate of the monster of Cawnpore was never discovered. His lieutenant, Tantia Topee, held out for some time, but after having been repeatedly defeated, was taken prisoner, tried, and hanged. One of the boldest, most successful—or rather least unsuccessful—and most enduring of the rebel leaders was the Rhanee of Jhansi, whose territory had been annexed by Lord Dalhousie, and who, regarding the insurrection as a national rebellion, took the field with Nana Sahib. For months after the fall of Delhi she carried on her opposition, leading her troops and taking part in the fighting in the uniform of a cavalry officer. She opposed her squadrons to the forces of Sir Hugh Rose, and struggled for the possession of Gwalior, and was killed on the field after leading repeated charges. Her body was afterwards found, scarred with wounds. "The best man upon the side of the enemy," said Sir Hugh Rose, "was the woman found dead—the Rhanee of Jhansi."

The mutiny had lasted just twelve months before the capital of Oudh was recovered, and after repeated battles the country was restored to something like order, and the rebellion was finally put down. It was in the month of June, 1858, that Sir H. Rose issued a general order in which he said: "Soldiers, you have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns. You have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles, and over rivers; you have captured the strongest forts, and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met them; you have restored extensive districts to the government, and peace and order now reign where before, for twelve months, were tyranny and rebellion; you have done all this and you have never had a check. I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched I told you that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail; and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my orders. In hardships, in temptations, and in dangers you have obeyed your general, and you have never left your ranks. You have fought against the strong and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless, of foes as well as friends; I have seen you in the ardour of combat preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and this it is that has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes without doubt that you will find no place to equal the glory of your arms." A telling though rather inflated declaration this, and one which serves to indicate what had been the course and the effect of the struggle. It was not till the 20th of December, 1858, that Sir Colin Campbell, who had been elevated to the peerage under the title of Lord Clyde, announced to the governor-general: "The campaign is at an end, there being no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the province of Oudh. . . . The last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents have

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been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepaul and her majesty's empire of Hindostan."

The relief to public anxiety was very great, and honours were not grudged to men who had been prominent in suppressing the revolt, as well as to those who by their sagacity of administration had prevented it from reaching still further, to proportions that might have justified Mr. Cobden's predictions. Foremost among the latter was Sir John Lawrence, who as a boy had carried off the chief prizes at Haileybury College, and in 1827 had entered the civil service of the East India Company. His experiences in the North-west Provinces had taught him what was the condition of the peasantry of India, and had enabled him satisfactorily to complete the settlement of the province of the Punjaub. He had been with Sir Henry Hardinge as a political officer during the Sikh war, and had afterwards been appointed commissioner of the ceded territory within the Sutlej, where his administrative abilities were so remarkable that he not only preserved tranquillity but recruited a brigade of troops from among the peasants, who, when the second Sikh war broke out, remained firm and opposed their own countrymen.

We have seen that he became commissioner of the Punjaub after its annexation. There he had protected the more peaceful inhabitants from the dominant military power of the Sikhs, had checked the exactions of the disbanded soldiery, who tried to carry out the old system of exacting pay from the Mohammedans. All was tyranny and oppression, and Lawrence stood between the tyrants and their victims. He abolished the barbarous Sikh laws, and introduced the "Indian criminal code." The country was surveyed for revenue purposes, and the land settled by what was believed by him to be an equitable adjustment. A local —tective police force was organized, some of 'd disbanded soldiers being enlisted in ; and a Punjaub irregular force was uprising five regiments of caval- and six of Punjaub infantry, d five batteries of artillery, all practically under the immediate orders of the Board of Administration. Lawrence, who possessed a strong constitution and an indomitable energy, visited every part of the territory, which covered an area of above 50,000 square miles. The border tribes, who under the Sikh rulers would descend from the mountains and ravage the land between the Suliman range and the Indus, were permitted to trade with us, but their incursions were prevented and repelled by force. The head men were invited to conferences with the chief commissioner, and invited to settle on our districts. The border-land became peaceful, and the highway of the frontier was subsequently safe. The disarmament of the Punjaub was carried out successfully, notwithstanding the lawless condition of its inhabitants.

On the outbreak of the mutiny all eyes turned to the Punjaub. It would have been a matter for small surprise had the Sikhs taken advantage of the mutiny to rise against us. The crisis called forth the magnificent administrative abilities of Sir John Lawrence. He knew his subordinates were, like himself, men of iron, and he trusted them. Right loyally did they stand by their chief. The Sikhs likewise knew and trusted him. Chieftain after chieftain personally tendered his allegiance and offered the use of his own contingent. The offers were accepted, and names which now have become familiar as furnishing detachments during the Afghan war then first came into note as swarming down to our aid at Delhi. The Punjaub irregular force was doubled; its gallant commander, Neville Chamberlain, hurried down to the army in the field; and Lawrence set his whole energies to work to draw from the military population of the Punjaub an army which should subdue the faithless Sepoys from Oudh. He proved himself a true general, for he detected generalship in others, and he shunned no responsibility. Reference to higher authority was impossible, and though he had no more authority to grant commissions than he had to create bishoprics, he deemed the emergency so great as to admit of any stretch of authority. Major Nicholson, the district officer of Bunnoo, was made a

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brigadier-general, and as such took precedence of men who held her majesty's commissions as colonels. It speaks well for the discipline of the army that such a step passed unchallenged, but it speaks volumes for the character of Lawrence that he dared to undertake it. By holding the Punjaub in his iron grip, by diverting every available soldier to Delhi, by mercilessly stamping out rebellion wherever it reared its demon head, Sir John Lawrence enabled Archdale Wilson to storm the capital of the Great Mogul before a single reinforcement reached him from England. With the fall of Delhi the hopes of the mutineers were extinguished. Our power in India was reasserted, and the pacification, not the subjugation, of the country became the task for its rulers. For his share in suppressing the mutiny Sir John Lawrence was created a baronet and a Grand Cross of the Bath. But forty continuous years of active service fully entitled the saviour of India to a rest, and at the close of the mutiny he gladly handed over the Punjaub to one of his most trusted lieutenants and retired to his well-earned pension in England. He was immediately elected to the Indian council at home, where his large and varied experience, his cool judgment, and firmness of purpose were soon felt.[1]

The grave had closed over Havelock, whose rewards and title had come too late. Both houses of parliament (7th of December, 1857) unanimously voted him a pension of £1000 a year, after fitting tribute had been paid to his services in eloquent language by the Earl of Derby and Earl Granville in one house, and by Lord Palmerston in the other. It had also been announced that he was to be created a baronet and K.C.B. One of the first acts of parliament, when it reassembled in February, was to pass a bill settling an annuity of £1000 upon his widow and on his eldest son, Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, himself a distinguished officer, on whom the baronetcy had descended which had not been enjoyed by his father. No sooner was General Havelock's death known than a warm expression of sympathy from the queen and Prince Albert was conveyed to his widow through the Duke of Cambridge. In replying to the duke, Lady Havelock said: "In the loneliness of my present position I cannot help wishing that every woman, thus bereaved, might have such a son (I might say sons) to comfort and heal her broken heart."

In the same letter (24th December, 1857) in which Lord Canning announced the death of General Havelock to the queen, he spoke of the loss of another very distinguished officer, Brigadier-general Neill. "They were," writes Lord Canning, "very different men, however. The first [Havelock] was quite of the old school—severe and precise with his men, and very cautious in his movements and plans, but in action bold as well as skilful. The second very open and impetuous, but full of resources; and to his soldiers as kind and thoughtful of their comfort as if they had been his children."

Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., commander of the naval brigade, the third and much-loved son of Sir Robert Peel, was another officer whose loss was greatly deplored. He died of small-pox at Cawnpore in April, 1858, after having taken a brave and distinguished part in the worst time of the campaign.

In a gazette extraordinary Lord Canning thus spoke of this distinguished man: "The loss of his daring but thoughtful courage, joined with eminent abilities, is a very heavy one to the country; but it is not more to be deplored than the loss of the influence which his earnest character, admirable temper, and gentle, kindly bearing exercised over all within his reach; an influence which was exerted unceasingly for the public good, and of which the governor-general believes that it may with truth be said there is not a man of any rank or profession who, having been associated with Sir William Peel in these times of anxiety and danger, has not felt and acknowledged it."

Colonel Inglis, the brave defender of Lucknow, was specially mentioned by the queen when her majesty was referring to the necessity of immediately promoting officers for able and distinguished services. Nor were some of our native allies forgotten.

[1] *Times*. Obituary notice of Lord Lawrence, June 28, 1879.

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Lord Canning had to bide his time before votes of laudation and promises of grateful recognition reached him amidst the denunciations which were levelled against him, and were presently to be repeated on entirely opposite grounds. The demand for indiscriminate slaughter and severity, which in England had been stimulated by a feeling of indignation and revenge, had been upheld in Calcutta because of the panic not unnaturally produced by reports of the atrocities of the mutineers. Many of the residents in Calcutta and the Presidency of Bengal, finding that the governor refused to adopt a policy which would have carried persecution and injustice to the unoffending masses of the native population, had sent a petition to the queen asking for Lord Canning's recall, as he had not adopted measures to punish in sufficient numbers or with due severity those native races who could be influenced by power and fear alone. It was complained of both by the petitioners and by some violent writers in the press, that the whole of India had not been placed under martial law after the mutiny broke out, while the instructions which were issued by Lord Canning to the various civil authorities for their guidance in putting down insurrection in the disturbed districts were satirically called "clemency orders."

As we have seen the rebellion was virtually at an end by the last part of December, 1857, but there remained all kinds of prognostications, and when resolutions were proposed by the government in both houses, thanking the civil and military officers in India for the energy and ability displayed by them in suppressing the mutiny, and Lord Canning was first mentioned, Lord Derby in the Lords and Mr. Disraeli in the Commons proposed to exclude his name from the vote, on the ground that it would be premature to give him the thanks of parliament until the exceptions which had been taken to his policy by the Calcutta petition and in other quarters had been discussed and disproved. Not only would the exclusion of Lord Canning's name from a vote of thanks which did not touch questions of general policy, but only the result of the recent operations, have been equivalent to a vote of censure, but the governor-general had already in a despatch (to the court of directors of the East India Company), which had been made public, vindicated his policy and explained its necessity. In a letter to Lord Granville at the same time his position with regard to the whole question was clearly defined. He said:

"I could write a chapter in deprecation of anything being done or said in parliament by the government, which shall tend to throw cold water upon the policy that has been pursued towards the natives. Look at a map—(never think of Indian matters without looking at a map, and without bringing your mind to take in the scale of the map and the size of the country),—look at a map. With all the reinforcements you have sent (all the Bengal ones are arrived, except 800 men), Bengal is without a single European soldier more than we had at the beginning of the mutiny, Calcutta alone excepted, which is stronger. Twenty-three thousand men have moved *through* Bengal, and in Bengal we are still dependent (mainly) upon the good-will, I can't say affection, and interest, well understood by themselves, of the natives.

"Suppose (not an impossibility, although I hope not a likelihood)—suppose that hostilities train on, and that we do not make our way with Oudh and other disturbed places, that our strength becomes again a subject of doubt—will it be the part of a wise government to keep such a population as that of the three great provinces in a loyal frame of temper? Can you do so if you proscribe and scout as untrustworthy whole classes? . . .

"For God's sake raise your voice and stop this. As long as I have breath in my body I will pursue no other policy than that I have been following: not only for the reason of expediency and policy above stated, but because it is immutably just. I will not govern in anger. Justice, and that as stern and inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and undiscriminating act or word to proceed from the government of India as long as I am responsible for it. . . .

"I don't care two straws for the abuse of

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the papers, British or Indian. I am for ever wondering at myself for not doing so, but it really is the fact. Partly from want of time to care, partly because an enormous task is before me, and all other cares look small. . . .

"I don't want you to do more than defend me against unfair or mistaken attacks. But do take up and assert boldly, that whilst we are prepared, as the first duty of all, to strike down resistance without mercy, wherever it shows itself, we acknowledge that, resistance over, deliberate justice, and calm, patient reason are to resume their sway; that we are not going, either in anger or from indolence, to punish wholesale; whether by wholesale hangings or burnings, or by the less violent, but not one bit less offensive course, of refusing trust and countenance, and favour, and honour to any man *because* he is of a class or a creed. Do this, and get others to do it, and you will serve India more than you would believe.

"Had not the 'clemency' question been taken up as it has been taken up in England, I really believe that the cry would never have been heard again, even in Calcutta. . . . I have, however, great faith in parliament on this question, though by no means on all others concerning India."

Of course the vote of thanks was carried, and supported not only by the government but by independent members who knew what the work in India had been, and spoke in Lord Canning's honour.

One of the most determined opponents of the governor-general was Lord Ellenborough, who afterwards contrived to act with so much pompous indiscretion in sending a secret despatch to India, counteracting the proclamation made by Lord Canning with regard to the landowners in Oudh who had taken part in the rebellion, that the Derby ministry which had then come into office was seriously embarrassed, though Mr. Disraeli completely endorsed the despatch and upheld its representations. Lord Canning's proclamation, doubtless, was liable to be interpreted into an intention to adopt a system of confiscation of the whole land of Oudh; since, with the exception of six loyal proprietors in the province, the chiefs and landowners were to surrender to the chief commissioner, when their lives would be spared provided that their hands were unstained by English blood murderously shed. As regarded any further indulgence to be granted to them, and the conditions in which they were thereafter to be placed, they must throw themselves on the mercy of the British government. Of course this proclamation was to be read by the light of Lord Canning's general policy; but he had no right to leave that interpretation of it to be taken for granted. The commissioner himself, Sir James Outram, was staggered by it; for there were scarcely a dozen landlords in the province who had not borne arms against the government, and to confiscate their property would be to turn them into bandits, and to make a long and exhausting guerrilla war necessary for their extirpation. Lord Canning called this in question; but he was ready to insert in the proclamation a clause granting a liberal indulgence to those who came promptly forward to aid the restoration of order, and generously regarding the claims which they might acquire to a restitution of their former rights. The question was, what should be done with the province whence the mutiny sprang? It had been annexed so recently before the rebellion that it could not be treated as the theatre of an insurrection against long-settled rule. What was necessary was that it should be regarded as a province held under the direct government of the British, and there must be enough of demand against the insurgents both to mark the mutiny as a revolt which must be met by punishment, and to ensure some material guarantee against its recurrence. The proclamation did not say all this. It left a good deal of authority—an almost despotic authority—in the hands of the governor-general, who was, however, not likely to exercise it. Whatever it may have been, a man like Lord Canning did not require or deserve to be rebuked in absurdly pompous language which might have been used to a subordinate by a civic official with a turn for grandiose reproof. Mr. Bright, who was on the side of the Derby government in this matter, because he objected to what he

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conceived had been undue severity exercised against the Sepoys, and suspected that unjust exactions might continue, was obliged to excuse the tone of Lord Ellenborough's communication on the ground that the chiefs of the East India Company had been accustomed to send despatches of a hectoring character addressed to subordinates who were entirely dependent on the board. Through the secret committee of the court of directors the despatch had been sent to Lord Canning. The matter was taken up by Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, by Mr. Cardwell in the House of Commons, and by the queen, who thought that to send such a despatch at such a juncture was injurious to the state, and that it should first have been submitted to her, as all such despatches were, in connection with the foreign office. Worse than the sending of the despatch, however, though *that* would of course be made known all over India, was the fact that Lord Ellenborough placed himself in correspondence with some of the principal native chiefs, explaining his policy.

It afterwards transpired that Lord Canning had written a letter to Mr. Vernon Smith, who had been Lord Ellenborough's predecessor at the Board of Control, stating that the proclamation about to be issued would need some further explanation which the pressure of immediate duties compelled the governor-general to defer. Mr. Vernon Smith was in Ireland when that letter arrived, and it did not reach him in time to prevent Lord Ellenborough's despatch from being sent. Probably it would have made little difference, for the pompous nobleman seemed disinclined to listen to a private letter to the same effect which Lord Granville had received from Lord Canning. The opportunity of snubbing a successor was too good to be lost. But the explanation that Mr. Vernon Smith had not been able to give the information which might have rendered the secret despatch unnecessary, had the effect of letting the government escape and baffling the authors of the motion for censure. Mr. Disraeli, speaking at Slough a few days afterwards, triumphed exceedingly at what he considered had been the utter failure of his opponents. He said "it was like a convulsion of nature rather than any ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calabria or Peru. There was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder. No one knew whether it came from the top or the bottom of the house. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground, and then a village disappeared; then a tall tower toppled down; and the whole of the opposition benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy."

The queen, however, had been on the side of "Clemency Canning" in his protests against a policy of extermination, and she now felt deeply the injustice of counteracting his proclamation before any intelligence had been received of the conditions with which he would have to contend. The government of Lord Derby gained little by Lord Ellenborough; and Lord Canning's proclamation worked its way in the direction which he had intended—that of limiting the power of the landowners, not by creating a new proprietary right on the part of the government, but by defining and enforcing the right which already existed of making such settlements of land as would control the native landholders and protect the occupiers and cultivators of the soil. This was the system adopted in Oudh, where nearly all the large landholders almost immediately tendered their allegiance under conditions purposely made conciliatory and advantageous. The policy of Canning was effective and successful, but he did not live to see the full result of it. He returned to England in 1862, when he was succeeded by Lord Elgin, and had scarcely received the acknowledgments which were due to him for his prompt and sagacious administration, under circumstances of extreme peril and anxiety, when the results of his cares and labours were to be seen in his failing health. In a few months he died. But he had received the high honour of having been named the first viceroy of India under the entirely new conditions which had by that time been established.

For a considerable time before the Indian mutiny had emphasized the need for an entire

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revision of the mode of government in that country, there had been serious thoughts of still further diminishing the power of the East India Company. Before the debate of the 27th of July, 1857, in which Mr. Disraeli had urged the policy of "drawing closer the relations between the population of India and the sovereign, Queen Victoria," Lord Palmerston had arranged with the cabinet to bring forward a measure on the subject. In the middle of October he wrote to the queen that "the inconvenience and difficulty of administering the government of a vast country on the other side of the globe by means of two cabinets, the one responsible to the crown and parliament, the other only responsible to the holders of India stock, meeting for a few hours three or four times in a year, had been shown by the events of this year to be no longer tolerable." He proposed, therefore, to prepare for the next session of parliament a measure for abolishing the existing state of things, and for placing the government of India for the future under the exclusive control of the crown and parliament, 'like any other part of her majesty's dominions.' "There would, of course," he added, "be much opposition on the part of all persons connected with the India Company, and the opposition in parliament might take up their cause; the matter, therefore, will require to be well weighed before any recommendation on the subject can be submitted for your majesty's consideration."

We have seen that by the act of 1853 the patronage of the civil service was taken from the Company, and that a system of competitive examinations was established. The last speech ever made by Macaulay in the House of Commons had been in support of this principle, and many people at that time thought the proposed changes were sufficient. Lord Ellenborough a year before, had, in his evidence before the select committee to which Cobden alluded, recommended that the government should be transferred from the Company to the crown. It was this change which was contemplated by Lord Palmerston, who, early in 1858, brought in a bill by which a council, of a president and eight members, was to be nominated by the government, and there was much probability of its being well received by the house, when the Palmerston government was suddenly defeated on the "Conspiracy Bill," as we shall presently note, and Lord Derby came into power. One of the first acts of the new government was to bring in an India Bill of their own, which came to be called "India Bill No. 2," as the former was called "India Bill No. 1." It proved to be a *fiasco*. Nobody supported it. It was thought that Lord Ellenborough had constructed it, and had given rein to the theatrical illusions by which he had for years been influenced with regard to a court and government in India. There was to be a secretary of state with a council of eighteen members, nine of whom were to be nominated by the crown, and nine to be elected in an elaborate and fantastic fashion. Four out of the nine must have served her majesty in India for not less than ten years, or must have been engaged in trade in India for fifteen years; and they were to be elected by the votes of those in this country who had served the queen or the government of India for ten years; or by proprietors of capital stock in Indian railways or public works to the amount of £2000, or the proprietors of India stock to the amount of £1000. The other five members must have been engaged in commerce in India, or in exporting manufactured goods to that country for five years, or must have resided there for ten years, and were to be elected by the parliamentary constituencies of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast. The monstrous absurdities of such a bill were too obvious to need much pointing out. Its provisions were so devised that any incompetent man who had been long enough engaged in some petty traffic with India could be returned on the council, while men of real knowledge and ability were excluded. Before it went up for the second reading it was withdrawn, and Lord John Russell's proposal that a government measure should be framed in accordance with resolutions come to in a committee of the whole house, was agreed to. By these means the difficulty was surmounted, and on the 29th

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of July, 1858, an "Act for the Better Government of India" was finally passed, providing that all the territories under the government of the East India Company should be vested in her majesty, and all the powers exercised by the Company should be in her name. One of her majesty's principal secretaries of state was to have the power previously exercised by the Company or by the Board of Control. The council to consist of fifteen members, of whom seven were to be elected from the then existing court of directors by that body, and eight were to be nominated by the crown. Vacancies among the nominated members were to be filled up by the crown,—and among the elected, by the remaining members of the council for a certain time, but afterwards by the secretary of state for India. The principle of competitive examinations for the civil service was extended, and its application improved. The military and naval forces of the Company were to be transferred to the crown. Except for opposing actual invasion, the Indian revenues were not, without the consent of both houses of parliament, to be applied to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of her majesty's Indian possessions; and by another clause, whenever an order was sent to India directing the commencement of hostilities, the fact should be communicated to parliament within three months if parliament were then sitting, or if not, within one month after its next meeting. The viceroy and governor-general was to be the supreme authority in India, and was to be assisted by a council, the nine provinces being each under its own independent civil government, but all being subordinate to the viceregal authority. Lord Canning was named viceroy, and Lord Stanley, the son of the Earl of Derby, became secretary of state for India. The queen was proclaimed throughout India in November, 1858. On the 1st of September the last court of the East India proprietors, as governors of India, had been held, and "John Company," as the natives in old time called it, had ceased to exist as a ruling power or authority.

But we must take a rapid retrospect of other events which had occurred during 1857, and had resulted in the return of a Conservative government in 1858. The restoration of Lord Palmerston to power after the dissolution of parliament on the question of hostilities in China was an emphatic protest by the nation in favour of that "spirited policy" which he claimed to represent, but provision had to be made for maintaining some decisive action at Canton even before the result of the general elections were known. The question was, Where was the man, who at a juncture so critical, in face of an adverse vote of the House of Commons, on the chance of that vote being rescinded by the country, could be trusted with so delicate a misson; who could be relied on to conduct such an expedition against a foe alike stubborn and weak,—to go far enough, and yet not too far—to carry his point by diplomatic skill and force of character, and with the least possible infringement of the law of humanity;—a man with the ability and resolution to ensure success, and the native strength that can afford to be merciful? After "anxious deliberation" the choice fell upon Lord Elgin. Towards the end of April he left England on his mission.

Except for this trouble in China the session seemed likely to be a tolerably smooth, though an active one. The birth of the Princess Beatrice at Buckingham Palace on the 14th of April was a domestic event of importance to the royal family, and to all those who rejoiced loyally in the rapid recovery of the queen. Among the many letters of congratulation came a cordial message from the Emperor of the French, who took this opportunity of deprecating any opinions existing in England, that the approaching visit of the Russian Grand Duke Constantine to Paris meant more than an exchange of civilities. "I am grieved," wrote the emperor, "to see that the English wish to attach a significance to this visit which does not belong to it. We are gratified here by the good-will and courtesy shown to us by Russia, but this in no way weakens the interests and the feelings by which we are bound to England." It seemed obvious to Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon that the sudden friendly advances of Russia were prelim-

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inary to a scheme for undermining the Anglo-French alliance, to which it should be remembered a party in France itself continued to be jealously opposed. Prince Albert in an able letter replied to the emperor, showing the reasons which made an alliance with the French so desirable and so acceptable to the people, since it was based upon the two nations being on the same level of civilization,—upon a mutual desire to develop as much as possible science, art, letters, commerce,—upon our close vicinity to each other, which makes a good understanding necessary,—and upon the wellbeing and the happiness of the two countries, which are bound so intimately together.

If, on the other hand, they asked what might be the basis of an alliance with Russia, they found that there was a complete dissimilitude of views, of feelings, and of ideas; that in the eyes of Russia, western civilization, far from having any title to be encouraged, was the enemy that ought above all others to be resisted; and that there existed between the two such an absence of mutual interests that, in truth, if the one ceased to exist, the other would scarcely be affected. Thus they concluded that if, notwithstanding these fundamental differences, the Russian alliance was desired or sought for, this alliance could have for its basis nothing but an external and purely political motive. Immediately all Europe set to work to reflect, and asked itself what this motive was; confidence was shaken; England naturally was the first to take the alarm, which was soon shared equally by the rest of the world.

"Your majesty will find the Grand Duke Constantine a very agreeable man," continued the prince. "It is some years since I saw him, but he then struck me as able, intelligent, thoroughly educated, and full of zeal and ardour in everything which he undertakes. Above all, what left the deepest impression on me was his eminently and exclusively Russian characteristics. For him *Holy Russia*, its beliefs, its prejudices, its errors and its faults, the paganism of its religion, the barbarism of its populations, are objects of the most profound veneration. He adores them with a blind and ardent faith. In a word, he appeared to me, in all the conversations which I had with him, so profoundly Oriental in all his views and aspirations, that it struck me as impossible to make him comprehend the ideas and the sentiments of the West, or to get him to appreciate and still less to like them. I should be curious to learn if he is still the same man I found him, and what impression he makes upon your majesty."

This letter Lord Clarendon thought ought to put Napoleon III. on his guard against "that extremely well-veneered gentleman the Grand Duke Constantine;" but the emperor replied that he was only meeting civilities by civilities, and what was the use of one who was following a simple straightforward course, disquieting himself about the mistakes of public opinion, which he could not prevent if they existed, though his conduct gave no kind of warrant for them?

The allied forces of the French and English were soon engaged at Canton, Baron Gros being the representative of France as Lord Elgin was of this country. Lord Palmerston, before the dissolution in the spring of 1857, had intimated that, notwithstanding the adverse vote by Mr. Cobden's motion, the policy of the government would be maintained by acting in conformity with negotiations which had been going on in concert with France, and he hoped, with the United States, to improve the commercial relations with China, by negotiations with the court of Pekin. These negotiations, however, came to nothing till they were emphasized by gunpowder. The Indian mutiny and the Chinese hostilities practically came to an end at about the same time. On the 29th of December Canton was taken by the combined forces of France and England. From the ships lying on the side of the city, and from the Dutch Folly, a fort in the centre of the river, the defences of the place had been destroyed by shot and shell while the men were being disembarked. By nightfall on the 28th 5700 men were landed with a large quantity of stores; a fort from which the Chinese retreated was occupied. Next morning the gunboats enfiladed the city wall until the signal was given for an escalade.

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After a reconnaissance scaling ladders were fixed. A temple had been seized close to one of the gates. The French went first to the foot of the walls, and the word being given the English sailors and soldiers rushed towards the scaling ladders; the blue jackets scrambled up and planted the British flag on the battlements. Division after division clambered swiftly up the ladders, formed at the top, and swept northward along the rampart. In less than half an hour the eastern half of Canton, from the north to the south gates, was in our hands, fifteen of our men having been killed and 113 wounded. In six days Commissioner Yeh was captured and taken on board the *Inflexible*, where, in fear, he emphatically denied his own identity. Probably he thought he would be hanged, till Mr. Parkes reassured him of his personal safety, and he then summoned all his dignity and acted with almost ludicrous arrogance. He refused to leave his chair, laughed at the idea of being removed or of giving up his official seals, and announced that he would sit there to receive the men Elgin and Gros. In his packages, among other papers, were found the original ratification of the treaties with England, France, and America. He was afterwards taken as a prisoner to Calcutta, and died in less than four months afterward. Lord Elgin had not sufficient force to hold the city and control the population, but the former governor, Pihkwei, was reinstated and undertook to carry on affairs under agreed conditions until peace was concluded.

The position of Napoleon III. was one which involved great uneasiness. The reforms which it had been hoped might have been accepted and inaugurated by the pope remained unfulfilled, and Rome was therefore still occupied by French troops at the very time that the emperor desired to withdraw them, and was anxious to show some sympathy with the Italian aspirations for liberty, in which he had himself borne a part in earlier days. Doubtless he had in his mind some scheme by which, for any aid that he could give to the cause of political freedom, by turning the French arms against the Austrian occupiers of Italian soil, he might seek compensation to France in the accession of territory; but the plans, which afterwards resulted in the annexation of Savoy and Nice, had probably not been quite matured. He doubtless anticipated that to such a scheme England might oppose strong remonstrance, and with England he was desirous to maintain the best possible alliance. In carrying out that desire, he had continually to count upon the ill-will of a section of politicians in Paris, among whom were some influential leaders, and with these it was believed that Walewski was in sympathy. For a time, during the close alliance of the Crimean war, their voices were silenced, but there was now something of reaction against the cordial international sentiments which had been sung in songs and spoken in public speeches, and the voices of the Anglophobists were again heard. In Italy the emperor was suspected. The patriots had been checked, and the cause of national freedom crippled by the French bayonets, by which Rome and the papal misgovernment were sustained. There were hands ready to be lifted against "the man of December" by so-called republicans who were not Frenchmen, and by assassins who called themselves patriots, and professed to be ready to become martyrs in the cause of Italy. These adverse conditions were complicated by the fact that England, and London in particular, continued to be the refuge of political suspects, and of those who had made their native cities too hot to hold them because of their political conspiracies. Surely few men knew this better than Napoleon III., but the knowledge was not reassuring, and it added to his difficulties by supplying the enemies of England in Paris with a potent argument against his continued loyalty to the alliance which he had determined to maintain.

The first attempt on the emperor's life was, it will be remembered, by an Italian, Pianori, who, on the 28th of April, 1855, came forward from the avenue near the corner of the Rue Balzac as though he were about to present a petition, and fired twice with a double-barrelled pistol as the emperor approached on horseback. Both shots missed, and the assas-

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sin was arrested and afterwards tried and executed. He was said to have been the agent of some of the lowest political refugees in London, and was an Italian escaped from prison at Genoa, where he had been sent after having been tried at Rome for a political assassination. The attempt of Bellemarre, who was a Frenchman and a lunatic, resulted only in the safe confinement of the prisoner, but frequent references were made to the knots of desperados believed to be always plotting in the purlieus of Leicester Square, and to the encouraging asylum which was provided there for avowed revolutionists and professed murderers.

But there were other influences at work which made the relations of the emperor more difficult. He had begun to play some secret game of which nobody could quite discern the intention, and probably it was only a tentative move in order that he might decide on a more determined policy. Not only was he beginning to return the civilities of Russia by the acceptance of a visit of the Grand Duke Constantine to Paris (there was nothing in that, for the queen had let it be understood that she was quite ready to receive the grand duke at Osborne, and it was said that he would visit Paris and London to obtain capital for Russian railways), but he was half holding out a hand to Austria, hinting that she might well occupy those Danubian Principalities, for the retention of which by the Ottoman Empire he had a few months before been willing to go to war.

The Emperor Napoleon had come to the conclusion that the best thing for the Principalities themselves was that they should be united under a foreign prince, who should admit the suzerainty of Turkey. Russia also advocated their union, with this difference, that it should be presided over by a native prince. This did not fall in with the views of the French emperor, who seems to have been sincerely anxious to make the Principalities strong as a barrier against Russia; whereas, with a native prince at the head of the state, he was well aware that Russia would be able to use her accustomed arts to gain a control over these provinces. Sardinia took the same view as France, and, had there been nothing to fear from Russia in the future, that view would doubtless have commended itself to most thoughtful politicians. It became evident, however, that the emperor had ceased to care about the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman government with respect to the Principalities. The question was being asked, What are his motives for approaching Austria, when not long ago he was nearly as ready to conclude an alliance between France, England, and Russia, leaving out Austria, as Russia had been to form one of Russia and France, with perhaps Prussia in the back-ground, leaving out England? That Napoleon III. hated Austria was well understood, and that he had some dreams of an extension of the French frontier, may have influenced him to try whether it could be done by a tacit understanding with the power that grasped so much of Italy, and might be persuaded to stretch out a hand for the Principalities. But the scheme was futile. England recognized the loyalty of Austria during the Crimean war, and would make no party against her. Nor was Austria anxious to intermeddle with the troublous question of the Danubian territory.

In January, 1858, the Queen and Prince Albert, with the royal household, were busily occupied with the betrothal of our Princess Royal with Prince Frederick William, eldest son of the Regent, Prince William (the present Emperor of Germany), who had taken the reins of the Prussian government during the mental aberration of the king, his brother. A dowry of £40,000 and an annuity of £4000 was settled by a parliamentary vote upon the princess, with great unanimity, and many expressions of respect and affection for the queen. The French emperor by that time had apparently turned from Austria and was inclining to Russia, and in Vienna marked anxiety was felt that France was at work in Italy and on the Danube to undermine the Austrian power. Meanwhile Russia became exceedingly civil to England. Among all his advisers M. de Persigny was the most outspoken and determined in warning Napoleon III. against doing

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anything to weaken the alliance with England, since all the sovereigns who were flattering or cajoling him for their own purposes looked down upon him as an adventurer, and had no belief in the stability of his throne or the duration of his dynasty; whereas the English, who never flattered or cajoled anybody, but who looked only to the interests of England, were attached to the French alliance and to the sovereign of France, because the peaceful relations with that country were of the utmost importance to England.

Amidst these conflicting elements the cordial personal relations of the emperor and empress with our royal family were maintained. The Prussian Prince Frederick William was here; the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, who was engaged to the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, daughter of King Leopold, was also on a visit; the christening of the infant Princess Beatrice was celebrated. At the lunch the archduke sat on one side of the queen, the Prussian prince on the other. "I hope," said Maximilian, "it is a good omen for the future that on this occasion England sits between Austria and Prussia." He was a lover of this country. The queen was delighted with him, and augured a happy union for her young cousin, the Princess Charlotte. Her majesty wrote to King Leopold, "He may and will do a great deal for Italy." Alas! we shall see on a future page how these bright anticipations were frustrated by the tragedy of Mexico.

Napoleon III. had also expressed to De Persigny an earnest desire to pay a visit to the queen, and this being made known by Lord Clarendon, it was appointed that the emperor and empress should arrive at Osborne, whither Prince Albert hurried home from the marriage at Brussels to receive the imperial guests on the 6th of August, when the *Reine Hortense* brought them for the desired interview. The visit was semi-political.

The future constitution of the Principalities had been left by the Treaty of Paris to be settled by the treaty powers, after receiving the report of a special commission appointed "to investigate their present state, and to propose bases for their future organization." The administration guaranteed by the Porte to these provinces under the treaty was to be "independent and national," with "full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation." The Porte also undertook to convoke immediately in each of the two provinces, a divan, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society, who were to be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definite organization of the Principalities.

This was all very well, and perhaps offered a good basis, but now the Emperor of the French was sidling towards Russia. The emperor complained that the elections of the divan had been tampered with, not only by the Turkish government but by Austria, and that of Moldavia had resulted in the election of members known to be unfavourable to the union of the two Principalities.

The visit to Osborne was a long palaver in which the emperor and Prince Albert, Lord Palmerston, Lord Clarendon, the Duc de Persigny, and M. Walewski, took part. It embraced much, including the notions of the emperor about a revision of the treaty of 1815 which would have involved a partial redistribution of Europe. It went so far as a discussion of a distribution of Africa, to which one would think the two veteran statesmen listened with a kind of tolerant amusement. It ended in an arrangement for the abandonment by Turkey of the results of the elections, and by the emperor of his plan of uniting the Principalities. But the visit was of the utmost advantage in renewing the bond of loyal friendship for the queen and prince which Napoleon III. felt truly and deeply; and in awakening him to the real character of those overtures which were at the time influencing him to throw in his lot with Russia as against Austria, with whom, Prince Albert pointed out to him, Russia was certain to renew friendly relations at an early opportunity. It must be remarked that Napoleon III. had the rare quality of being able to listen to the plainest truths and to suffer contradiction without anger or resentment.

In August the queen and prince made a yachting excursion to Cherbourg, but only for a private visit to the place, and that journey

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may be said to have been the occasion of the subsequent demand for fortifications on the English coast, which was regarded as a part of the so-called "invasion panic" of 1858.

On the 1st of January a letter came from the Emperor and Empress of the French in cordial reply to the Christmas greetings which the queen had sent them. In that letter the emperor said:—

"The 1st of January is usually a day that is anything but pleasant to me, for it is taken up with very tiresome receptions, and this year seemed to me more disagreeable than usual, for it begins on a Friday, and with a fog that might be envied on the Thames. But your majesty has contrived to dissipate all the sad impressions of the day by deigning to send me a kind word, which I have just received, and which has touched me deeply. Believe me, madam, the wishes that I form for the happiness of your majesty, and for that of the prince and of your children, are most sincere. Our thoughts, too, are full of the 25th, and we share all the emotions which your majesty must feel on this occasion."

The 25th was fixed for the wedding of the Princess Royal, an event which was celebrated with loyal enthusiasm and rejoicing on the part of the people, who had a very true admiration and regard for the princess, and much sympathy with her majesty. Before that date, however, an event had happened which might have had a serious effect on the state of Europe but for the consistent regard of the emperor for his engagement to England, and one might almost say his loyalty to the queen. As it was, it indirectly effected the sudden expulsion of the ministry, and the temporary suspension of the policy which they had pursued. On the evening of the 14th of January, 1858, another and a more desperate attempt was made to assassinate the emperor as he was on his way with the empress to the opera. While the carriage conveying their majesties was being driven along the Rue Lepelletier, three successive explosions were heard, the gaslights were extinguished by the concussion of the air, and the street was left in total darkness. This was soon found to have been occasioned by hand-grenades, of a pear shape, filled with some explosive substance, which had been thrown under the carriage, and the fragments of which flew in all directions, and inflicted fatal injuries on ten persons, 156 being more or less severely wounded.

Neither the emperor nor the empress was seriously hurt, but General Roguet, aide-de-camp in waiting, who was sitting in the carriage, was wounded in the head, and the carriage itself was much shattered. Several of the soldiers in attendance were struck, and two of them mortally wounded. Their majesties, however, did not turn back, but entered the opera-house, where they were received with the warmest enthusiasm, and on their return to the Tuileries the streets were illuminated, and they were loudly cheered by the populace. Some arrests immediately took place, and it was soon discovered that the plot for assassinating the emperor had been concocted by an Italian refugee named Orsini, who had, in the previous year escaped from the fortress of Mantua, where he was confined as a state prisoner by the Austrian government, and that his associates in the diabolical attempt were three other conspirators named Rudio, Pierri, and Gomez. All four had been present in the Rue Lepelletier, and, with the exception of Pierri, were armed with the deadly shells, which had been manufactured by Orsini's orders in Birmingham, the assassins having set out from London.

People in England knew Felice Orsini. He had given lectures, or rather orations, in several places, describing the circumstances of his imprisonment and escape, and appealing on behalf of Italian freedom and against Austria. He was a dark, handsome man, with the deep shadowy eye, the coal-black beard and hair, the erect figure, that people regard as being typical of the true Italian. His lectures were listened to with applause and his appearance commanded attention; but there was then not sufficient enthusiasm in England to stimulate a hostile declaration against Austria. It was reserved for the man whom Orsini attempted to kill to make that declaration, and to do for Italy what probably no one else would at that time have undertaken. Orsini was warned that the English

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would not be roused to do what he desired. At first he thought his orations had been applauded out of practical sympathy with his cause, but he found he was mistaken, and began to search for a reason for his want of success. Orsini attributed it to the influence of the Emperor of the French, whose visit to London occurred just at the time that the lecturer was disappointed and baffled. From that time he appears to have had a settled purpose to slay Napoleon III., and he found others ready to give him the aid he asked for. Had he known when he made his desperate attempt, that the man he sought to kill had already pledged himself to Count Cavour to follow certain plans of policy, which had led that astute statesman to conclude that the power of France would soon be exercised on behalf, not of republican, but of national, free monarchical Italy, the bomb might never have fallen from his hand. But nobody, except those immediately concerned, had that knowledge. Orsini and his accomplices only succeeded in killing and seriously injuring a number of persons against whom he could have had no animosity, and in spattering the dress of the empress with blood. She had a narrow escape. It was said that a piece of glass from the shattered window of the carriage struck her forcibly on the temple near the eye, and that another fragment had grazed the emperor's nose.

Orsini himself was wounded by a portion of one of the exploded shells, and left a track of blood by which his captors were able to follow him. He admitted that it was he who had committed the crime, and made no appeal for mercy or for a mitigation of his punishment, though he used every effort to avert the charge of complicity from a man who had been accused of being an accomplice. Singularly enough Orsini wrote from prison to Napoleon III. imploring him to support the Italian national cause. It was believed that the emperor would have spared his life but for the frightful recklessness of a crime which led to the death and injury of so many persons. During the horrible attempt both the emperor and the empress maintained their calm bearing—no one ever accused Napoleon III. of a lack of personal courage—but it was said that after leaving the opera-house, when the imperial pair met at the cradle of the infant prince, the emperor gave way, and could not refrain from tears. This was not to be wondered at. He was beset with many difficulties, and this new attempt to assassinate him was for a short time the occasion of fresh complications. Orsini and Pierri were executed, the former remaining unmoved to the last, and encouraging his agitated companion to be calm. The other two conspirators were imprisoned at the galleys for life.

It was to the friendly wishes of the royal family of England that the emperor's thoughts naturally reverted, and both he and the empress wrote to the queen two days afterwards. The emperor said:—"In this the first moment of excitement the French are bent on finding accomplices in the crime everywhere, and I find it hard to resist all the extreme measures which people call on me to take. But this event will not make me deviate from my habitual calm, and, while seeking to strengthen the hands of the government, I will not be guilty of any injustice. I am very sorry to intrude a subject so serious and engrossing upon your majesty at a moment when I would fain speak only of the happiness I feel in the thought that your mother's heart will soon be satisfied. I would also venture to beg your majesty to present to the Princess Royal all my congratulations on her marriage. Our warmest good wishes will be with her and with you upon the 25th."

There was a serious underlying meaning in this letter. If Napoleon III. was disposed to take the attempt of Orsini calmly when speaking of it to the Queen of England, there were a large number of Frenchmen who were ready to use indignant and even violently abusive language in relation to the crime and the English protection of political criminals. England was accused of offering hospitality to assassins. Count Walewski, as minister of foreign affairs, wrote to Count Persigny, the French ambassador in London, a despatch which, though it was of course much less emphatic than menacing messages which had been forwarded to Sardinia, Switzerland, and

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Belgium, was strong enough to be taken to imply an offensive imputation against this country for affording countenance and protection to men by whose writings "assassination was elevated into a doctrine, openly preached, and carried into practice by reiterated attacks" upon the person of the French sovereign.

"It is," said the despatch, "no longer the hostility of misguided parties manifesting itself by all the excesses of the press, and every violence of language; it is no longer even the labours of factions seeking to agitate opinion and to provoke disorder; it is assassination reduced to a doctrine, preached openly, practised in repeated attempts, the most recent of which has just struck Europe with stupefaction. Ought the English legislature to contribute to the designs of men who are not mere fugitives, but assassins, and continue to shelter persons who place themselves beyond the pale of common right and under the ban of humanity? Her Britannic majesty's government can assist us in averting a repetition of such guilty enterprises by affording us a guarantee of security which no state can refuse to a neighbouring state, and which we are authorized to expect from an ally. Fully relying, moreover, on the high principle (*haute raison*) of the English cabinet, we refrain from indicating in any way the measures which it may see fit to take in order to comply with this wish. We confidently leave to it to decide the course which it shall deem best fitted to attain the end in view."

M. Persigny himself made his contribution to the strong remonstrances from France. In reply to a deputation informing him that the corporation of the city of London had voted an address to the emperor, he said:—The true question "does not lie in the attempts at assassinations in themselves, nor even in the crime of the 14th of January, which your government would have hastened to warn us against if it could have known it beforehand; the whole question is the moral situation of France, which has become anxiously doubtful of the real sentiment of England. Reasoning by analogy, popular opinion declares that if there were in France men sufficiently infamous to recommend at their clubs, in their papers, in their writings of every kind, the assassination of a foreign sovereign, and actually to prepare its execution, a French administration would not wait to receive the demands of a foreign government, nor to see the enterprise set on foot. . . . To act against such conspiracies, to anticipate such crimes, public notoriety would be sufficient to set our law in motion, and measures of security would be taken immediately. Well, then, France is astonished that nothing of a like nature should have taken place in England, and Frenchmen say either the English law is sufficient, as certain lawyers declare—and why, then, is it not applied? or it is insufficient, which is the opinion of other lawyers, and in this case why does not a free country, which makes its own laws, remedy this omission? In one word, France does not understand, and cannot understand, this state of things, and in that resides the harm; for she may mistake the true sentiments of her ally, and no longer believe her sincerity."

There was little to be said against this language, and it showed how much more moderate Persigny was than the foreign minister. But Persigny was more truly loyal to the English alliance, and stronger representations than his,—even those which were made by members of the French chambers, where Troplong and Morny uttered violent denunciations, could be excused by men like Lord Clarendon, who, writing to Prince Albert, said:

"Great allowance is to be made for men whose fortunes depend upon the life of the emperor, and who were speaking under the excitement and exasperation which the atrocious attempt on his life could not fail to produce. Nor is it to be expected that foreigners, who see that assassins go and come here as they please, and that conspiracies may be hatched in England with impunity, should think our laws and policy friendly to other countries, or appreciate the extreme difficulty of making any change in our system."

But what the calm deliberate judgment of a statesman might regard with equanimity, the people of England and some of those to whom they looked for the demonstration of national spirit, were not likely to pass by

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without a quick answer. Unfortunately, too, the offensive tone towards England, which could only be assumed to exist in Walewski's despatch, became obvious in the congratulatory addresses which were sent to the emperor from some of the regiments of the French army. Certain colonels of these regiments appeared to revel in invective against the English, and the numerous opponents of the alliance probably took the opportunity to foment this feeling of antagonism. The terms used in some of these addresses were so extravagantly offensive that they became ludicrous. Due allowance of course was needed for the excitability of the French temperament, and for the usually exaggerated phraseology of military officers of a certain class, which at that time displayed considerable strength of self-assertion. Even the milder of these addresses deplored that powerful friends, whose brave armies had lately fought by their sides, should under the name of hospitality protect conspirators and assassins, surpassing those who had gone before them in all that was odious. Others, however, demanded "an account from the land of impurity which contains the haunts of the monsters who are sheltered by its laws." "Give us the order, sire," said this address, "and we will pursue them even to their strongholds." Another division exclaimed, "Let the miserable assassins, the subordinate agents of such crimes, receive the chastisement due to their abominable attempts, but let also the infamous haunt in which machinations so infernal are planned be destroyed for ever." Of course "the infamous haunt" meant London, and this was the strain in which several of the addresses were couched. There was no bearing that. Who was to resent the insolence of these French colonels? There was, of course, a great deal of indignation expressed, and the defiant replies made in public speeches and newspapers in England sometimes almost rivalled in absurdity the menaces which had occasioned them. *Punch* appeared with a cartoon representing a French colonel in the character of a crowing cock, and with a few contemptuous words underneath. Some wiseacre thought it would be a capital thing to send the caricature to the colonel of the French division at Rouen, who had been one of the foremost of those who inveighed against this country, and he sent it pretending that it was from the Army and Navy Club, the committee of which, hearing of the outrage, afterwards offered fifty pounds reward for the detection of the offender. Everybody was asking what was to be done, what was the reply to be made to the demands, or what appeared to be the demands of the French foreign minister? Where was Lord Palmerston? Lord Palmerston appeared to be in some respects more firmly seated than ever. He had recently, perhaps because of attacks of gout and advancing age, exhibited rather more brusquerie, and a little less bonhomie, when he had to reply to awkward or disagreeable questions, and a few acute politicians stroked their chins as they looked somewhat askance at him, but he had lost little if anything in the opinion of the country, and his government appeared to have in it the elements of lasting strength. He and Lord Clarendon and Lord Cowley were convinced of the good faith of the French emperor toward England. They had met him at Osborne, they had marked the frank deference with which he listened even to refutations of his own opinions. It was worth while to make some concessions, and to go out of the ordinary course to preserve the *entente cordiale*. These concessions had been made, the ordinary course had, in one sense, been departed from before the publication in the *Moniteur* of the addresses from the French army had aroused public temper here. In Walewski's communication there was not, after all, anything compromising to the honour of England, if, as Lord Clarendon had hinted, due regard were had to the mode of speaking and thinking in France.

There was no denying the fact that Orsini had gone direct from England, and that he, like the active agents in previous conspiracies against the emperor's life, had also lived for some time in England. Public feeling was revolted by the way the asylum we had afforded had been abused by men of this stamp, and it was prepared to sanction any reasonable measure to prevent English soil from

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being used with impunity for the concoction of plots against the life of a foreign sovereign. On the 8th of February, 1858, Lord Palmerston brought forward, not a really effective measure, but one which, while it was calculated to allay the natural irritation of the French government, and to appease the expectations of the emperor, would, if it had passed into law, have been almost inoperative, unless by some straining of its provisions. It was, in short, a bill ostensibly intended to make conspiracy to murder a felony punishable with penal servitude for five years, or imprisonment with hard labour for three years—that offence being only a misdemeanour under the existing law.

It scarcely needs to be pointed out that the punishment, whether by short imprisonment or by penal servitude, of a detected conspiracy to murder, is quite a different thing to the refusal of an asylum to political refugees on the mere suspicion that they may contemplate assassination. Conspiracy to murder was never tolerated under the English law, but we had few secret means of discovering what might be the plots of political refugees who found an asylum in this country. Few men could have known this better than Napoleon III., who had himself lived and plotted in, and carried out his schemes from, London, and was well aware that political malcontents from all countries and the protestors against all tyrannies sought safety in England, beyond the reach of the despotisms, or it might sometimes be the reasonable laws, against which they preached revolt.

Palmerston's Conspiracy to Murder Bill had passed the first reading by 299 votes to 99, and there seemed to be little reason to doubt that it would become law. The India Bill No. 1 had just before passed its first reading with a triumphant majority, and Sir Richard Bethell, who was then attorney-general, walking home with Palmerston on the night of the division, said jocularly that his lordship ought, like the Roman consuls in a triumph, to have somebody beside him to remind him that he was mortal. The remark became significant.

It had been intended at first to introduce a measure giving power to the secretary of state to send away any foreigner who was suspected by the government to be plotting a scheme against the life of a foreign sovereign, the government being bound to state the grounds on which the person was sent away, either to a secret committee of parliament, or to a committee composed of the three chiefs of the courts of law. This, however, was abandoned, partly perhaps because it was obvious that to gain the required information it would be necessary to employ a secret political police. The same objection appears to have been overlooked in the bill which was subsequently introduced.

But before that bill could be read a second time, the tone adopted in France had aroused popular indignation here. At a great meeting in Hyde Park the threats of the French colonels were quoted, and great excitement was shown; while the arrest, in his lodgings at Bayswater, of a Dr. Simon Bernard on a charge of complicity in the Orsini plot, and his subsequent committal on a charge of murder, and as accessory before the fact, increased the feeling of suspicion that the law of England was about to be wrested in compliance with the demands of a foreign government. At the same time public indignation, after it had become less unreasonable, gave rise to one of the most important events which ever occurred in the social or political history of the nation. The militia had already been strengthened and reorganized; but now came a steady and determined renewal of former proposals, by competent men, for the formation of volunteer regiments. It is a subject to which we may have to recur at greater length hereafter, and it is enough to say here that many thousands of volunteer riflemen, whose happily chosen motto was soon declared to be "Defence, not Defiance," were rapidly enrolled under officers who had at all events plenty of energy and enthusiasm, and were not deficient in ability.

When the Conspiracy Bill came up for the second reading, it had been discovered that no actual reply had been sent to the despatch of Count Walewski, though doubtless Lord Cowley had received instructions to discuss its terms

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with the French foreign minister. This might have answered the purpose if the subsequent utterances of French addresses and French journals had not given another interpretation to the despatch in the minds of its opponents. But though the French government had been told, through the official channels, that we could not pass an Alien Bill, and could only set in motion a law against conspiracy on receiving proper evidence, and though the emperor,—directly his attention was called to the outrageous language of the army addresses,—had authorized his minister to express his regret that they should have been received, or should have been allowed to appear in the *Moniteur;* a majority of the House of Commons and the country had determined to support an amendment—arranged, it was said, by Lord John Russell, and moved by Mr. Milner Gibson—against the second reading. The amendment was:—That this house cannot but regret that her majesty's government, previously to inviting the house to amend the law of conspiracy at the present time, have not felt it to be their duty to reply to the important despatch received from the French government, dated January 20th.

On the first introduction of the bill it had been opposed by Mr. Kinglake with some force; but Mr. Kinglake was not a power in the House of Commons, and was known to be a bitter opponent of the French emperor. Mr. Disraeli had seemed to be waiting on events, and employed the tactics of balancing the debate and at the same time incidentally damaging the ministry. He pointed out that in 1853, under a government of which the noble lord the member for London, who felt that this country would be so humiliated by the adoption of the bill, was the leading member of the house, we had statesmen of the greatest eminence in this country denouncing the Emperor of the French as a tyrant, usurper, and perjurer; we had a cabinet minister fresh from a cabinet council proceeding to the hustings, and amusing his constituents by depicting to them the danger of their country from the impending piratical invasion of the French people. What was now to be considered, however, was not the foolish or insulting speeches made on either side. "What the Emperor of the French really required, I apprehend," said Mr. Disraeli, "was a plain demonstration on the part of this country, which would have dissipated the apprehensions that have unfortunately proved so considerable in France; but I cannot believe that the bill which the noble lord has proposed will at all tend to that most desirable consummation. So far as I am concerned, I consider it the most unfortunate part of the position in which we are placed, that this opportunity has been so mismanaged by her majesty's ministers as to have alarmed England without pleasing France. Still I cannot think that we ought to take a course which might lead to prolonged and mischievous misconceptions, because we disapprove of the clumsy and feeble manner in which the government has attempted to deal with this difficulty."

Lord Palmerston attempted to carry the house with him against Mr. Milner Gibson's motion, by treating the language of the French colonels as a trumpery reason for refusing an important measure. It would be unworthy of the nation to be turned from a course otherwise proper "upon any paltry feelings of offended dignity or of irritation at the expressions of three or four colonels of French regiments." But if the propriety of the proposed measure was not denied, its timeliness was strongly disputed. The temper of the nation would have refused even the most desirable measure of legislation to the demand of a foreign government, and the very fact that Palmerston had apparently submitted to dictation, at once created suspicion that there was unworthy truckling to the French emperor for some state purpose. The country was jealous and disappointed, and it soon became evident that the premier and the ministry had taken a step from which they would not be able to recover their former footing. The amendment was supported not only by the Radicals who had opposed the first reading of the bill, but also by Mr. Gladstone and the Peelites, as well as by the chiefs of the opposition. "What satisfaction," said Mr. Disraeli, "was it to the country that some indefinite words were dropped in a conversation? The government

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had acted in a perplexed, timid, and confused manner, deficient in dignity and self-respect. The despatch ought to have been answered in a spirit worthy of the occasion. A great opportunity had been lost of asserting the principles of public law."

Mr. Disraeli had voted with the government for the introduction of the bill, though he had by his comments endeavoured to injure the ministry. He now opposed it. But its fate was already fixed. Mr. Gibson, returned to parliament by another constituency after he had been rejected by his former supporters, was the representative of a body which, though it had been depressed during the Crimean war, was again rising to influence, and Palmerston had lost some popularity before the promotion of this measure. His appointment, to the office of lord privy-seal, of the Marquis of Clanricarde, whose reputation was by no means a good one, and who had recently been exposed in a trial in the Dublin Court of Chancery, had caused some scandal, and a very obvious element of public distrust appeared to be mingled with the former admiration for the noble lord, who was presently to discover that he was the subject of general abuse and of accusations of subserviency to France and nobody knew what other crimes against the state. Among the most favourable expressions of opinion at that time it was said, "Palmerston is growing old and childish, his day is over; and though he was once the representative of English power and influence in Europe, his head has been turned by the civilities of the Tuileries and a personal friendship for the French emperor."

But there were statesmen who, setting party considerations aside, were still strongly opposed to the introduction of the bill without a formal answer having been given to the French despatch explaining the state of our law. Not only had this been neglected, but they were asked to pass the present bill as an answer to Count Walewski's despatch. "If there is any feeling in this house for the honour of England," said Mr. Gladstone, "don't let us be led away by some vague statement about the necessity of reforming the criminal law. Let us insist upon the necessity of vindicating that law. As far as justice requires, let us have the existing law vindicated, and then let us proceed to amend it if it be found necessary. But do not let us allow it to lie under a cloud of accusations of which we are convinced that it is totally innocent. These times are grave for liberty. We live in the nineteenth century; we talk of progress; we believe that we are advancing; but can any man of observation who has watched the events of the last few years in Europe have failed to perceive that there is a movement indeed, but a downward and backward movement? There are a few spots in which institutions that claim our sympathy still exist and flourish. They are secondary places—nay, they are almost the holes and corners of Europe so far as mere material greatness is concerned, although their moral greatness will, I trust, ensure them long prosperity and happiness. But in these times more than ever does responsibility centre upon the institutions of England; and if it does centre upon England, upon her principles, upon her laws, and upon her governors, then I say that a measure passed by this House of Commons—the chief hope of freedom—which attempts to establish a moral complicity between us and those who seek safety in repressive measures, will be a blow and a discouragement to that sacred cause in every country in the world."

These words were full of meaning in relation to coming events in Italy, the shadows of which were even then being thrown forward with unmistakable distinctness, though only a few could discern their shape and relative proportions.

Lord Palmerston could always take defeat with cheerful equanimity, but he seldom allowed that he would be defeated until the battle was really over. He usually fought to the last with courage and address. He fought now, but *not* with his usual address. He lost his temper, and became as abusive to Mr. Milner Gibson as he had on former occasions been to Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, and in much the same style. It was, he said, the first time in his life that he had seen Mr. Gibson stand forth in the character of champion of the honour of England and vindicator

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of the rights of the country against foreign nations. The policy which that gentleman had invariably advocated had been one of submission—of crouching to every foreign power with which we had any differences to discuss. The right honourable gentleman belonged to a small party who said, "What care we if this country should be conquered by a foreign force? If we are conquered by a foreign power, they would allow us to work our mills." This might have "fetched" the house two years before, but the spell which gave such animus to any attack on the "Manchester school," and the "Peace-at-any-price" party, had been weakened. Neither Cobden nor Bright were in parliament, but they had not been altogether silent, and there had been a peculiar fusion of parties on some leading questions. His attack on Mr. Gibson was as ill-timed as the bill which it was intended to defend. He seemed to forget that the indignant rejection by men with Mr. Milner Gibson's views, of a foreign despatch which he had been ready to accept and to act upon, was a startling evidence of the national dislike to the position which he had been ready to assume towards the French government. His retorts were received with murmurs and exclamations of dissent, and he was too good a tactician not to feel that he was on a wrong course. He ended by appealing to the house not to support an amendment which would have an entirely contrary effect to that which had been anticipated; but the house did not respond to his appeal, and the government was defeated by a majority of 19 on a division in which 459 members voted—that majority being composed of 146 Conservatives, 84 Liberals, and 4 of those who were still called Peelites, viz. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Graham.

Palmerston could scarcely have expected such a result, and it is very doubtful whether those who made the majority were quite prepared for it, or were delighted with the prospect of a Conservative government. Had Palmerston chosen to drop the bill, and to appeal to the house for a vote of confidence, he would very likely have gained the point, but he preferred to resign at once. The queen would not at first accept his resignation, but he had no desire to retain office under the circumstances. Lord Derby was sent for to undertake the difficult task of forming a government, and the ex-premier resumed, with cheerful ardour, occupations which still gave him a large share of public business, until the following November, when he went gaily off to Compiégne on a visit to the Emperor Napoleon, to join in shooting pheasants and hunting stags in the imperial forest, and to talk philosophical politics with his host in the intervals of festivity.

Lord Derby had little confidence in being able to maintain a Conservative government, and it was generally understood that the new ministry would only keep office as it were by sufferance. There were few new names in the administration. Mr. Disraeli was of course chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Malmesbury, foreign secretary; Mr. Walpole, home secretary; Sir J. Pakington, first lord of the admiralty. It is to be remarked that Lord Derby offered the appointment of secretary for the colonies to Mr. Gladstone, who declined it, and that it was then conferred on Lord Stanley, in whom the Conservatives had begun to look with no little expectation, because of his solid acquirements and a certain appearance of calm deliberation which peculiarly distinguished him from his father. It was both significant and important that Lord Cowley was retained as our representative in Paris. In fact after Lord Derby had made his ministerial statement on assuming office, Lord Clarendon had given such an explanation of the course adopted by the late government, that the new prime minister, in reporting to the queen the proceedings of the evening, wrote, "Lord Clarendon made an admirable speech in explanation of the course which the late government pursued, and which, had it been delivered in the House of Commons on the subject of the amendment, would probably have deprived Lord Derby of the honour of addressing your majesty on the present occasion."

It was well that a man so fully trusted by the Emperor of the French as Lord Cowley was to be retained at Paris, for it required

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some one in a confidential relation to explain the necessity for dropping the Conspiracy Bill and sending a definite answer to Count Walewski's despatch.

When the Emperor of the French learned from Lord Derby's speech that the Conspiracy Bill would not be proceeded with, his vexation and disappointment were at first great. The passing of the bill would have helped to appease the angry spirit which his own indiscretion had helped to foment among a certain section of his followers, and which had been made the most of, for their own purpose, by the plotters against the Anglo-French alliance. Once persuaded that the measure was one which no ministry could carry, he was certain to see the wisdom of letting the subject drop. To satisfy him on this head, therefore, became the first object of the government, and they were materially assisted in this by the confidence which the emperor felt in Lord Cowley, and by the frankness with which he discussed this subject with his lordship, as, indeed, he was in the habit of discussing with him all questions that affected the interests of the two countries. Lord Cowley had even the courage to suggest that as such a measure, unless carried by what was clearly not to be hoped for, the almost unanimous consent of parliament, could be no satisfaction to France, the emperor would place himself in a far better position with England were he himself to request that all further discussion on the subject should drop. An intimation to this effect was subsequently conveyed from the emperor to the French ambassador here.

A friendly adjustment was in fact soon arrived at. Walewski's obnoxious despatch of the 20th of January was answered in a despatch by Lord Malmesbury to Lord Cowley, written to be communicated to Count Walewski. In this answer Count Walewski's attention was called to the imputations which seemed to be conveyed by the language of his despatch. A conviction was expressed that, whatever the words might import, it could not have been Count Walewski's intention to convey an imputation, "injurious alike to the morality and honour of the British nation," and that he would not hesitate, "with that frankness which has characterized his conduct, to offer an explanation which cannot fail to remove any existing misconception."

The strongest assurances were given orally by Count Walewski to Lord Cowley, when this despatch was read to him, that he had never intended to do more than to call attention to the acts of certain conspirators against the emperor's life, who had used England as the base for their machinations, but that he had never pointed out, "or intended to point out, a remedy for them. It was for the English government and the English nation alone to determine in what manner, and in what measure, a remedy could be applied."—Count de Persigny was also instructed, in a despatch from Count Walewski, to reiterate these assurances in unqualified terms, and the following paragraph of the despatch brought the differences between the governments to an honourable close:—

"In giving these assurances to the principal secretary of state you will add, that the emperor's intentions having been misunderstood, his majesty's government will abstain from continuing a discussion, which, if prolonged, might injuriously affect the dignity and good understanding of the two countries, and will place its reliance purely and simply on the loyalty of the English people."

This was satisfactory, the honour of both countries was vindicated, and when Mr. Disraeli was able to announce the happy termination of the difference, it was felt to be a favourable introduction to the new administration. That administration had, as we have seen, to take up the question of an India Bill, and the programme which had been announced also included parliamentary reform. Nobody expected that the government could last long, nobody looked forward with very great excitement to its operations after the India Bill had passed. One or two of the measures which were adopted we have already noted. Some of the events we shall place hereafter in their relation to their results. The two features of the session now to be considered were the budget and the proposal of a measure of reform which had been promised in the ministerial programme. The budget was not cal-

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culated to arouse either great admiration or sustained opposition. It was framed to meet peculiar difficulties. There was an increased expenditure, and yet commercial failures had diminished revenue. The financial statement was felt to be a critical point, but it was well received, chiefly because it proposed no violent changes. There was a deficit of £3,990,000, and Mr. Disraeli had determined to postpone the engagement to pay off £2,000,000 of exchequer bonds and £1,500,000 of the war sinking-fund. The introduction of a stamp on bankers' cheques was a new feature which would produce £300,000, and it was hoped that £500,000 would be obtained by an equalization of the spirit duties. Mr. Disraeli said he hoped it would still be possible, in the year anticipated, to carry into effect Mr. Gladstone's wise arrangements for the extinction of the income-tax; and Mr. Gladstone, who was, as we may remember, soon about to depart for Corfu as Lord Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands, expressed general approval of the scheme, thanked the chancellor of the exchequer for equalizing the spirit duties, and hoped there would be some prospect of keeping down the scale of national expenditure, and of conferring upon the country, at an early date, an actual and positive realization of its wishes.

The budget passed without difficulty, and the government had enough on its hands to last till the end of the session, when it had to consider what should be the measure of reform which would satisfy the country. The subject had not been sleeping during the past twelvemonths. Had Palmerston's ministry continued to hold office, they were pledged to introduce a new reform bill. Several large and important meetings had been held at Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow, at which Mr. Bright had spoken, for he had recovered from the serious illness which had affected him for nearly two years, and was again actively engaged in political work. To him the promoters of a wide measure of reform had applied to prepare the outlines of a bill, and he somewhat reluctantly consented. He would have given the borough franchise to all persons rated for the relief of the poor, and to all lodgers who paid ten pounds a year rental, and would have reduced the franchise in counties to a ten-pound rental, laying the expenses of the returning officer on the county or borough rate, prescribing that votes should be taken by ballot, wholly disfranchising eighty-six boroughs, taking away one member from each of thirty-four other boroughs, and transferring the seats thus obtained to the larger towns, counties, and divisions of counties.

It could scarcely be expected that the Conservative ministry would introduce such a bill as this; and there was some anxiety to discover what would be their plan. Practically they had no definite scheme, and were so long in framing one that there were fears lest they might break down altogether. On the 28th of February, 1859, however, Mr. Disraeli was ready to explain the measure which had been framed by the government. It was a remarkable proposal, reminding one somewhat, in its curiously fanciful provisions, of the India bill proposed by Lord Ellenborough. It was not intended, its introducer said, to alter the limits of the franchise, but to introduce into the borough a new kind of franchise, founded upon personal property. It was to give a vote in boroughs to persons with £10 a year in the funds, bank stock, or East India stock, to persons having £60 in a savings-bank, to pensioners of £20 a year in the naval, military, or civil services; to the inhabitants of a portion of any house whose aggregate rental was £20 per annum; to graduates, ministers of religion, members of the legal and medical professions, and under certain circumstances to schoolmasters. It proposed to remedy the working of the famous Chandos Clause of the Reform Bill of 1832, by extending the £10 household franchise to the counties, an arrangement which, it was calculated, would add 200,000 to the number of county electors.

The bill was brought in without opposition, but it pleased neither side. The charge brought against it by the opposition was that it aimed to increase the number of voters in such a way as to secure a Conservative majority. Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, on the

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other hand, were afraid of its too great extension, and did not support it; and the majority of the Conservatives seemed to be doubtful whether it would secure any such end. Of course Mr. Bright, who had then been returned to represent Birmingham, opposed the measure, which he truly said excluded the working-classes, and as was afterwards seen by a remark of Sir E. L. Bulwer, who warmly supported it in a long and remarkable speech, it was not intended materially to extend the franchise in that direction. Quoting Cicero's axiom: "*Semper in re publicâ tendem est, ne plurimum valeant plurimi,*" he explained it to mean, "The one point that must never be yielded in a state is, that the greatest powers shall not be in the hands of the greatest numbers."

On the 21st of March Lord John Russell proposed as an amendment "that it is neither just nor politic to interfere in the manner proposed in the government bill with the freehold franchise as hitherto exercised in the counties of England and Wales; and that no rearrangement of the franchise will satisfy the house or the country which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs than is contemplated in the present measure." "With regard to this great question of reform," said Lord John after an able speech, "I may say that I defended it when I was young, and I will not desert it now that I am old."

Mr. Sidney Herbert, disclaiming any party feeling, opposed the amendment. Mr. Gladstone on the same ground gave the government a modified support. As there was no controversy traceable to differences between political parties, he regretted that the house was now in hostile conflict, with a division before them which would estrange those by whose united efforts alone a satisfactory settlement could be come to. He objected to the form of the resolution, but confessed that if they could have had a strong government he should have been induced to vote for it. He saw, however, that after carrying the resolution the opposition would pursue separate courses, but he thought that the government had a claim upon members. In support of the argument that advantage should be taken of any opportunity to advance the question, he referred to the successive promises and failures of recent years with regard to a measure of reform. "In 1851 my noble friend, then the first minister of the crown, approached the question of reform, and commenced with a promise of what was to be done twelve months afterwards. In 1852 he brought in a bill, and it disappeared together with the ministry. In 1853 we had the ministry of Lord Aberdeen, which commenced with a promise of reform in twelve months' time. Well, 1854 arrived; with it arrived the bill, but with it also arrived the war, and in the war was a reason, and I believe a good reason, for abandoning the bill. Then came the government of my noble friend the member for Tiverton, which was not less unfortunate in the circumstances that prevented the redemption of those pledges which had been given to the people from the mouth of the sovereign on the throne. In 1855 my noble friend escaped all responsibility for a Reform Bill on account of the war; in 1856 he escaped all responsibility for reform on account of the peace; in 1857 he escaped that inconvenient responsibility by the dissolution of parliament; and in 1858 he escaped again by the dissolution of his government." Mr. Gladstone contended that these failures strengthened the misgivings of the people as to the reluctance of the house to deal with this question, made it more hazardous to interpose obstacles, and required the progress of the government bill to completion. He announced that he could not be a party to the disfranchisement of the county freeholders in boroughs; he could not be a party to the uniformity of the franchise; he could not be a party to a reform bill which did not lower the suffrage in boroughs. Unless they could have a lowering of the suffrage it would be better not to waste time upon the subject. He approved that portion of the bill relating to the redistribution of seats, but put in a strong plea on behalf of the small boroughs, which were the nursery ground of men who were destined to lead the house and be an ornament to their country; and he maintained that the extension and the durability of our

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liberty were to be attributed, under providence, to distinguished statesmen introduced to the house at an early age. These were reasons for going into committee. If they passed the amendment, it could have no other effect than that of retarding a settlement of the question: it was not the question of the government, but of reform. He urged the house not to let slip its golden opportunity. For himself he should be governed by no other consideration than the simple one—what course would most tend to settle the question? When he voted to negative the resolution of Lord John Russell, he should give his vote neither to the government nor to party.

The debates were long and spirited, and on the second night were graced with the peculiar oratory of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who on that occasion rose to an oratorical display which he had never before exhibited; while Sir Hugh Cairns, who as Mr. Cairns had made a great impression during the discussions on the India bill, took the position of a skilful and able debater.

"A night of immense power and excitement," wrote Disraeli in his report to the queen of the progress of that debate. "Two of the greatest speeches ever delivered in parliament—by Sir Edward Lytton and the solicitor-general. . . . Both spoke in a crowded house: one before dinner, the other concluding, just down. Never was a greater contrast between two orators, resembling each other in nothing but their excellence.

"Deaf, fantastic, modulating his voice with difficulty, sometimes painful—at first almost an object of ridicule to the superficial—Lytton occasionally reached even the sublime, and perfectly enchained his audience. His description of the English constitution, his analysis of democracy,—as rich and more powerful than Burke.

"Sir Hugh Cairns devoted an hour to a reply to Lord John's resolution, and to a vindication of the government bill, which charmed every one by its lucidity and controlled every one by its logic. When he had, in the most masterly manner, and with a concinnity which none can equal, closed the business part of his address, he directed himself to the political portion of the theme, and having literally demolished the mover of the amendment, sat down amid universal cheers."

But oratory could not save the bill from the effects of the amendment. By the 25th Lord Palmerston seems to have seen his way.

"There is no doubt," he said, "the amendment will be carried, and then what is the government to do? We are told various things. Some persons say the ministry will resign. Sir, I believe no such thing. I think it will be a dereliction of duty on their part if they do resign. I do not want them to resign. I say to them, as I think Voltaire said of some minister who had incurred his displeasure, 'I won't punish him; I won't send him to prison; I condemn him to keep his place.' They took the government with its engagements. They undertook a measure of reform, and they will be flinching from their duty to the crown and the country if, in consequence of such a vote as that proposed by my noble friend, they fling up their places and throw upon us the difficulty of dealing with this subject. . . . But then it is said they may dissolve. I have no greater faith in their dissolving than in their resignation. I am of this opinion, because to dissolve parliament at the present moment implies more than the single will of the government. The concurrence of this house is necessary to its own dissolution. Before the government dissolves it must take another vote in supply, pass the Appropriation Act, the Ways and Means Act, and make provision for exchequer bills which will fall due in May. Now all these operations require the hearty concurrence of the house, and are the government, I should like to know, sure of obtaining that concurrence?"

The amendment was carried by a majority of 39 and parliament *was* dissolved. The elections brought a gain to the government of about 20 seats, but they were still in a minority. The new parliament consisted of about 302 Conservatives and 350 Liberals. The Marquis of Hartington moved an addition to the speech from the throne, which being carried was equivalent to a vote of want of

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confidence in the ministers, which being carried by a majority of 13 led to the immediate resignation of the government. Then arose another difficulty. The queen had to consider the respective claims of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, between whom a coolness was believed to exist. Her majesty took an alternative course and sent for Lord Granville, then the acknowledged leader of the Liberal party in the House of Lords. Lord John, however, declined to serve under Lord Granville, though he had no objection to take office under Lord Palmerston. This prevented Lord Granville from forming a ministry, and again Lord Palmerston rode triumphantly into power, and not to the dissatisfaction of the nation, who had already forgotten, or had more completely "got at the rights" of his supposed want of consistency in the affairs of the French despatch.

Lord Palmerston was again prime minister with a government in which Lord John Russell was foreign minister, and Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; and it was a period when both those offices would have to be administered with skill and sagacity. But Lord Palmerston, people must have thought, had learnt something or forgotten a great deal on his side also, for no appointment was made to the presidency of the Board of Trade, and it was discovered that the place was kept vacant in the hope that it would be accepted by Mr. Cobden, who was then on his way from a visit to the United States.

It must have been rather amusing to some of Cobden's friends when they heard of this intention, knowing as they did what had been his opinion of the former government under Lord Palmerston as compared to that of Lord Derby.

In a letter to Mr. Lindsay, Cobden had written of the Derby administration: "The present men are most honest, and they are certainly more obliging than the last. In this I agree with you, and it might have been said of any Tory government as compared with any Whig one since I have been in the political ring. I remember when I came into the house in 1841, after the general election which gave Peel a majority of ninety, I found the Tories more civil in the intercourse of the lobbies and the refreshment-rooms than the Whigs. It runs through all departments. It seems as if the Whig leaders always thought it necessary to snub the Radicals to satisfy the Tories they were not dangerous politicians. But I do not blame them, for they live by it. I do blame those advanced Liberals who allow themselves to be thus used and abused. There is no remedy but in the greater self-respect of the middle class. I fear we have been going the other way for the last ten years. The great prosperity of the country made Tories of us all. . . . During my experience the higher classes never stood so high in relative, social, and political rank, as compared with other classes, as at present. The middle class have been content with the very crumbs from their table. The more contempt a man like Palmerston (as intense an aristocrat at heart as any of them) heaped on them, the louder they cheered him. Twenty years ago, when a hundred members of the house used to muster at the call of Hume or Warburton to compel the Whigs to move on under threats of desertion, there seemed some hope of the middle class setting up for themselves; but now there is no such sign. . . .

"You ask me my view of the political situation. It is hard fate for me to be obliged to choose between Derby and Palmerston, but if compelled to do so, I should certainly prefer the former. Nothing can be so humiliating to us as a party or a nation as to see that venerable political impostor at the head of affairs. But how will you prevent his return to power? . . . Half-a-dozen great families meet at Walmer and dispose of the rank and file of the party, just as I do the lambs that I am now selling for your aldermen's table. And I very much doubt whether you can put an end to this ignominious state of things. Until you can, I don't think you are playing a part in any noble drama."

Mr. Cobden had been to America to inquire into the affairs of the Illinois Railway, in which, with some imprudence, as his friends not unnaturally believed, he had invested the

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greater part of his money. Cobden, in fact, though an able political economist, does not appear to have possessed the qualities necessary for a successful man of business, and his personal affairs were often in a precarious condition. But there were those who did not hesitate to help him in a direct and yet in a delicate manner, for he was, as it were, the property of a cause and a political faith, and his was such a sweet and cordial nature that personal regard was added to esteem and admiration for his public and private character.

During his absence not only had the events which we have described taken place, but during the elections the men of Rochdale had met and decided to choose him as the Liberal candidate, much to the delight of Mr. Bright, who attended their meeting and recommended to them "his political associate, his political brother." Cobden was well pleased, for he admired Rochdale Liberalism. He was eventually returned without a contest.

The following is the letter which was despatched by Lord Palmerston (the new prime minister) to Cobden on his landing at Liverpool. It was dated "94 Piccadilly, 27th June, 1859.

"My dear Sir,—I understand that it is likely that you may arrive at Liverpool tomorrow, and I therefore wish that this letter should be placed in your hand upon your landing.

"I have been commissioned by the queen to form an administration, and I have endeavoured so to frame it that it should contain representatives of all sections of the Liberal party, convinced as I am that no government constructed upon any other basis could have sufficient prospect of duration, or would be sufficiently satisfactory to the country.

"Mr. Milner Gibson has most handsomely consented to waive all former difficulties, and to become a member of the new cabinet. I am most exceedingly anxious that you should consent to adopt the same line, and I have kept open for you the office of president of the Board of Trade, which appeared to me to be the one best suited to your views, and to the distinguished part which you have taken in public life. I shall be very glad to see you and to have personal communication with you as soon as may be convenient to you on your arrival in London."

The invitation was seconded by another letter from Lord John Russell, who said: "An attempt has been made, more or less wisely, to form a government from various sections of Liberals. Recent speeches have prevented the offer of a cabinet office to Mr. Bright. This is much to be regretted; but if you accept, his accession may take place hereafter. If you refuse, I do not see a prospect of amalgamating the Liberal party during my lifetime. In these circumstances, I confess, I think it is a duty for you to accept the office of president of the Board of Trade."

Cobden's own account of the receipt of these letters, and the interviews to which they led, is characteristic and amusing.

"As I came up the Mersey," he says, "I little dreamed of the reception which awaited me. Crowds of friends were ready to greet and cheer me; and before I left the ship a packet of letters was put in my hand, containing one from Lord Palmerston, offering me a seat in the cabinet as president of the Board of Trade; and another from Lord John Russell, urging me in the very strongest terms to accept it. There were letters from Moffat, Gilpin, and a great many others, advising me not to refuse the offer.

"I was completely taken by surprise by all this, for I had heard nothing of the change of government, and was twenty-five days without having seen the latest news from England, namely eleven days' passage, and fourteen days which we were behind the news when I left Quebec.

"I went on shore and proceeded to the hotel, where my troubles began. More than a hundred of the leading men of Liverpool assembled in the large room to present me with an address, which was put into my hand by Mr. William Brown. . . . Afterwards Mr. Robertson Gladstone from the Financial Reform Association, Mr. Rathbone from the American Chamber of Commerce, and the president of the Peace Society, all presented addresses, to which I was obliged, without a moment's notice, and with my head still

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swimming with the motion of the sea, to deliver replies. It was really like killing one one with kindness. I have come on here [to Manchester] to see my friends, and hear what they have to say. A deputation from Rochdale is over also. And I have an address from a number of persons, including Bazley and H. Ashworth, wishing me to accept the offer of a seat in the cabinet. Indeed, almost without exception, everybody, Radicals, peacemen, and all, are trying to persuade me to it.

"Now it really seems to me that they must all have gone mad, for with my recorded opinions of Lord Palmerston's public conduct during the last dozen years, *in which opinions I have experienced no change*, were I suddenly to jump at the offer of a place under him I should ruin myself in my own self-respect, and ultimately lose the confidence of the very men who are in this moment of excitement urging me to enter his cabinet. So great is the pressure put on me, that if it were Lord Granville, or even Lord John, at the head of affairs, I should be obliged, greatly against my will, to be a right honourable. But to take office now, without a single declaration of change of view regarding his public conduct, would be so monstrous a course, that nothing on earth shall induce me to do it. I am going to town this afternoon, and shall forward him my answer on my arrival. I listen to all my friends and say nothing, but my mind is made up."

On arriving a day or two later in London, Cobden lost no time in calling upon Lord Palmerston. He wrote a full account of all that passed between them to Mr. Sale, his brother-in-law in Manchester.

"*London, 4th July, 1859.*—I thought it best on my arrival in town to go *first* to Palmerston, and explain plainly and frankly everything. On calling on him I was most pleasantly welcomed, and we talked as usual for a few minutes on everything but what I went about. At length I broke the ice in this way: 'You have acted in so manly and magnanimous a manner in pressing me to take office in your cabinet, that I feel bound to come and talk to you without reserve upon the subject. My case is this. For the last twelve years I have been the systematic and constant assailant of the principle on which your foreign policy has been carried on. I believed you to be warlike, intermeddling, and quarrelsome, and that your policy was calculated to embroil us with foreign nations. At the same time I have expressed a general want of confidence in your domestic politics. Now I may have been altogether wrong in my views; it is possible I may have been; but I put it candidly to you whether it ought to be in your cabinet, whilst holding a post of high honour and emolument derived from you, that I should make the first avowal of a change of opinion respecting your public policy? Should I not expose myself to severe suspicions, and deservedly so, if I were under these circumstances to step from an Atlantic steamer into your cabinet? Understand, I beg, that I have no personal feelings which prevent me from accepting your offer. I have opposed you as the supposed representative of what I believed to be dangerous principles. If I have ever been personally offensive in my opposition it was not intended, and assuredly you never gave me any justification of such a course.'

"In reply he disclaimed any feelings of a personal kind, and said that even if there had been any personalities, they never ought to be remembered for three months; and he added in a laughing way that he thought Gibson had hit him quite as hard as I had. Then he commenced to combat my objections, and to offer, with apparently great sincerity, a variety of arguments to show that I ought to enter the cabinet, dwelling particularly on the fact that as questions of foreign policy were now uppermost, and as those questions were in the hands of the executive, it was only by joining the government that I could influence them. 'You and your friends complain,' he said, 'of a secret diplomacy, and that wars are entered into without consulting the people. Now it is in the cabinet alone that questions of foreign policy are settled. We never consult parliament till *after* they are settled. If, therefore, you wish to have a voice in those questions, you can only do so in the cabinet.' This was the argument I found it most difficult to answer, and therefore he pressed it more strongly.

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"But finding me still firm in my objections, he observed laughingly, 'Why are you in the House of Commons?' I answered also with a laugh, 'Upon my word I hardly know.' 'But why did you enter public life?' said he. 'I hardly know,' was my answer; 'it was by mere accident, and for a special purpose, and probably it would have been better for me and my family if I had kept my private station.' Upon which he threw out both his hands, and, with a laugh louder than before, he exclaimed, 'Well, but being in it why not go on?' He added, 'Recollect I don't offer you the seat from any desire of my own to change my colleagues. If left to me, I would rather, of course, have gone on as before with my old friends. I offer you the seat because you have a right to it.'

"In answer to my remark that perhaps others might be found quite as much entitled as myself to represent the advanced Liberals in his government, he replied quickly, 'Will you be good enough to mention the name of any one excepting Bright, Gibson, and yourself that I could bring into the cabinet as the representative of the Radicals?' I urged that Bright had been unfairly judged, and that his speeches at Birmingham, &c., were not of a kind to exclude him from an offer of a seat, and I remarked that he had very carefully avoided personalities in those speeches. 'It is not personalities that are complained of; a public man,' said he, 'is right in attacking persons. But it is his attacks on *classes* that have given offence to powerful bodies, who can make their resentment felt.'

"In the course of his remarks he gave me a full explanation of his views on the present war, and expressed his determination to preserve a strict neutrality, observing that, as the people of England would as soon think of 'evacuating these islands' as to go to war in behalf of Austria, and as France did not ask us to help her, he could not see any possibility of our being mixed up in the fray. On this point he remarked: 'If you are afraid of our abandoning our neutral ground, why don't you come into the citadel of power, where you could have a voice in preventing it?'

"On his remarking upon the difficulty there would be in carrying on the government unless all parties were united, and how impossible it was for him to do so if the natural representatives of the Liberals would not take office, I replied that the very fact of his having offered me office was, so far as I was concerned, his justification; and that *I* should be blamed, and not he, in the matter. And I added, 'I shall give just the same support to your government whilst Mr. Gibson is in it, who represents identically my views, as I should if I were one of your government; for I should be certain to run away if you were to do anything very contrary to my strong convictions.' I added that at present there were only two subjects on which we could have any serious difference, and that if he kept out of the war, and gave us a fair reform measure, I did not see any other point on which I should be found opposing him. He returned to the argument that my presence in the government was the important step required; and I then told him that having run the gauntlet of my friends in Lancashire, who had kindly pressed the matter on me, and having resolved to act in opposition to their views, which nothing but the strongest convictions of the propriety of my course could have induced me to do, my mind was irrevocably made up. And so I rose to depart, expressing the hope that our personal and political relations might be in future the same as if I were in his government.

"As I left the room he said, 'Lady Palmerston receives to-morrow evening at ten.' To which I instantly replied, 'I shall be happy to be allowed to present myself to her.' 'I shall be very glad if you will,' was his answer, and so we parted.

"The next evening I was at Cambridge House for the first time, and found myself among a crowd of fashionables and politicians and was the lion of the party. The women came and stared with their glasses at me, and then brought their friends to stare also. As I came away, Jacob Omnium and I were squeezed into a corner together, and he remarked, 'You are the greatest political monster that ever was seen in this house. There never was before seen such a curiosity as a man who

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refused a cabinet office from Lord Palmerston, and then came to visit him here. Why, there are not half-a-dozen men in all that crowd that would not jump at the offer, and believe themselves quite as fit as you to be president of the Board of Trade.'"

Cobden did not and would not jump at it. Many of his friends were hurt and disappointed, and their disappointment affected him greatly, even to the extent of impairing his physical health; still he remained firm. One man, however, commended him. Bright saw that he could not take office in Palmerston's ministry without undergoing some depreciation of influence if not of self-respect. How could it be possible, he would probably have argued, that a man professing the views that Cobden and I have always held, could take office in a ministry where one of the first measures might be to entail fresh financial burdens upon the country on what we believe to be immoral grounds. Bright's own views were well known, and he had recently given new expression to them in an address delivered at Glasgow in December, 1858, when he was advocating a new measure of parliamentary reform, and had drawn up the sketch of such a bill as he believed might be effective.

"It is a curious thing," he had said to the Glasgow electors, "to observe the evils which nations live under, and the submissive spirit with which they yield to them. I have often compared, in my own mind, the people of England with the people of ancient Egypt, and the foreign office of this country with the temples of the Egyptians. We are told by those who pass up and down the Nile that on its banks are grand temples, with stately statues and massive and lofty columns, statues each one of which would have appeared almost to have exhausted a quarry in its production. You have, further, vast chambers and gloomy passages; and some innermost access, some holy of holies, in which, when you arrive at it, you find some loathsome reptile, which a nation reverenced and revered, and bowed itself down to worship. In our foreign office we have no massive columns; we have no statues; but we have a mystery as profound; and in the innermost recesses of it we find some miserable intrigue, in defence of which your fleets are traversing every ocean, your armies are perishing in every clime, and the precious blood of our country's children is squandered as though it had no price. I hope that an improved representation will change all this; that the great portion of our expenditure which is incurred in carrying out the secret and irresponsible doings of our foreign office will be placed directly under the free control of a parliament elected by the great body of the people of the United Kingdom. And then, and not till then, will your industry be secured from that gigantic taxation to which it has been subjected during the last hundred and fifty years.

"There is much in this country, notwithstanding, of which we may be proud. We can write freely, we can meet as we are met now, and we can speak freely of our political wishes and our grievances. The ruling classes, with a wise sagacity, have yielded these points without further struggle; but we are so delighted with our personal freedom, we are so pleased that we can move about without passports, and speak, write, and act as freely as a free man requires to do; we are so delighted with all this that we are unconscious of the fact that our rulers extract from our industry a far larger amount than any other government does, or ever did, from an equal number of people. Dr. Livingstone, the African traveller, if I am not mistaken, is a native of this neighbourhood, and you no doubt identify his reputation in some degree with your own. He gives, in his interesting and charming book, many anecdotes of the various creatures which he saw and heard of during his travels. He describes in one place, I remember, a bird, which he calls a dull, stupid bird, a kind of pelican, which occupies itself with its own affairs on the river side. This pelican catches fish, and when it has secured them it puts them into a pouch or purse under its bill, instead of the ordinary accommodation which anglers have in Scotland for their prizes. Dr. Livingstone tells of another bird which is neither dull nor stupid, which he calls the fish-hawk. This hawk hovers over the pelican, and, waiting patiently until the latter has

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secured the fish, he comes down upon him with a swoop and takes the fish from the purse, leaving the pelican delighted that the hawk has not taken him bodily away, and setting to work at once to catch another fish.

"I ask of you whether you can apply this anecdote to your own case? You are told that your government is a government which allows you to meet, and that it lets every man say anything short of absolute treason, at least in times of tranquillity; it permits your leading-article writers to denounce, at will, every member of the government; and, like the pelican, you are so delighted that you are not absolutely eaten up by it, that you allow it to extract from your pockets an incalculable amount of your industry, and you go to work just as the pelican does, until this great government fish-hawk comes down again upon you. What I want is, that all the people should examine the question thoroughly for themselves. Rely upon it, your present and future welfare as a nation is bound up with it. Many persons suppose that because some people pay but little in the shape of taxation that it matters nothing to them what taxes the government imposes upon the nation. Every man who drinks tea, or consumes any excisable articles, pays taxes; but apart from this view of the question, I would have you to understand that everything which the government expends, supposing it was all to come from the employers' pocket, would be a diminution of that great fund of capital out of which wages were paid. Every man, therefore, whether he pays taxes or not—more so, of course, if he does—every man, if he is not mainly living upon the taxes, has a most direct interest in establishing that representation of the people that will give the nation a firm control over the expenditure of its money.

"I have devoted many years of my life, I have spent much labour in advocating a greater freedom of the soil. I believe that it would work better and prove more profitable to the landed proprietors themselves. I think that free land, greater economy in the public expenditure, with the growing intelligence which we see all around us, and the improvement which is taking place in the most temperate habits of the people,—all these things together fill me with the hope that, whatever we have in the annals of the past of which we can boast, there is still a brighter future in store for this country."

But if Cobden could not take office—perhaps because he did not take office—he was able to effect vast and important changes in our commercial relations. Already the idea of international commercial negotiations was in the air. Count Persigny, in conversation with Lord John Russell, had referred to a commercial treaty between France and England as an earnest of the emperor's desire for peace. Mr. Bright had asked in parliament why, instead of lavishing the national resources in armaments, the government did not persuade the French emperor to induce his people to trade freely with us. It seemed only to want an interview of three men—Michel Chevalier, the great free-trade theorist of France; Richard Cobden, the practical political economist and free-trader of England; and William Ewart Gladstone, the foremost financial minister in Europe—to inaugurate a scheme which should result in a definite and mutually beneficial treaty that would ally the two nations in trade as well as in arts and arms. This interview virtually took place. Chevalier, after reading Bright's views, had written to Cobden on the subject of a possible commercial treaty, and coming to England in the summer of 1859 found that the English free-trader had intended to spend part of the winter in Paris. Here was the opportunity for endeavouring to convert the emperor to free-trade views, and Chevalier urged it with no little force and address. Cobden was deeply impressed with the idea. He believed that such a treaty would be possible, for in 1860 terminable annuities for upwards of two millions would fall in, and the chancellor of the exchequer would have that amount of money to deal with. If he could apply it to the reduction of duties on French goods so as to secure similar concessions on the other side, here would be a basis on which to proceed with something like security. In September Cobden was at Hawarden, deeply discussing the

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whole question with Gladstone, who, in spite of the abandonment of the perfect rules of a free-trade policy which only a partial reciprocal remission of duties must involve, believed that abstract principles must give way to an approximate benefit when that alone is practicable, and may lead to complete liberty of commerce by the gradual removal of restrictions. At all events it was settled that Cobden should make use of his forthcoming visit to Paris to introduce the subject in a manner which, while he had the countenance of his own government without actual official authority, might enable him to make way for some more definite arrangement for working out, with them, a scheme for a treaty which would be of mutual advantage. Cobden came to London not over sanguine, for he had a poor opinion of the ability of any one to move governments in a direction not immediately and obviously in accordance with their own interests. His interviews with Russell and Palmerston were not particularly reassuring. They did not appear to think very much of the scheme or of M. Chevalier's theories. They did not dissuade him or forbid his going to Paris, however, and perhaps they reflected that if anybody possessed the art of persuading the emperor and his advisers to make a free-trade experiment it would be Cobden, whose manner, no less than his great reputation, was calculated to bring about such a result.

Under these circumstances he set out for Paris, where on the 23d October he went to see Lord Cowley. On the 25th Cobden, Chevalier, and Rouher dined together, and Mr. Morley, in his life of Cobden, says he has heard that the dinner was planned with as much secrecy and discretion as if they had been three housebreakers under the surveillance of the police.

Rouher was already a strong free-trader, but he was obliged to act under the orders of the emperor, and if only *he* could be convinced a great deal might be done. This must be the next step, and Rouher undertook to procure an invitation to St. Cloud. Cobden had once before met Napoleon III., but that was when he was called Louis Napoleon, and was at breakfast with Mr. Monckton Milnes three days after escaping from Ham; and the impressions left upon the mind of his present visitor was that he was a person of no great ability. In this Cobden was mistaken. The emperor had been only imperfectly informed, his knowledge was defective on many subjects; but he possessed remarkable power of apprehension, and the invaluable gift of being able to receive instruction without any apparent desire to assert himself, or to lose his temper under contradiction.

The restoration of Mr. Gladstone to the office of chancellor of the exchequer may well have revived the hopes of those who looked forward to an advance in free-trade policy and in economical government; but though the former was to be quickly realized, so far as the mutual concessions of the commercial treaty with France were concerned, events had made it impossible to reduce taxation. On the contrary, an increased expenditure on the army and navy which had been thought necessary because of the threatening attitude of France and Austria in the affairs of Italy, and the possibility of hostilities in Europe, as well as in consequence of the suspicion which had been created by the augmented armaments ordered by the French emperor, had created a deficiency which not only perpetuated but increased the income-tax. Since his return from Corfu Mr. Gladstone had enjoyed a brief season of retirement, during which he had been occupied in those studies which enabled him to contribute a valuable addition to what may be called Homeric literature. Of his *Studies of Homer and the Homeric Age*, published in 1858, we cannot here enter into any description, nor would it be in place to discuss the indirect historical relation of the Homeric poems and the Sacred Scriptures which is there referred to. The address which Mr. Gladstone delivered, as chancellor of the University of Edinburgh in 1865, on the "Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order of the World," may be said to have been a subsequent incidental outcome of the studies which enabled the author to produce a work so full of thoughtful investigation. It should be remembered, too, that when

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the book was passing through the press, Mr. Gladstone had but just returned from his mission to the Ionian Islands. That mission was not immediately successful, but the occasion as well as the result of it is exceedingly suggestive. In 1800 the seven united islands of Cephalonia, Cerigo, Corfu, Ithaca, Paxo, Santa Maura, and Zante had been formed into a republic, and in 1815 they had been placed under the protection of Great Britain; but the people were anxious to be released from that protectorate, that the islands might form part of the kingdom of Greece, and many disturbances took place. In the Derby administration Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, or as he afterwards entitled himself Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, was secretary for the colonies, and among other evidences of energy and ability succeeded in founding the colony of British Columbia, with which (in 1866) Vancouver's Island was afterwards incorporated. To a man like Bulwer the appointment of Mr. Gladstone as plenipotentiary for settling the affairs of the Ionian Islands was sure to commend itself. The cause of Greece, and also the cause of freedom and independence in general, had a supporter in the statesman who had exposed the abominable cruelties of the Neapolitan government, and by scholarship, sympathy, and sagacity he was well suited to go on a mission of inquiry to Corfu, where the inhabitants might well be reassured by the appointment of a man whose sympathies were known to be at all events in favour of an unbiassed examination of their claims. Mr. Gladstone was willing to undertake the duties of such a commission, and though the appointment met with much adverse criticism from people who would not admit that there could be any reason for preferring to be a part of a national kingdom instead of remaining a nominal republic under British protection, his nomination appeared to have but one drawback. It was so acceptable to the Greek islanders themselves that they persisted in misunderstanding its real intention. Lytton, in his despatch introducing the lord high commissioner, referred to the scholarship which had interpreted Homer, and for some time those facetious opponents of the appointment who were not scholars, dwelt with delight on a poor jest which represented Mr. Gladstone as attending assemblies of Greeks at Corfu, and addressing them in a classical tongue of which they could not understand more than a few words. What the Greeks really would not understand, was that the commissioner extraordinary had no authority to promise a withdrawal of the British protectorate for the purpose of uniting the islands to the Greek kingdom, but was only empowered to inquire into the best manner of securing the claims of the people under that protectorate. His was an exceedingly difficult and delicate position, for the Greeks insisted on receiving him as a liberator. His journey resembled a triumphal progress, and he was unable to stem the tide of misapprehension in which he found himself. He had gone out to accommodate the protectorate to their demands, and they hailed him as a deliverer from its exactions. He had hoped to arouse them to maintain their independence as a state separate from the monarchy, and they emphasized his arrival by welcoming him as the messenger of their union with the kingdom of which they earnestly desired to form a part. When reports of his reception reached England there was no little commotion among his opponents, who took care to represent that he had gone out with a determination to instigate the people of the islands to demand exemption from British influence unless that influence supported their claims to union with the Kingdom of Greece. However absurd it may have seemed to Britons at home for the Ionian people to desire to exchange a modified form of self-government under powerful foreign protection to an amalgamation with the rest of their countrymen under an uncertain and imperfect constitution, that desire was inextinguishable. Mr. Gladstone deprecated it; he tried to convince them that he had come for no such purpose as that of heralding their union with the Greek kingdom; but the national assembly refused to listen, and passed a resolution declaring for that union. It was with much difficulty that he induced them to appoint a regular committee who would draw

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up a proper memorial. They had begun to feel still more aggrieved at the action of the protectorate. Two despatches, written by the lord high commissioner Sir John Young, had been published in the *Daily News*. These recommended the abandonment of all the islands except Corfu, which might be made a military station or fortress. It was then that the legislative assembly (on the 27th of January, 1859) proposed the annexation of the republic to Greece. When Mr. Gladstone received the report or petition of the committee he despatched to the queen the intelligence that the simple and unanimous will of the Ionian people was for their union with the Kingdom of Greece. The petition was not at once granted, however. Sir Henry Storks was sent out as lord high commissioner, and Mr. Gladstone returned to England. But the agitation among the people continued, and at length (in 1864), after the Greeks had got rid of King Otho, and a Danish prince had accepted the Hellenic throne, the islands were formally handed over as a part of the kingdom, and the British protectorate came to a peaceful end.

Sir Edward Lytton was not long enough in office to prove his practical statesmanship, but he had given evidences of his ability to settle down to earnest work in an office requiring assiduous attention, and he had succeeded in sustaining his reputation, or rather in adding to a literary reputation which was already world-wide, the claim to be an orator and an able politician. Strictly speaking he was neither one nor the other. He had for some time past been taking a forward part in parliament, and it was pretty well known that on the accession of the Derby party to power he would have some office in the government. His speech on the Reform Bill was, as we have seen, a great success, and even moved the admiration of Disraeli—nay, it was received by the house with a tempest of applause, and the cheering was twice renewed. Doubtless the speech was admirable in construction and illustration, and the declaration "the popular voice is like the grave: it cries 'give, give,' but like the grave it never returns what it receives," was hailed with enthusiastic appreciation, but the words were heard with difficulty, or were not heard at all by listeners at a distance.

It is recorded by a writer who was in the house on that occasion, that the sentence that reached him was "the popular yah! is like the grah! it cries 'yah! yah!' but like the grah! it never returns." The speaker was not only deaf, but suffered from defective articulation, the result, perhaps, partly of impediment and partly of the remains of a former fashionable drawl. By the time Sir Edward had reached the end of a sentence his voice had as it were dropped under the table, and its sounds had become almost inarticulate except to those within a few feet of it. But at this time Lytton had determined to add to his achievements that of a parliamentary success, and this he accomplished in spite of physical disqualifications, and, it may be added, without having professed or adopted any pronounced political creed. He had, as we have already noted, begun life somewhat as Disraeli did, as a sentimental Radical, and indeed it was he who had introduced Disraeli and O'Connell. Before the passing of the Reform Bill he represented St. Ives, afterwards he sat for Lincoln till 1841, when he was defeated and remained out of parliament till July, 1852. It was well, perhaps, that he had these ten years to devote to literature, or, at all events thousands of readers all over Europe and in America may well have thought so, for with almost unbounded industry he had produced some of his most striking novels during that period. His fame had already been established, but it was not consolidated until after the early days, when, in common with many of the young aspirants of his time, he was equally noted as a dandy and an author. At one-and-twenty (in 1826) he had left Cambridge, whither he had gone without any of the intermediate rough discipline of a public school. The appearance that year of a volume of poems entitled *Weeds and Wild Flowers* meant very little; his first novel, *Falkland*, which was published anonymously in 1827, caused some curiosity; and when in 1828 *Pelham* appeared, it at once established the author's success. That was a remarkable year in which

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Pelham and *Vivian Gray* both appeared to mark the first important step in the lives of two young men who were afterwards to occupy such prominent places in the story of political and intellectual progress. But Disraeli made politics his career, while Bulwer, after several years in which parliamentary duties were not allowed to prevent his advance in the world of letters, was in 1844 removed from the necessity of becoming a politician by profession, in consequence of his succession to the Knebworth estates by the death of his mother. He had been created a baronet by Lord Melbourne in 1835, and his social rank no less than his attainments had marked him for the honour. Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer was the son of General William Earle Bulwer of Heydon Hall, Norfolk, and his mother was the only daughter and heiress of Richard Warburton Lytton of Knebworth in Hertfordshire, so that on his succeeding to that property, which was worth about £12,000 a year, he took the maternal name, and became known as Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton; a change which provoked a good deal of jesting in *Punch* and other humorous publications. Sir Edward must have been pretty well accustomed to the comic satirists, however, for his name was continually in their mouths for the period between 1845 and 1860. Certain references to the "truthful" and the "beautiful," and several rather inflated modes of expression in some of his works, were considered fair subjects for burlesque, and his personal peculiarities of dress and manner did not escape laughing criticism, while his own satirical writings, including the polished and brilliant verses of *St. Stephen's* and the later *hits* of *The New Timon* provoked repeated attacks and reprisals.

Thackeray in the *Yellowplush Papers* introduces Sir Wedwad-Lytton-Bullwig as one of the guests at the dinner where the literary footman waited at table; and it will be long before Tennyson's vigorous retort upon the author of *The New Timon* for an attack upon him will be forgotten by those who read it at the time of its publication, and noted the bitter scornful references to the assumption of the name of the rugged satirist by "the man who wears the stays"—the lion "who shakes a mane en papillotes." But these sarcasms did not obliterate the appreciation of Lytton's genius; nor had his contemporaries forgotten the ringing lines in which, in 1846, in the same poem, he had referred to Lord Stanley·

> "The brilliant chief irregularly great,
> Frank, haughty, rash—the Rupert of debate.
> Nor gout nor toil his freshness can destroy,
> And time still leaves all Eton in the boy.
> First in the class, and keenest in the ring,
> He saps like Gladstone, and he fights like Spring."

Spring was, of course, the famous "Tom Spring," a well-known champion light-weight boxer, of gentlemanly manners, who for some time kept a famous coaching tavern on Holborn Hill, and was something of a dandy. It is curious to note that "The Rupert of Debate" afterwards became a common expression as applied to the Earl of Derby—more remarkable still, that the term was really originated by Disraeli, who, in 1844 (nearly two years before *The New Timon* was published), in the discussion which followed the charges brought against Sir James Graham by Mr. Ferrand, had said of Lord Stanley: "The noble lord in this case, as in so many others, first destroys his opponent, and then destroys his own position afterwards. The noble lord is the Prince Rupert of parliamentary discussion; his charge is resistless; but when he returns from the pursuit he always finds his camp in the possession of the enemy." Disraeli said few better things than this. But Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer Lytton, for that was his full denomination, had outlived much and achieved much, before he again returned to parliament in 1852. Not that he had altogether outlived remarkable peculiarities which at one period seemed likely to be developed into mental extravagances if not aberrations, but he had succeeded in establishing a second reputation. His romantic novels, and especially *Ernest Maltravers*, *The Pilgrims of the Rhine*, and *The Last Days of Pompeii*, had been read and translated all over the world. His dramas of *The Lady of Lyons* and *Money* were to keep the stage and to be popular through repeated revivals. He had long left sentimental Radicalism behind, and had

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developed into a Conservative so moderate that he might have passed into office with the Whigs, since he concurred with the general policy of Lord Derby, would have readjusted the income-tax, mitigated the duties on malt, tea, and soap, had given up "the ballot" because of its alleged inefficiency in France and America, supported education on a religious basis, and would vote for a repeal of the Maynooth grant.

We have said he had achieved a second success. In 1850 he entered on a new literary career by the publication of *The Caxtons*, and in that and one or two succeeding works will be found those vivid pictures of contemporary life and manners with which his later reputation came to be chiefly identified. At the time of the Derby administration of 1859 he had also lost much that was singular in his appearance, though he could never lose that strange eager plaintive look that bespoke a highly strung organization, nor the worn expression, which, with his meagre frame, told of poor health and perhaps of an overwrought imagination. But there were other anxieties. Like Lord Melbourne he was not altogether happy in his marriage. Between him and Lady Lytton, who was the daughter of Mr. Francis Massey Wheeler, of Lizzard Connel, Limerick, there had arisen differences, which he accounted for on the ground of his wife's mental aberration. They were at all events sufficient to lead to a separation, and it was no light addition to the troubles of weak health, increased deafness, and nervous disorder, that Lady Lytton was the most merciless and denunciatory of all his critics, and assailed him in novels and sketches with persistent invective.

It may easily be supposed, however, that Lord Lytton himself was often "incompatible," and those who knew him could trace in his temperament, just that peculiar sensitiveness which might easily lead to extreme nervous irritability. His imagination, also, showed occasional signs of an irregularity, which, with his tendency to dwell on the preternatural, was likely to degenerate into occasional superstitions. Readers of "Zanoni" or of "A Strange Story," which appeared in Dickens' *All the Year Round*, will, amidst the peculiar fascination of the narrative, detect an element which will indirectly serve to illustrate the mental condition referred to. An anecdote related by Mr. Serjeant Ballantine in his recent *Reminiscences* refers to Lytton's peculiar temperament, though the instinctive antipathy to which it relates is one of a class of comparatively common experiences, not easily to be explained, but by no means to be classified with superstitions. Mr. Ballantine says:—

"Lord Lytton was very fond of whist, and he and I both belonged to the well-known Portland Club, in which were to be found many of the celebrated players of the day. He never showed the slightest disposition of a gambler. He played the game well, and without excitement or temper, and apparently his whole attention was concentrated upon it; but it was curious to see that at every interval that occurred in the rubbers, he would rush off to a writing table, and with equally concentrated attention proceed with some literary work until called again to take his place at the whist table. There was a member of the club, a very harmless, inoffensive man, of the name of Townend, for whom Lord Lytton entertained a mortal antipathy, and would never play whist whilst that gentleman was in the room. He firmly believed that he brought him bad luck. I was witness to what must be termed an odd coincidence. One afternoon when Lord Lytton was playing, and had enjoyed an uninterrupted run of luck, it suddenly turned, upon which he exclaimed, 'I am sure that Mr. Townend has come into the club.' Some three minutes after, just time enough to ascend the stairs, in walked this unlucky personage. Lord Lytton, as soon as the rubber was over, left the table and did not renew the play."

From the same book we learn that Lytton was extremely interested in criminal investigations. "I could always obtain his attention," says Mr. Ballantine, "when I related any of those in which I had myself been engaged, and in novels that he had written previous to my acquaintance with him he had used the records of crime in their construction. The history of a person named Wain-

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wright had furnished incidents very similar to those related in the novel of *Lucretia*. . . . He told me himself that the character of the banker in *The Disowned* was suggested by Fauntleroy."

The Wainwright here referred to was the famous "Janus Weathercock," who poisoned friends and relatives in order to procure the money for which he had induced them to insure their lives, the policies having been made over to himself.

But Lord Lytton's scholarship and his best literary faculty were still in the ascendant during the time that we are now considering. He had been elected Lord Rector of the Glasgow University in 1856, and, as we have said, had then (in his fiftieth year) entered into a second career of fame and of influence in the domain of thought if not in the arena of politics.

Sir Hugh M'Calmont Cairns, whose support of the Derby Reform Bill had been mentioned with such deep appreciation by Disraeli, had already so distinguished himself, that his appointment to the office of solicitor-general under the Conservative administration had been generally expected. He represented Belfast, which had returned him in 1852, so that his parliamentary distinction was rapid, and was afterwards completed by his becoming attorney-general in 1866, a peer and lord-justice in 1867, lord high-chancellor in Disraeli's first administration in 1868 and again in 1874, and an earl in 1878. It need scarcely be said that his eloquence was already famous in the house before his appointment to the solicitor-generalship in 1858, for at about that time Bulwer wrote of him in metaphor sufficiently stilted—

> "Still when Cairns rises, tho' at break of day,
> The sleepers wake and feel rejoiced to stay,
> As his clear reasonings in light strength arise,
> Like Doric shafts admitting lucent skies."

Sir Hugh Cairns possessed the eminently desirable faculty of stating a case with remarkable clearness and accuracy, and his knowledge of the law was believed by his friends to be profound and extensive. At any rate, his tall commanding figure, added to great tact and command of language and gesture, gave effect to what, in a less accomplished speaker, would have failed to arrest so much attention, and Sir Hugh M'Calmont Cairns was regarded not only as a man on the road to great honours, but as the strength of the Conservative government.

The name of Mr. Robert Lowe[1] has already been mentioned, and it had became familiar to commercial politicians in connection with the resolution introduced by Mr. Collier and passed in 1854, pledging parliament to a modification of the law of partnership, which would enable persons to embark in commercial enterprise without assuming a liability for an amount larger than their interest in the undertaking. This resolution and its result in the bill which was passed on the 14th of August, 1855, limiting the liabilities of shareholders in joint-stock companies, changed the entire aspect of a large number of important enterprises, and found a powerful friend and advocate in Mr. Lowe, who, though he had warned Lord Derby that he would not be able "to stem the tide of democracy," had not distinctly attached himself to either party in the house. He had held no place in the ministry, but it was evident that he would soon occupy a prominent position in parliament, where he had taken office almost immediately after his election for Kidderminster in 1852. Mr. Lowe was a man who was sure to be marked for official life, for he had come—with a reputation already made—from Australia, where he had successfully practised as a barrister, and sat in the council of the colony from 1843 to 1850. But he had been known as a scholar long before he left Oxford to go to the Antipodes. His father was the Rev. Robert Lowe, rector of Ringham in Nottinghamshire, and he was educated for Oxford, where he graduated in high honours in 1833 when he was twenty-two years of age. In 1835 he was elected a fellow of his college and became a private tutor, but was called to the bar in 1842, and at once set out for

[1] Now Lord Sherbrooke.

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Australia. From December 1852 to January 1855 he was one of the joint secretaries of the Board of Control, after which he occupied the position of vice-president of the Board of Trade and paymaster-general, retiring from which in 1858 he became vice-president of the Education Board in 1859, when he had exchanged the representation of Wiltshire for that of Colne. He was then coming more decidedly into the active political life of parliament, and we shall presently hear of him, and of the eccentric course which he more than once pursued in relation to prominent questions.

The Duke of Argyle, who had held the office of postmaster-general from 1855 to 1858 and now as lord privy-seal took his place in the ministry of Lord Palmerston, had been more distinguished in the world of letters than in that of practical politics; but his intellectual training and a certain faculty for incisive criticism well fitted him for taking a prominent part in the consideration of some important questions which were occupying attention. He had been Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews in 1851 and Rector of Glasgow University in 1854, and before the earlier of these dates had published an able essay on "The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation," which was followed by several other pamphlets on religious or ecclesiastical subjects. It is needless to say that the position held in the country by George John Douglas Campbell represented a wide social influence, if not a strong political following. The time had perhaps gone by when the descendant of Diarmid and MacCallum More was powerful, because he was the chief of a great clan; but to be the hereditary head of a large and influential family, of historical rank and distinction, was still sufficient to command an important place in the state, especially when the holder of the title had given proofs of remarkable ability for taking his part in the council of the nation.

In 1844 his grace married the charming and accomplished Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson Gower, eldest daughter of the Duke of Sutherland, and this union, of the hereditary master of the royal household in Scotland with the daughter of the beautiful Duchess of Sutherland, mistress of the robes, may naturally have brought the family of the Campbells into that intimate domestic relation to the children of the queen, which resulted in the alliance of the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne. This, however, belongs to a later date, and is mentioned here chiefly because it has been believed that the peculiar position occupied by the Duke of Argyle has necessarily, or at least properly, acted in restraint of his taking so prominent a place in the political arena as he might otherwise have assumed.

There were three Campbells in the field in 1859, for the venerable lord chief-justice was still living, and the young law student of Lincoln's Inn—who, in the year 1800, had helped out his small allowance by reporting for the *Daily Chronicle*, was now lord-chancellor at eighty years of age, with an untarnished reputation for clear judgment and extraordinary acuteness, and a passion for work which had enabled him to devote his brief leisure to the production of two remarkable books, *The Lives of the Chief Justices* and *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors*. Lord Campbell was still vigorous, and intellectually capable of taking one of the highest and most responsible offices in the realm. His only rivals, both in vigour and intensity at an advanced age, were the venerable Lord Lyndhurst, who was still full of fire, though he had to lean on the back of the seat in front of him when he rose to speak in the House of Lords:—and Lord Brougham, who was yet to be seen walking across the lobby, not to the House of Commons but to the Lords, with his loosely-hanging, ill-fitting clothes, his hat pulled tight down over his great prominent forehead. Old he certainly looked, for he had passed his eighty-first year, but to the friend on whose arm he hung he talked volubly enough.

He still had the wonderful faculty not only of knowing something about everything, but of being able to talk about anything, and he still possessed the power of sleeping at will,

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ROBERT LOWE.

NOW VISCOUNT SHERBROOKE.

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or of doing without sleep for a long time and then making up the arrears. It was known that in a drawing-room, in the midst of a lively conversation which he would begin with a lady, he would softly slumber, or seem to slumber while his fair companion went on talking, and would wake up at the right moment to reply or to resume the discussion. There was a joke, probably well founded, that at a conversazione he was talking learnedly about a Hindoo poem written five hundred years before the Christian era, when suddenly somebody gave a turn to the conversation, which led him to discourse with equal knowledge and fluency on the philosophical method of cooking a beaf-steak.

But we can scarcely pass the subject of veterans without referring to the third Campbell, the veteran warrior who had, at nearly seventy years of age, completed the great work of the suppression of the rebellion in India, and at last had received the recognition of his services there and in the Crimea, by receiving a peerage with the title of Baron Clyde. Sir Colin Campbell was born in Glasgow in 1792, and obtained such learning as he possessed at the High School. He entered the army as an ensign in the 9th Regiment of foot, when he was sixteen, his commission having been procured for him by his uncle, Colonel Campbell. The same year he was at Vimiera with Wellesley, and was afterwards at Corunna with Sir John Moore. His career begun with hard fighting, and it continued through the Peninsular war, and yet he only obtained the rank of captain, for there was no family influence to back him, and he gained every step by active service, such as the leading of a storming party at St. Sebastian, where he was severely wounded, and only recovered in time to take part in another engagement, in which he was again disabled by a musket shot.

In 1814 he was sent to America with his regiment—the 60th Rifles. And in 1815, when the peace was declared, he found leisure to study the theory of his profession, and made such proficiency that he rose to a command as brigadier-major, in which capacity he went to Demerara, with the thankless duty of quelling the negro insurrection. By 1825, and again in 1832, he was able to purchase his majority, so that in the latter year he was lieutenant-colonel of the 98th, with which he went to China, and was rewarded for his brilliant services by promotion to a full colonelcy.

His next campaign was in India in 1848, when Lord Gough made him brigadier, and he retrieved the losses of the battle of Chillianwallah (where he was wounded), with the victory of Goojerat, which closed the Sikh wars, and brought him the honours of a K.C.B. Though he went through the Scinde campaign with Sir Charles Napier, his military rank of brigadier was local only, and on his return in 1853 he was still only a colonel, until he went out to the Crimea in 1854 as brigadier-general.

We have already seen what were his services during that terrible time, and it can scarcely be wondered at that, upon the appointment of General Codrington to the command, after the death of General Simpson, Sir Colin should have felt himself slighted at having been superseded by a junior officer. He returned to England, but being requested to resume active service, had prepared to take command of a large corps of British and Turkish soldiers, to land at Theodosia, ascend the river and take the Russian entrenchments in the rear, when the war was brought to an end, and he returned home to receive a well-earned reward, not only in an addition to his title by being made a G.C.B., but in the enthusiastic regard of the country, and the public presentation of a sword of honour by six thousand of his fellow-citizens in Glasgow.

After his brilliant services in the Indian mutiny he was able to rest on his laurels, and to receive from the queen and the nation those further distinctions which had been so arduously earned.

Lord Lyndhurst was in his eighty-eighth year, and it was he who with amazing force and intensity advocated those additions to the national defences, which had been advised by Prince Albert and the Queen after their visit to

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Cherbourg had shown them the French fortifications. Lord Palmerston was completely of the same opinion. In a strong speech in the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst had said: "If I am asked whether I cannot place reliance in the Emperor Napoleon, I reply with confidence that I cannot, because he is in a position in which he cannot place reliance on himself. He is in a situation in which he must be governed by circumstances, and I will not consent that the safety of this country should be placed in such contingencies. Self-reliance is the best road to distinction in private life. It is equally essential to the grandeur and character of a nation. . . . The question of the money expense sinks into insignificance. It is the price we must pay for our insurance, and it is a moderate price for so important an insurance. I know there are persons who will say 'Let us run the risk!' Be it so. But, my lords, if the calamity should come—if the conflagration should take place—what words can describe the extent of the calamity, or what imagination can paint the overwhelming ruin that would fall upon us!"

Lord Palmerston did not quite take this view. He had or seemed to have an invincible faith in England and in English pluck and mettle, but he was in favour of armaments for all that. He held that a frank avowal that we were prepared for war, if war should be necessary, was the best way of preserving peace. It was the friendship of the prize-ring; the shaking hands with an eye to a set-to, as much as to say, "Nothing could exceed my pleasure in our amicable relations; but if you want anything—come on!"

It is scarcely to be wondered at that people should have been asking how Mr. Gladstone came to accept office as chancellor of the exchequer. He had held an appointment, though an honorary and non-political one, under the Derby administration (for it should be noted that he had refused to accept any salary for his services as commissioner extraordinary at Corfu), but his sympathies were certainly not with the Conservatives, and his Liberal opinions had even gone far beyond those of many who sat with Lord Palmerston. At this time Mr. Gladstone may be said to have belonged to no party and to neither side. The "Peelites," no longer had any existence. The small group who had been called by that name had dispersed. Cardwell had long ago thrown in his lot with the Palmerston ministry, and was now secretary for Ireland. Sidney Herbert had followed, and Graham had given a final blow to the Conservatives in the last debate, and was all on the Liberal side.

Before the dissolution following that defeat, Gladstone had sat solitary among the Conservative party. His political convictions were many of them with the other side; but not some of his deepest moral or religious convictions. It happened to him then, as it had happened before and has happened since, that he came to a decision through a mental conflict from which men of less sensitive (some have said fantastic) feelings—or less habitual self-dissection and investigation of motives—would not have suffered. He accepted the office of chancellor of the exchequer amidst the murmurs of the extreme Radicals and the satisfaction of the Whigs, but it was understood that if he continued to hold office there must be a good many open questions, and that he was likely to oppose the demand for increased armaments, and yet to be more in sympathy with the aspirations of the Italians for freedom than with the policy of conciliating Austria.

The probability of a war in Italy between Austria and Sardinia, or rather between the Austrians and the French, who were ready to stand before the Sardinians in the name of Italian freedom, had been the burning question at the beginning of the year 1859, and now by the end of June it had been emphatically answered.

Austrian rule in Italy had become unendurable. It did not need the vivid utterances of Mazzini, or the desperate protests of Italian conspirators—to convince the world of this. All lovers of liberty regarded with indignation the conditions under which the Italians of the Duchies were governed; and in England sympathy with Mazzini and those who cried out for a united Italy and the overthrow of the usurper, had reached to a great height.

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But it had not reached to the height of intervention. Such representations as had been made when Mr. Gladstone exposed the revolting cruelties of the Neapolitan prisons might have been repeated, and perhaps with as much or as little effect; but to go further would have been virtually to declare war against Austria, while to espouse the cause of the "national party," who, under the direction of Mazzini, were endeavouring to effect the liberation of Italy by a series of insurrections, would have been to oppose the only firm Italian government in existence—that of Piedmont, under our former ally. Victor Emmanuel had in fact continued sentence of death against the republican agitator; while Cavour, in order to counteract the "fatal influence" of the fervid patriot not only in Italy but in Piedmont itself, became the prime mover of the "national society" which assumed to have for its object war with Austria. The policy of Cavour was to wait a little longer. The moderate party in Italy was also ready to look for some future advantage and to delay action. Mazzini was for immediate effort. What Cavour wanted was a monarchical Italy under Victor Emmanuel, and Mazzini suspected that he was ready to pay a price for it when the time came. That price the republican averred was the cession of Savoy and Nice to France for becoming an ally of Italy. He had written months before the event that Napoleon sought "in Nizza and Savoy the price for Lombardy, the throne of Naples for Murat, and of the centre for his cousin," and that Cavour had agreed to it. "If Austria resist to the utmost the whole design will be completed. If after the first defeats she should offer to abandon Lombardy in order to have Venetia secured to her, they will accept, and only the conditions concerning the aggrandisement of the house of Savoy will be fulfilled; the rest of uprisen Italy will be abandoned to the vengeance of her masters." He also pointed out the probability of what he said would be a "sudden ruinous peace, fatal to the insurgents, before the war is half over. . . . Louis Napoleon, fearing the action of the peoples, should the war be prolonged, will compel the Sardinian monarchy to desist, conceding to it a certain portion of territory according to circumstances, and abandoning the betrayed Venetian provinces, as well as a portion of Lombardy, to Austria."

This was a close representation of much that afterwards took place, and also of the whole of what would probably have been the result but for an uncomputed factor. That factor was Garibaldi. Mazzini and Garibaldi, equally pure in intention, both ready to sacrifice everything to a noble patriotism, were never at one. Mazzini was a visionary statesman with exalted ideas of what a republic should be. He exhausted himself and the very cause which he had at heart in the endeavour to attain national liberty by arousing public spirit to insurrection by means of a sentiment, and then uniting in one great effort. Garibaldi was a warrior, believing that when there was a good hope for insurrection in the name of liberty,—and not before,—men needed only leaders who, with sword in hand, would help to fire them with immediate enthusiasm, and take them onward to battle. Mazzini would have had Garibaldi obey orders, and either fight, or stop fighting, on a sentimental principle of pure republicanism. Garibaldi refused to yield obedience against his own opinions, and cared less for subtle distinctions as to what kind of republic should alone claim the devotion of the nation, than for the actual achievement of national liberty and the destruction of the foreign yoke. Cavour—that rather commonplace-looking, stoutish, easygoing Italian, in spectacles, which gave him a still more ordinary appearance, and with a manner that, to superficial observers, suggested anything but subtle diplomacy worthy of the old Italian traditions—could outplot them both. He perhaps was not the equal of Mazzini for real insight, but he was far beneath him in scrupulousness, and this, added to the possession of power, gave him an advantage, which he used continually to check the effects of the fervid and unselfish appeals which so often seemed to be stirring a people to enthusiastic action, but which always fell short of achieving more than a partial outbreak. This is not the place to analyse or comment upon the character of Cavour. He succeeded in raising an Italian

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monarchy, and he was able to counterplot Mazzini, who would have had a republic. He succeeded also in making an instrument of Garibaldi; but the man of action, who cut away superfine distinctions with his sword in the passion of battle, was an instrument that was near cutting his hand. But for Garabaldi, Italy might have been free only in name, and even the monarchy might have been a provincial rather than a national government. Garibaldi's simple enthusiasm, and the swift success that attended him when men flocked to his standard after the Franco-Sardinian war with Austria, would have forced a weaker or a less guarded hand than that of Cavour. But Cavour knew how to take quick and cunning advantage of the opportunity for making the Piedmontese rule Italian, and so to give to the world a more united Italy than even the insurrection had at first promised.

That, at the end of 1858, the Emperor of the French contemplated hostilities with Austria there was no room to doubt. In a letter to our queen he had announced the approaching marriage of Prince Napoleon with the daughter of the King of Sardinia; and a few weeks before, had actually discussed with Lord Palmerston (who, as we have seen, was at Compiegne), his plans for the expulsion of the Austrian troops from Italy, where a general rising had for some months been preparing in the north. At the diplomatic receptions on the 1st of January, 1859, he had said to M. Hubner, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, "I regret that the relations between our two governments are not more satisfactory; but I beg you to assure the emperor that they in no respect alter my feelings for himself." It should be remembered, however, that Austria, declining always to recognize the right of France to interfere in Italian affairs, had more than once refused to combine with Napoleon in any efforts to bring about reforms in the governments of the Duchies or the Papal States, whose sovereigns she was, in fact, pledged by treaty to support. The necessity for keeping an army in Italy on a war footing, because of the attitude of Piedmont, galled her and put a strain on her resources; but that army was believed to be splendidly organized and under the command of the best generals in Europe. The train was laid, it only required the match. The match was ready. On the opening of the Sardinian chambers on the 10th of January, King Victor Emmanuel had said:

"Our country, small in territory, has acquired credit in the councils of Europe, because it is great through the idea it represents and the sympathies it inspires. This position is not exempt from perils, since, while we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of suffering which reaches us from so many parts of Italy."

The military preparations of Austria had been pushed forward. Large bodies of troops were arriving in the plains of Lombardy. It looked much as though Austria would be the aggressor. Her officers were talking of an advance on Turin as a stage on the way to Paris.

The Emperor of the French had probably thought that Russia would gladly join in the chastisement of Austria; it was said that he had asked the question of Schouvaloff, and had been immediately undeceived. On the other hand, he was under the impression, misled perhaps by his conversations with Palmerston, who seems to have rejoiced in the notion of the Austrians having a castigation, that war with Austria for the restoration of Italian freedom would consolidate his alliance with England. He had at last reluctantly given up the notion that England would become his ally in the cause.

English statesmen on both sides were too acute to be led into what might prove to be a European war for the interest of France, when it was strongly suspected, if not absolutely known, that Cavour held the cue of the arrangement and that the price of French intervention had been already settled.

The restoration of Italy, and even the expulsion of the Austrians, was dear perhaps to a large majority of the English people, but the attitude of the French emperor caused no little suspicion. We had not yet got over the threats of the French colonels because of the alleged protection of Italian refugees in Lon-

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don. Who could tell what might be the ultimate intention of France, or to what length the emperor might be driven? who knew whether we might not have to prepare against the contingencies of war in Europe?

The effect of the first note of hostility was to confirm the intention of increasing our armaments and to give a fresh impetus and completer organization to the Volunteer movement. But the note of war had not yet sounded, and before it was heard attempts were made at a pacific conclusion by means of a congress.

The Emperor of the French contended that he respected treaties, and had only agreed to interpose if Austria should commence hostilities, or invade Sardinian territory. He had already endeavoured to atone to the Austrian ambassador for his hasty words by using conciliatory expressions. In reply to a letter from the queen, in February, 1859, representing the anxiety in England for the maintenance of peace, he denied that there was any foundation for the alarms and suspicions which were constantly manifested with regard to his proceedings. He had received confidential communications from Italy that the state of affairs there would soon result in an insurrection, which was only prevented by the counsels of Piedmont, but that the Sardinians would not draw back from a war with Austria. He had replied that his first duty was to his country and its interests, that the traditional policy of France had always been opposed to the exclusive influence of Austria in Italy, but that his government could not encourage an aggressive line of conduct on the part of Piedmont, nor support her in a struggle in which right would not be on her side; but that, on the other hand, she might rely on being vigorously backed, either if attacked by Austria, *or if she became involved with this power in a just and lawful war.*

In the last phrase, which is here printed in italics, lay the key of Cavour's subsequent demands. What would be a war *juste et légitime?* It depended on any interpretation which might be put upon it.

"But," the letter went on to say, "these *pourparlers* came to nothing; but towards November last, either because the unpopular measures taken by Austria in Italy had roused men's minds, or because indiscreet language had been held at Turin, or, finally, because a certain party had found its interest in disquieting public opinion, certain it is that all at once rumours of war were spread on every side, founded both upon the condition of people's minds in Italy and upon the state of our relations with Austria. In the hope of calming these apprehensions I caused it to be announced in the *Moniteur* that there was nothing in our relations with foreign powers to justify such fears. Notwithstanding this, as if under the influence of a real panic, everything continued to be construed in a warlike sense. The conciliatory words to M. Hubner, the despatch to Marseilles of six batteries (without men or horses) destined for Algeria, the construction, as an experiment, of ten gunboats, carrying each one gun, the armament of two troop-ships for the Algerine service, the purchase of some thousands of artillery-horses to bring their number up to the peace footing—finally, the progress made with the reconstruction of our artillery equipment begun two years before —these were what were taken as so many warlike symptoms; and, *although there was in fact nothing more,* the persuasion to the contrary is so general, that it would be difficult for me to persuade the public in France and abroad, that I am not even now making immense preparations for war. And yet at this very time simple prudence seems to me to enjoin that I should do much more; for on the one side I cannot blind myself to the ill-will that surrounds me, and on the other, for the last month I have been urgently appealed to by the King of Sardinia to mass 20,000 men upon the Alps, ready to come to his assistance, in case of his being attacked by the Austrians.

"I am, therefore, in no way responsible either for the apprehensions or for the agitation now on foot, and I can regard them with indifference. But . . . with complications beyond the Alps staring us in the face, people seem to deny to France by anticipation the influence to which she is entitled by her rank

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among nations, as well as by her history. In presence of an imaginary intervention in the affairs of a country which touches our frontiers, all Germany seems of a mind to enter into a league against France, and to dispute even her most legitimate action. Did Germany intervene in our embroilment with Russia? Or did Europe intervene when Germany upheld the cause of Holstein against Denmark?

"I admit to your Majesty that this attitude of Germany sets me thinking deeply, and that I see in it great danger for the future, for I shall always respect the treaties."

There is much to read between the lines of this letter. It was evident enough from the position of affairs that the idea of a war in Italy would not be popular in France. The reception, or rather the want of a reception, of Prince Napoleon and his bride by the people of Paris indicated the coldness with which intervention on behalf of Sardinia would be regarded. The financial condition of Sardinia was such that Cavour could not negotiate a loan for any large amount. The French state debt had increased from £213,800,000 in 1851 to £336,880,000 in 1858. The emperor had been greatly mistaken as to the probable support of England and the general attitude of Europe in relation to a war in Italy. Prince Albert, writing to the King of Belgium, in January, 1859, said:—"Louis Napoleon has manifestly calculated thus: 'Russia will be well pleased to avenge herself on Austria, and will, therefore, support me in my attack on Italy. England hates Austria, is mad for Italian freedom and nationality, so she, too, will give me her moral support. Prussia hates Austria, will be glad to see her humbled, and is to be won over by promises of advancement in Germany at the expense of Austria. Italy yearns for freedom, and will, therefore, receive me and my army with transport.'"

It was afterwards understood that when war had commenced, Russia had represented that no intervention from Prussia was probable while the war was confined to Italy, but a rumour afterwards reached Napoleon that Prussia was preparing for war, and this, it was said, eventually hastened determination to conclude the Italian campaign with a treaty in which the declaration that the country was to be free to the Adriatic, was left to the category of hyperbolical expressions. The real anxiety of Prussia, and of England also, was the continued restlessness of the emperor and the evident desire to remodel treaties and readjust frontiers. Thus it was feared that success in Italy might eventually lead to some attempt on the Rhenish provinces. It was in the most friendly spirit that the queen and English statesmen, even Lord Palmerston, urged the preservation of peace, and their representations combined with the indifference of the French people had some temporary effect in delaying further demonstrations, though it was believed that Cavour wrought on the mind of the emperor, not only by keeping before him their secret understanding, but by referring with sinister emphasis to the poignards of Italian assassins. At the same time Prince Napoleon was sarcastically inquiring whether the agreement with Sardinia was to be observed, now that it had been, as it were, ratified by his own matrimonial alliance.

That the emperor had been placed in a false position partly by his own expectation, but also, in part, by the representations of Russian diplomacy and the determination of Cavour not to abate one of his claims, there can be no doubt, but the question was, Did he at that juncture deliberately attempt to trick Europe? The Queen and Prince Albert had begun to distrust him some time before, and Lord Palmerston, who on the whole liked him very well, and had seemed to support his views, said not long afterwards, "The emperor's mind seems as full of schemes as a warren is full of rabbits, and like rabbits his schemes go to the ground for the moment to avoid notice or antagonism." "Il recule bien pour le moment, mais il n'abandonne jamais," had been said of him before this, and it seemed about to be verified. At all events he contrived to convey to Lord Cowley that he was ready to accept the good offices of England to negotiate a basis of arrangement with Austria. This Lord Derby's government was ready to undertake if Austria was

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willing to accept an attempt at mediation. The queen's address at the opening of parliament had, with some emphasis, dwelt on the hope that peace might be maintained, and this was considered to have been taken as a suggestion for an endeavour to be made for arriving at a definite understanding.

On the return of Lord Cowley it was announced that Austria was ready to consent to a withdrawal of her troops from the Papal States, to support a system of internal reforms in Italy, to pledge herself not to attack Sardinia, and to negotiate some new arrangement to take the place of her special treaties with the Duchies. When we read these concessions carefully they mean little or nothing except in connection with a long conference and the settlement of preliminary measures. Perhaps Napoleon distrusted Austria as much as Prussia, and even more than England distrusted him. At all events, when Lord Cowley got back to Paris, he found that another proposition had been brought forward. Instead of negotiations between the parties immediately interested, there was to be a congress of the European powers for the preservation of peace.

The proposal came from St. Petersburg, but it had first been sent thither from the Tuileries. Renewed suspicion was the consequence of the proposal. On learning of it from Lord Malmesbury the queen replied, "A congress has always been the alternative to war which the emperor has put forward; but a congress to rearrange the treaties of 1815. Russia may intend to act in such a congress the part against Austria regarding Lombardy, which Austria acted against her in the last congress regarding Bessarabia. . . . Austria will have enormous armaments to keep up while the congress lasts, for otherwise France might suddenly break off and fall upon her simultaneously with a rising of the Italian populations. She will, therefore, be very averse (and justly so) to a congress. Is it the emperor's object to exhaust her?"

This curiously resembled the opinion of M. Thiers contained in a letter written at the same time, in which he said the aim of the emperor was to compass war while talking of peace. "His adversary being ready, while he is not, this delay serves admirably his purpose of employing against Austria a method of dissolution, by prolonging a critical and irritating state of things that will exhaust her. In truth, Austria cannot remain in arms for an indefinite period without being exhausted. Another result of this state of things might be, that the young emperor, weary of an intolerable burden, may end by preferring war to a position as enervating as it would be disastrous. Thus, having perforce become the aggressor, he would play into Napoleon's hands, who might then proclaim triumphantly that it is no fault of his if the empire is not peace."

It would seem, however, that neither side was sincere. Lord Cowley, who had perhaps the best opportunity of forming a judgment, came to the opinion that the emperor was really desirous of a congress, because the probabilities were that the decision arrived at would be against his entering on a war to support Sardinia; and that other proposals would be made, against which if Cavour should endeavour to exact fulfilment of a promise of French intervention, it might be answered that France could not be expected to oppose herself to the decision of all the great powers of Europe. But Austria, with "her bigotries, her hauteur, her insincerity, and her blundering statesmanship," as old Stockmar had just expressed it, soon made the decisions of a congress, or indeed any untrammeled and genuine negotiations for peace, difficult if not impossible. How much probability could there be that such a convention would succeed in settling questions which were keeping a great part of Italy in a state of insurrection? There was no certain basis to go upon. "I believe," said Lord Clarendon in the House of Lords, "that all my noble friend (Lord Malmesbury) knows is this: that one despotic power has proposed to another despotic power, that by means of a congress a third despotic power should pave the way for liberal institutions."

Austria had professedly as an evidence of her pacific intentions proposed as one of the

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matters to be settled by the congress, the simultaneous disarmament of the great powers. This the emperor had declined, on the ground that the armaments of France were all upon a peace footing; but Lord Cowley remonstrated with a directness and emphasis which are very unusual in diplomatic representations to a foreign sovereign, and begged him solemnly not to reject any offer which, while it left the honour of France untouched, might lead to peace; representing that while he had no cause of quarrel with Austria, to draw the sword might rivet faster the chains of Italy.

This appeal had great effect. The emperor afterwards assented to the arrangement that the congress should meet, Sardinia and the other Italian states being admitted to take part in it, and Sardinia consenting to join in the general disarmament. A telegram was despatched to Count Cavour asking his immediate concurrence in this arrangement. The demand was serious, and would have been a critical one, but for the fact that the proposal to disarm would come from all Europe. Cavour could not hesitate. France, England, Russia, and Prussia were all ready, and had agreed on the basis of the conference. They waited for Austria, and Austria kept them waiting in doubt of her acceptance of the arrangement which she herself had suggested. When the message came it was one pressing for disarmament as a *preliminary* to the congress. Then public opinion, here at all events, began to turn. Austria meant to begin hostilities, and to strike a blow before the French were ready. It was in fact a case of suspicion all round, or as Prince Albert put it: "Suspicion, hatred, pride, cunning, intrigue, covetousness, dissimulation dictate the despatches, and in this state of things we cast about to find a basis on which peace may be secured."

We have seen that as early as the 1st of January, 1859, it was evident that some action was contemplated by Napoleon against the Austrian occupation of Italy. On that day the words he addressed to M. Hubner were not unnaturally interpreted to prelude a warlike manifestation. The King of Sardinia's language at the opening of his chambers, which took place on the 10th of January, confirmed that impression. It was spirited, determined, and hopeful. Everybody surmised that some agreement had already been entered into between the respective governments, a surmise which rose to certainty when, the hand of the Princess Clothilde, the only daughter of Victor Emmanuel, was formally demanded by General Niel, on behalf of the Emperor of the French, for his cousin Prince Napoleon.

That marriage took place on the 30th of January, and by that time Austria had begun to prepare for war, and to concentrate its troops in Italy, which it occupied with a persistency that became actually aggressive, and defiant of the treaties which were intended to protect the country from foreign occupation. Victor Emmanuel at once asked his government to raise a loan, and in supporting it Count Cavour made an eloquent speech on behalf of Italian liberty.

We are now briefly following events as they were publicly known to show what were the relative positions of the disputants.

On the 7th of February, at the opening of the French session, the emperor made no declaration of a warlike character; he rather endeavoured to calm the excitement which the prospect of war had produced, and spoke of the possibility of further disagreement being averted by a conference. England, too, made active efforts to avert what seemed to be an inevitable conflict in Italy, and, addressing the Sardinian government through its ministers at Turin, requested to know what the specific complaints were which the Italians had to make against Austria. This appeal was ably answered in a long memorandum, which concluded by saying that war or revolution might be averted, and the Italian question at least temporarily solved, by obtaining from Austria a national and separate government for Lombardy and Venetia; by requiring, in conformity with the Treaty of Vienna, that the domination of Austria in Central Italy should cease, and consequently that the detached forts outside the walls of Piacenza should be destroyed; that the occupation of the Romagna should cease, and that the principle of non-intervention should be proclaimed

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and respected; by inviting the Dukes of Modena and Parma to give to their people institutions similar to those existing in Piedmont; by requiring that the Grand-duke of Tuscany should re-establish the constitution to which he freely consented in 1848; and by obtaining from the sovereign pontiff the administrative separation of the provinces beyond the Apennines.

The first note of war was sounded by Austria, and it almost immediately woke English sentiment on behalf of Italy. The wrongs inflicted by Austrian tyranny were remembered, and thenceforth every battle in which the aggressors were defeated was hailed with satisfaction by the friends of freedom in this country.

On the 23d of April the aide-de-camp of the Austrian general, Baron Kellersberg, arrived at Turin with a summons from the Austrian government, calling on Sardinia to disarm in three days, under the threat of immediate hostilities if she failed to comply. Three days afterwards Count Cavour sent a temperate but firm reply, referring to the attempts to avert hostilities by a congress, and maintaining the position of the King of Sardinia.

The next day Victor Emmanuel issued proclamations to his troops and to all Italians. The latter spoke of Austria refusing to listen to a European congress, and made known that France would fight side by side with Italy in the impending war. The English government recorded a solemn protest against the course taken by Austria, and declared the negotiations for a congress to be at an end. Count Walewski, the French foreign minister, made a statement to the Corps Legislatif detailing the whole particulars of the case between Austria and Sardinia, and declaring that, in the event of the invasion of the territory, France would not hesitate to respond to the appeal of her ally.

On the following day (April 27th) the Emperor of Austria declared to his army in Lombardy that war had commenced, and ordered them to enter Sardinia. On the 3d of May the Emperor of the French announced that the cause of Sardinia and of Italy would be taken up by France against a power which violated treaties and justice; that Austria had brought affairs to such an issue that she must be free to the shores of the Adriatic. He proclaimed that he should place himself at the head of the French army, and appointed the empress as regent in his absence, "seconded by the experience and the enlightenment of the last surviving brother of the emperor." He "confided her and his son to the army left in France to watch the frontiers and protect the homes, and to the entire people who would surround them with the affection and devotion of which he himself daily received so many proofs." An imperial decree appeared in the *Moniteur* confirming these arrangements. The empress was to preside at the privy-council and the council of ministers, and to take the advice of Prince Jerome Napoleon, the uncle of the emperor, who was to preside at the council of ministers in her absence. The emperor quitted Paris on the 10th of May, and was in Genoa on the 12th with the army, to whom he at once issued an order of the day, exhorting and reminding them of the part they were to take in the conflict.

The Sardinian army had altered its position several times because of the movements made by the Austrians, who seem to have been undecided as to the strategic position they meant to assume. The first, second, and third corps of the French army had, by the 16th of May, occupied positions which gave the allies the command of the whole line of the Po. Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers, General MacMahon, and General Niel commanded the French divisions, General Forey was at the head of the division which formed their vanguard on the extreme right, opposite to which the Austrians, in strong force, occupied the road to Pavia, behind Casteggio.

On the 20th of May the Austrian general, anxious to ascertain the strength of the enemy on his left, ordered Count Stadion to make a reconnaissance on the right bank of the Po with a considerable force, which crossed the river and took Casteggio and Montebello, at that time occupied by the Piedmontese troops. They then pushed on in two columns, but were

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checked by the advance of the French division under General Forey, who drove them back on Montebello, where a desperate hand-to-hand conflict took place, amidst which fresh troops from Forey's division continued to arrive by railway. From the heights of Montebello the Austrians beheld a novelty in the art of war. Train after train arrived by railway from Voghera, each train disgorging its hundreds of armed men, and immediately hastening back for more. In vain Count Stadion endeavoured to crush the force in front of him before it could be increased enough to overpower him. The Austrians gave way and retired on Casteggio, which they quitted at nightfall, crossing the river by the bridge at Vacarizza. In this engagement, which was called the battle of Montebello, the Austrians lost 294 killed and 718 wounded, with 200 prisoners, and the French 671 killed and wounded. Among the killed was General Benuet, who had served with distinction in Algeria and in the Crimea.

The object of the Emperor of the French was to deceive the enemy by a strategical movement, making them believe that he was about to attack on the right of his position, and appearing to concentrate troops in that direction. On the morning of the 30th of May the Piedmontese divisions moved in different directions, so that the Austrians imagined they were about to attack Mortara, where they (the Austrians) occupied a strong position. In order to keep them still more in error the Sardinians were ordered to advance upon Bobbio (between Vercelli and Mortara), where the enemy was in great force; and General Gyulai, the Austrian commander, thinking General Canrobert was about to cross the river at Prarola, determined to anticipate him by attacking Palestro, which was defended by Piedmontese, commanded by the king in person. A severe combat ended in the defeat of the Austrians, while at the same time General Fanti and his Piedmontese division drove back the enemy from Confienza.

The great body of the French army was meanwhile marching rapidly to the left towards Novara, where it encamped on the 31st of May, while the Austrians supposed that it was moving in the contrary direction towards Mortara.

On the 2d of June the French Imperial Guard was ordered to advance to Turbigo, where, finding no enemy, they threw bridges across and crossed the river, followed by the main body of the corps d'armée under General MacMahon and a Sardinian division. The attack of an Austrian corps, brought hastily by railway from Milan, was soon repulsed. On the same day General Espinasse advanced towards Buffalora, and the enemy abandoned their intrenchments and retired to the left bank of the Ticino, thus giving up the territory that they had occupied as an act of aggression. The Emperor of the French proceeded to Buffalora on the 4th of June to command the attack in person, the Austrians having strengthened their position at Magenta, where their reinforcements were arriving constantly. The grenadiers of the guard and the Zouaves, commanded by the emperor in person, rushed forward to carry the position. They gained the high ground beside the canal, where they were surrounded by masses of the enemy, and sustained a fierce combat for four hours against unequal numbers, until the attack of General MacMahon, on the Austrian right, changed the fortune of the day. That general advanced in two columns and drove the enemy back with the bayonet, the troops fighting hand to hand amongst the vineyards. It was a frightful scene of carnage, especially on the railway line and the station near the village, where the Austrians concentrated all their efforts.

General Canrobert's division was able at last to join that of the emperor, and part of General Neil's corps had also come up. General Espinasse had been killed in the attack on the village, which was taken and retaken several times. At eight o'clock in the evening the allied armies were masters of the field, and the Austrians retreated, leaving 7000 prisoners in the hands of their opponents.

The victory of Magenta was followed by the entry of the emperor and the King of Sardinia into Milan. This event took place on the 8th of June amidst the enthusiastic demonstrations of the people. The King of

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Italy, assuming that Lombardy would be added to his dominions, issued proclamations, and appointed a governor of the territory. The emperor also issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Lombardy explaining his alliance, and urging the people to join the standard of the king.

Having evacuated Milan, the Austrians had assembled in great force at Malegnano, halfway between Milan and Lodi, intending to hold that position while their main army retreated across the Adda. This the French were determined to prevent, and on the 8th of June three divisions of the 1st corps, under Baraguay d'Hilliers, engaged them, and, after a tremendous struggle, which ended in severe street-fighting, drove them out with serious loss. The Austrian army then retreated across the plains of Lombardy, on the line of the Mincio, in three main columns. By the 11th of June the whole army had crossed the Adda, blowing up the bridges after them, and destroying the works at Piacenza and Pavia as they were evacuated by their garrisons. Lodi and Pizzighettone were also destroyed, so that the fortresses built to overawe Italy were shattered by their constructors. Not till they reached the Mincio and were within the lines of the famous "Quadrilateral" did they attempt to make a stand, protected by its four fortresses of Peschiera, Verona, Legnano, and Mantua. They were followed by the allied armies across the plains of Lombardy, and before it could be conjectured what course they would take they recrossed the Mincio and assumed an offensive position. A reconnaissance pushed forward by the French met their advanced posts near the village of Solferino, and an aëronaut who accompanied the army of the allies ascended in a balloon to explore the position. The enemy occupied the hilly country which there forms a kind of parallelogram, the angles of which are Sonato, Peschiera, Volta, and Castiglione. Their line extended for about twelve miles from Peschiera down into the plain of Mincio. The centre of it was Cavriana, which the Emperor of Austria had chosen as his headquarters. On the 24th, in the morning, the French were aware of their movements, and the emperor at once directed his attention to bringing together the various corps of the allied armies that they might support each other. He then repaired to the heights in the centre of the line of battle, where Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was too far from the Sardinian army to act in conjunction with it, was engaged in a severe conflict against superior numbers at the foot of the hill leading to Solferino, which was intrenched and defended by the enemy. The emperor ordered Forey's division to advance, and it was supported by a division of light infantry of the guard. With these there advanced the artillery of the guard, under the command of General de Sevelinges and General Lebœuf, which took up an uncovered position at about 300 yards from the enemy. This manœuvre decided the fate of the centre, and by a brilliant attack the divisions took the position, the Austrians retiring under the fire of the artillery, with a loss of 1500 prisoners and fourteen pieces of cannon. It then became necessary to attack the position at Cavriana behind Solferino, and this also was carried after a tremendous struggle, the horrors of which were increased by a violent thunderstorm.

The Austrians then fell back on the Mincio and occupied Verona, after burning the bridges in their retreat. On the 1st of August the allies had crossed the Mincio. While everybody was wondering what would be the next step, now that the Austrians had sought the shelter of the Quadrilateral, where it was believed they would be able to resist the combined forces of France and Sardinia, it was suddenly announced that an interview had taken place between the Emperors of France and Austria at Villafranca, and that the terms of a treaty of peace had been agreed on. The overtures which led to this came, in the first instance, from Napoleon III., who did not hesitate to assign as his reasons the necessity which he foresaw he would be under of "accepting a combat on the Rhine," if he pushed his successes further. He felt that the chances of a collision with the whole power of a German Confederation might be directed against him if he drove Austria to extremities, and

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caused the other German states to rally round her from an instinct of self-preservation, and at the same time it was prudent to end the war before public feeling in France was again subject to a reaction.

An armistice was signed on the 8th of July, and was immediately followed by a treaty of peace, the conditions of which were these:—

"The two sovereigns will favour the creation of an Italian Confederation.

"That Confederation shall be under the honorary presidency of the Holy Father.

"The Emperor of Austria cedes to the Emperor of the French his rights over Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, so that the frontier of the Austrian possessions shall start from the extreme range of the fortress of Peschiera, and shall extend in a direct line along the Mincio as far as Grazio; thence to Scorzarolo and Luzana to the Po, whence the actual frontiers shall continue to form the limits of Austria. The Emperor of the French will hand over (*remettra*) the ceded territory to the King of Sardinia.

"Venetia shall form part of the Italian Confederation, though remaining under the crown of the Emperor of Austria.

"The Grand-duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena return to their states, granting a general amnesty.

"A full and complete amnesty is granted on both sides to persons compromised in the late events in the territories of the belligerent parties."

By a proclamation the Emperor Napoleon III. announced this treaty to his army. Plenipotentiaries were appointed, and though some delay took place, the agreement was regularly signed on the 11th of November, its terms being substantially in accordance with the clauses of the original treaty.

The emperor returned to Paris after the conclusion of the treaty at Villafranca, and on the 19th of July received the great bodies of the state at St. Cloud, where they presented him with congratulatory addresses—one from the senate, pronounced by its president, M. Troplong, and the other from the corps legislatif, by Count de Morny. Soon afterwards the emperor wrote to the pope, seriously advising him to surrender the revolted provinces of the Romagna. The letter was couched in the most respectful and persuasive terms, reminding his holiness of all that the writer had done "for the Catholic religion and its august head;" but, at the same time, frankly recommending the cession of the revolted provinces for the sake of tranquillity.

But it is time to turn again to the progress of events at home, where the change of government had given another aspect to domestic legislation, and where the years of conflict abroad had made the task of the chancellor of the exchequer more than usually arduous. But Mr. Gladstone was equal to the occasion. It was noticed that he had improved in appearance after his journey to the Ionian Islands. He seemed to be in more vigorous health, which added fire to his manner of speaking. His financial statement was complete and lucid as ever, and it was more concise than usual. Instead of being somewhat diffusive it was compact, but it dealt thoroughly with the state of affairs. A deficiency must be met, and the question was how best to meet it with the least possible pressure of taxation. Provision had to be made for a large addition to our naval and military establishments. It was expected that while the revenue for the coming year would be £64,340,000, the expenditure would be £69,207,000. There would thus be a gross deficiency of £4,867,000 for the current year. The committee were therefore not to busy themselves with comprehensive plans of finance on that occasion. In the following year it would be necessary to enter upon larger views of our financial system, for then the income-tax would lapse, as well as certain war duties upon tea and sugar; on the other hand, the long annuities would fall in. How were they to raise the necessary funds to meet the present deficiency—by borrowing or by taxes? The sum required was a large one, but it ought never to drive the British Parliament to the expedient of augmenting the national debt—which nothing but dire necessity should induce it to do. It appeared to him that a loan ought not to be resorted to. It would not be desir-

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able to increase the malt duty or the spirit duties. It would be impolitic to increase the duties of customs or excise. There consequently remained the income-tax, which had been originally introduced, first, to make reforms in our fiscal system, and secondly, to meet public exigencies, and when it was for the dignity, honour, and safety of the country that efforts should be made to augment the national defences, the income-tax was above all others a regular and legitimate resource. The system of nearly six months' credits which the government allowed to maltsters, thereby to that extent finding capital for them, was bad in principle, and might be so modified that six weeks of the credit could be taken away and four per cent discount allowed on the payment. This would bring £780,000 to the exchequer. The adopting of a penny stamp on bankers' cheques drawn across the counter would yield a further sum, and the deficiency of about £4,000,000 would be met by an addition to the income-tax. It now stood at the rate of 5*d.* in the pound, and an additional 4*d.* would yield something over £4,000,000. He proposed that this additional sum should be levied on incomes amounting to upwards of £150, but that incomes under that sum should pay only 1½*d.* extra; and he also proposed that the augmented tax should be leviable upon the first half-yearly payment after the resolution should have been adopted by the house. This addition to the tax, added to the sum derived from the maltsters, would produce £5,120,000. Deducting the whole deficiency of the year, there would thus remain a surplus of £253,000.

Mr. Disraeli, after vindicating the financial scheme, and partially defending the foreign policy, of his own government, objected to the proposed plan of levying the income-tax, and urged that the income-tax itself should, like an army, be regarded as a means of support to be resorted to only in times of extremity. He maintained that the nation could not go on raising £70,000,000 annually, and concluded by demanding that France and England should mutually prove, with no hypocrisy, but by the unanswerable evidence of reduced armaments, that they really desired peace, and thus terminate "disastrous and wild expenditure."

Mr. Bright must have smiled at this declaration when he rose to denounce the income-tax as odious and unjust beyond all others, and not to be defended as a permanent tax, though at the same time he acknowledged that in the emergency which had to be met, the budget of Mr. Gladstone was as satisfactory as it was possible for a very disagreeable thing to be. Why, he asked, was the income-tax odious? Because it was a tax upon property? No; but because it was unjustly levied. Why should not the farmers, for instance, pay as much on their incomes as other people did on theirs? Then there was the succession duty. Could anything be more unjust than that? There was a gentleman lately who had a landed estate worth £32,000 left him by a person who was no relative. Now if that had been left in money the duty would have been £3200, but being a landed estate the duty was only £700. Was that just? was it consistent with fairness? Was it consistent with our duty to society that we should take the class of property the most select, attracting towards it many social and practical advantages, having in it the most certain means of accumulation and improvement, and charge it only £700; whilst on another description of property that was not worth a bit more in the market we should charge £3200? Mr. Bright spoke with remarkable force on the subject of the financial policy which had constantly to take into consideration the maintenance of great armaments; but it was on the question of the proposed conference and the mutual relations of France and England that he spoke with equal or even more effectual emphasis. "If England is to go into the conference merely to put its name to documents which are of no advantage to Italy, which do not engage the sympathies of this nation, England had much better have nothing to do with it. But there is another course which I should like to recommend to the noble lord who now holds the seals of the foreign office. I cannot believe that Frenchmen, in matters of this nature, are so very different from ourselves as some people wish to teach us. I do believe that the thirty-six

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million Frenchmen engaged in all the honest occupations of their country, as our people are engaged here, are as anxious for perpetual peace with England as the most intelligent and Christian Englishman can be for a perpetual peace with France. I believe, too, because I am convinced that it is his wisest course and his truest interest, that the Emperor of the French is also anxious to remain at peace with us, and the people of France are utterly amazed and lost in bewilderment when they see the course taken by the press and by certain statesmen in this country. With that belief what would I do if I were in that responsible position?—for which, however, I know that I am thought to be altogether unfit—but if I were sitting on that bench, and were in the position of the noble lord, I would try to emancipate myself from those old, ragged, worthless, and bloody traditions which are found in every pigeon-hole, and almost in every document, in the foreign office. I would emancipate myself from all that, and I would approach the French nation and the French government in what I would call a sensible, a moral, and a Christian spirit. I do not say that I would send a special envoy to Paris to sue for peace. I would not commission Lord Cowley to make a great demonstration of what he was about to do; but I would make this offer to the French government, and I would make it with a frankness that could not be misunderstood; if it were accepted on the other side, it would be received with enthusiasm in England, and would be marked as the commencement of a new era in Europe. I would say to the French government, We are but twenty miles apart, the trade between us is nothing like what it ought to be, considering the population of the two countries, their vast increase of productive power, and their great wealth. We have certain things on this side which now bar the intercourse between the two nations. We have some remaining duties which are of no consequence either to the revenue or to protection, which everybody has given up here, but they still interrupt the trade between you and us. We will reconsider these and remove them. We have also an extraordinary heavy duty upon one of the greatest products of the soil of France—upon the light wines of your country. The chancellor of the exchequer, and perhaps the right hon. gentleman opposite, may start at once and say that involves a revenue of £1,500,000, or at least of £1,200,000. . . . What is £1,200,000—what is £1,500,000 for the abolition of the wine duties, or their reduction to a very low scale, if by such an offer as this we should enable the Emperor of the French to do that which he is most anxious to do? The only persons whom the French emperor cannot cope with are the monopolists of his own country. If he could offer to his nation thirty millions of the English people as customers, would not that give him an irresistible power to make changes in the French tariff which would be as advantageous to us as they would be to his own country? I do believe that if that were honestly done, done without any diplomatic finesse, and without obstacles being attached to it that would make its acceptance impossible, it would bring about a state of things which history would pronounce to be glorious."

It was to this portion of Mr. Bright's speech that the practical proposals of the French commercial treaty was afterwards attributed. At all events it was immediately after his attention had been arrested by reading a report of this speech that M. Chevalier wrote to Mr. Cobden expressing his belief that a commercial treaty between England and France might be negotiated, and urging him to visit Paris during the autumn to make the attempt.

To that visit and its results we shall now turn, and we may at once avail ourselves of so much of Cobden's own account of it as will enable us to follow it to its conclusion. We have already seen under what discouraging circumstances from the premier he set about his mission. Probably Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Milner Gibson were the only persons in the ministry who fully appreciated his difficulties, and what might be gained by surmounting them. But Cobden was not the man to turn back till he had exhausted all reasonable efforts, and after some delay he succeeded, as we have already noted, in obtaining an in-

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terview with the emperor. This was on the 27th of October, 1859, and in describing it he says:—

"After a few remarks upon the subject of the improvements in Paris, and in the Bois de Boulogne, and after he had expressed his regret at my not having entered the ministry of Lord Palmerston, the emperor alluded to the state of feeling in England, and expressed his regret that notwithstanding he had for ten years given every possible proof of his desire to preserve the friendship of the British people, the press had at last defeated his purpose, and now the relations of the two countries seemed to be worse than ever. He appealed to me if he had ever done one act to justify the manner in which he was assailed by our press? I candidly told him that I thought the governments of both countries were to blame. He asked what he could do more than he had already done to promote the friendly relations of the two countries. This led to the question of free-trade, and I urged many arguments in favour of removing those obstacles which prevented the two countries from being brought into closer dependence on one another. He expressed himself as friendly to this policy, but alluded to the great difficulties in his way; said he had made an effort by admitting iron in bond for shipbuilding, which he was obliged to alter again, and spoke of the sliding-scale on corn which had been reimposed after it had expired. I spoke of the opportuneness of the present moment for making a simultaneous change in the English and French tariffs, as there was a prospect of a surplus of revenue next year, owing to the expiry of our terminable annuities, and that Mr. Gladstone was very desirous to make this surplus available for reducing duties on French commodities. Louis Napoleon said he had a majority of his chambers quite opposed to free-trade, and that they would not pass a decided measure; that by the constitution he could alter the tariff by a decree, if it were part of a treaty with a foreign power; and he asked me whether England would enter into a commercial treaty with him. I explained that we could give no exclusive privileges to any nation; that we could simultaneously make reductions in our tariffs; and the alterations might be inserted in a treaty, but that our tariff must be equally applicable to all countries. He said he was under a pledge not to abolish the prohibitive system in France and substitute moderate duties, previous to 1861. I told him that I saw no obstacle in this to a treaty being entered into next spring, for that the moral effect would be the same even if the full operation of the new duties did not come into play for two or three years. He asked me to let him know what reductions could be made in our tariff upon articles affecting his country, which I promised to do. He then inquired what I should advise him to do in regard to the French tariff. I said I should attack one article of great and universal necessity, as I had done in England, when I confined all my efforts to the abolition of the corn-laws, knowing that when that *clef-de-voûte* was removed the whole system would fall. In France the great primary want was cheap iron, which is the daily bread of all industries, and I should begin by abolishing the duty on iron and coal, and then I should be in a better position for approaching all the other industries; that I would, if necessary, pay an indemnity in some shape to the iron-masters, and thus be enabled to abolish their protection immediately—a course which I should not contemplate following with any other commodity but iron and coal. He spoke of the danger of throwing men out of work, and I tried by a variety of arguments to convince him, especially by a reference to the example of England, that the effect of a reduction of duties is to increase, not diminish, the demand for labour. I showed that in England we had much machinery standing idle in consequence of the want of workmen at the present time; and in order to allay his fears of an inundation of British products, to throw his own people out of work, I explained that there was not an ounce of our productions which was not already bespoken, and that it would take a long time to increase largely our investment of capital, whilst it was impossible to procure any considerable addition to our labourers.

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[illegible] France, and [illegible]."

[illegible] The treaty, or something like it, had been sketched out after long conversations and discussions with Rouher and Chevalier, [illegible] a temporary attack of illness which [illegible] Cobden to his bed, [illegible] did not prevent him from continuing the discussions in his bedroom. At last the proposals were ready and things took a turn.

M. de Persigny had come from London to tell his master how hostile and dangerous was the state of opinion in England. For the first time in his experience he said he believed war to be possible, unless the emperor took some step to remove the profound mistrust that agitated the English public. The security of the throne, he went on to urge, depended on the English alliance being a reality. So long as there was a solid friendship between England and France they need not care what might be in the mind of Russia, Austria, or Prussia. This was the course of reasoning which, in Cobden's opinion, finally decided the emperor. In other words, Napoleon assented to the treaty, less because it was good for the French than because it would pacify the English. It was the only available instrument for keeping the English alliance.

M. Rouher presented his plan of a commercial treaty, together with sixty pages of illustrative reasoning upon it. The whole was read to the emperor; he listened attentively through every page, approved it, and declared his intention of carrying it out. He then produced a letter which he had prepared, addressed to M. [illegible], and intended for publication, in which he announced his determination to enter upon a course of pacific improvement, to promote the industry of the country by cheapening transport, and so forth.

The project was now disclosed to Count Walewski, the minister for foreign affairs, and Cobden was invited to have an interview with him. Once more he went over the ground along which he had already led Gould, Rouher, and the emperor. "I endeavoured," says Cobden, "to remove his doubts and difficulties, and to fortify his courage against the protectionist party, whose insignificance and powerlessness I remonstrated by comparing their small body with the immense population which was interested in the removal of commercial restrictions." The discussion with M. Walewski was followed by a second interview with the emperor.

December 21.—"Had an interview with the emperor at the Tuileries. I explained to him that Mr. Gladstone, the chancellor of the exchequer, was anxious to prepare his budget for the ensuing session of parliament, and that it would be a convenience to him to be informed as soon as possible whether the French government was decided to agree to a commercial treaty, as in that case he would make arrangements accordingly; that he did not wish to be in possession of the details, but merely to know whether the principle of a treaty was determined upon. The emperor said he could have no hesitation in satisfying me on that point; that he had quite made up his mind to enter into the treaty, and that the only question was as to the details. He spoke of the difficulties he had to overcome, owing to the powerful interests that were united in defence of the present system. 'The protected industries combine, but the general public do not.' I urged many arguments to encourage him to take a bold course, pointing out the very small number of the protected classes as compared with the whole community, and contending for the interests of the greatest number rather than those of the minority. He repeated to me the arguments which had been used by some of his ministers to dissuade him

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from a free-trade policy, particularly by M. Magne, his finance minister, who had urged that if he merely changed his system from prohibition to high protective duties it would be a change only in name, but that if he laid on moderate duties which admitted a large importation of foreign merchandise, then, for every piece of manufactured goods so admitted to consumption in France, a piece of domestic manufacture must be displaced. I pointed out the fallacy of M. Magne's argument in the assumption that everybody in France was sufficiently clothed, and that no increased consumption could take place. I observed that many millions in France never wore stockings, and yet stockings were prohibited. He remarked that he was sorry to say that ten millions of the population hardly ever tasted bread, but subsisted on potatoes, chestnuts, &c. (I conclude this must be an exaggeration.) I expressed an opinion that the working population of his country were in a very inferior condition as compared with those in England.

"Referring to the details in his intended tariff, he said the duties would range from ten to thirty per cent. I pointed out the excessive rate of the latter figure, that the maximum ought not to exceed twenty per cent; that it would defeat his object in every way if he went as high as thirty per cent; that it would fail as an economical measure, whilst in a political point of view it would be unsuccessful, inasmuch as the people of England would regard it as prohibition in another form. He referred me to M. Rouher for further discussion of this question. He described to me the letter which he thought of publishing declaratory of his intention of entering on a course of internal improvement and commercial reform, and asked me whether it would not place him at a disadvantage with the British government if he announced his policy beforehand, and whether they might not be inclined afterwards to withdraw from the treaty. I replied that there might be other objections to his publishing such a letter, but this was not one, and that I was sure it would not be taken advantage of by our government. We then talked of our immense preparation in naval armaments. I said I expected that in a few months we should have sixty line-of-battle-ships, screws, in commission. He said he had only twenty-seven. Talking of the excited state of alarm in England, he said he was dictating to M. Mocquard a dialogue between a Frenchman and an Englishman, in which he should introduce all the arguments used in England to stimulate the present alarm of French aggression, and his answers to them, and he asked if I thought the *Times* would print it.

"Whilst we were in the midst of this familiar conversation, during which he smoked several cigarettes, the empress entered the room, to whom I was introduced. She is a tall and graceful person, very amiable and gracious, but her features were not entirely free from an expression of thoughtfulness, if not melancholy. The emperor is said by everybody to be very fascinating to those who come much in personal contact with him. I found him more attractive at this second audience than the first. His manner is very simple and natural. If there be any affectation, it is in a slight air of humility ('young ambition's ladder'), which shows itself with consummate tact in his voice and gestures."

Cobden gives some further particulars in a letter to Mr. Bright (Dec. 29, 1859):—

"I saw the emperor again for a full hour last week, as you would learn from your brother. Of course I tried to employ every minute on my own topic, but he was in a talkative mood, and sometimes ran off on other subjects. It was at four o'clock; he had been busy all day, and I was surprised at the gaiety of his manner. He smoked cigarettes all the time, but talked and listened admirably.

". . . On this occasion my private lesson was chiefly taken up with answering the arguments with which M. Magne, his minister of finance, who is a furious protectionist, had been trying to frighten him. Here was one of them, which he repeated word for word to me: 'Sire, if you do not make a sensible reduction in your duties the measure will be charged on you as an attempted delusion. If you do make a serious reduction, then for every piece of foreign manufacture admitted into France,

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you will displace a piece of domestic fabrication.' I, of course laughed, and held up both hands and exclaimed: 'What an old friend that argument was! how we have been told the same thing a thousand times of corn, and how we have answered it a thousand times by showing that a fourth part of the people were not properly fed. And then I showed how we had imported many millions of quarters of corn annually since the repeal of our corn-law, whilst our own agriculture was more prosperous and productive than ever, and yet it *was all consumed*. I told him that his people were badly clothed, that nearly a fourth of his subjects did not wear stockings, and I begged him to remind M. Magne that if a few thousand dozens of hose were admitted into France, they might be consumed by these barelegged people without interfering with the demand for the native manufacture. . . . We then got upon the condition of the mass of the working people, where his sympathy is mainly centred, and on the effect of machinery, free-trade, &c., on their fate. He said the protectionists always argued that the working-class engaged in manufactures were better off here than in England, and they always assumed that free-trade would lower the condition of the French operatives. I told him that the operatives in France were working *twenty per cent more time* for *twenty per cent less wages*, and *paid upwards of ten per cent* more for their clothing, as compared with the same class in England. He seized a pen and asked me to repeat these figures, which he put down, observing, 'What an answer to those people!' I told him that if M. Magne or anybody else disputed my figures I was prepared to prove them. But I need not repeat to you a course of argument with which we are so familiar."

After this interview the negotiation reached the stage of formal diplomacy. Cobden's position had hitherto been wholly unofficial. He had been a private person, representing to the French emperor that he believed the English government would not be indisposed to entertain the question of a commercial treaty. The matter came officially before Lord Cowley in the form of a request from Count Walewski that he would ascertain the views and intentions of his government. Lord Cowley applied to Lord John Russell for official instructions to act, and in the course of the next month Cobden received his own instructions and powers. Meanwhile not a day was lost, and he brought the same tact and unwearied energy to the settlement of the details of the treaty which he had employed in persuading this little group of important men to accept its principles and policy. There was one singular personage who ought from his keen faculties, his grasp of the principles of modern progress, and his position, to have been the most important of all, but in whom his gifts had been nullified by want of that indescribable something which men call character and the spirit of conduct. This was Prince Napoleon. Cobden had several conversations with him, and came to the conclusion that few men in France had a more thorough mastery of economic questions.[1]

The Emperor of the French showed some sagacity in taking the earliest reasonable opportunity of making terms of peace with Austria, although neither the King of Sardinia nor Prince Napoleon considered that he had fulfilled the obligations which he had previously incurred. Cavour was so bitterly disappointed at the sudden peace and the terms of it that he resigned office. The French people were satisfied with the emperor for having led the army in Italy and beaten the enemy, but they were by no means enthusiastic enough to look forward to a prolonged conflict, especially as the cession of Savoy and Nice had yet to be accomplished. On the other hand it might truly have been said that French intervention in Italy had aroused the suspicions of the rest of Europe. When he had reached Genoa on the 12th of May, the emperor had issued a proclamation to "the army of Italy," saying, "We are about to second the struggles of a people now vindicating its independence, and to rescue it from oppression. This is a sacred cause, and has the sympathies of the civilized world." The cause was sacred and worthy of sympathy, no doubt, but a considerable part

[1] Mr. John Morley's *Life of Richard Cobden*.

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of the civilized world doubted the agency by which it was to be vindicated. They failed to see in the "man of December"—the sovereign who had gained power by a *coup d'état*—the consistent rescuer of an oppressed people, the upholder of freedom, the champion of the oppressed. Germany, perhaps, showed the greatest perturbation, by the immediate mobilization of the greater part of the army; and still more by the demand made by an influential party that they should at once annex Alsace and Lorraine, march to Paris, and effectually cripple France for the remainder of the century. The cry "To Paris! to Paris!" was as shrill and persistent then in Berlin as that of "To Berlin! to Berlin!" was eleven years later in Paris, when Napoleon was precipitated into the war with Germany which lost him his throne and cost France so dear. Nor were the Germans without reasonable excuse for the outcry. French military officers were again too free with their tongues, and the words of General Espinasse—"I accompany the emperor to Italy with pleasure, for it is the first step towards the Rhine"—were perhaps an example of other phrases which were sure to be repeated. An article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which was reprinted in the *Times*, interpreted the desire of the Germans. Commenting upon it the *Times* said: "If we may trust the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which does not often speak without some authority, all Germany, from Cologne to Swabia, from the Baltic to the Euxine, is possessed by one unanimous uproarious enthusiasm for the conquest of Alsace and Lorraine, and for the occupation of Paris! Sober, steady-going old Germany is, we are told, dreaming quite seriously of some tremendous scheme of invasion, of which France is to be the victim, and we English are to be part agents in the work, but by no means participators in the gain."

England, however, took good care to let the world know that Germany would receive no help from her, and that without this assistance the north German coast would be exposed to France and also to Russia, who had at the same time concentrated 200,000 men on the Austrian frontier, and in the neighbourhood of the Danubian Principalities. So wide-spread was the suspicion that the intervention of France would not end with a war in Italy, that Switzerland placed 100,000 men under arms, and Denmark 70,000; Belgium alone, relying on the guarantees of her independence, making no effort to increase her defensive armaments. It therefore became of the utmost importance to the Emperor of the French that the war should be localized. The States of the Confederation were already demanding to be led to the support of Austria. Prussia, though understanding the danger which such a policy must involve, could not venture wholly to dissociate herself from the prevailing sentiment of the North German States. She had accordingly made the French ambassador at Berlin aware, that while she would not say that no territorial change must be effected by the war, she would not see with tranquillity any heavy sacrifice inflicted upon Austria, nor any change made which would enhance the strength of one power at the expense of another. To localize the war, therefore, and to leave Austria and France with her ally Sardinia to fight it out alone, became a matter of vital importance to the Emperor of the French. If he succeeded in this, and Austria were defeated, she might naturally, in resentment at being deserted by Germany, stand aloof and leave the other States of the Confederation to withstand without her aid any attempt upon the Rhine, which France, flushed with victory, might afterwards make. It was thus by no means clear that it was for the interest of Germany that the war should be localized. To Russia, however, it was scarcely of less moment than to France that it should be so; for, if Germany embarked in it, Russia must declare her policy, and either break with France or with Germany. For neither event was she prepared, and she was, moreover, without either the men or money required for an active participation in such a war as must then have ensued.

It soon became evident to Napoleon III. that, unless he confined his interposition to helping to drive the Austrians out of Italy, he would cause a general state of hostility in Europe. The queen, in reply to a letter from

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the empress, had already warned him against an attempt to invade the Austrian States, when it would only be natural that Germany, alarmed at seeing one of the most important members of her Confederation attacked and in danger, should be impelled to come to her assistance, and that all Europe should take alarm at seeing the treaties put in question on which its peace and its existence rested.

On the attitude of England the ultimate direction of the war seemed to depend, and England maintained a strictly neutral position. We had, however, hastily strengthened our naval armaments, and the Rifle Volunteer force, the formation of which, perhaps, received a new stimulus from the general condition of affairs in Europe, was growing with enormous rapidity, and was being formed into a regular body. "Volunteer corps are being formed in all the towns," wrote Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar on the 8th of December. "The lawyers of the Temple go through regular drill. Lords Spencer, Abercorn, Elcho, &c., are put through their facings in Westminster Hall by gaslight in the same rank and file with shopkeepers. Close on 50,000 are already under arms."

Prince Albert shortly afterwards was called upon to take a prominent part in the public demonstrations of this force, which had grown spontaneously in numbers and efficiency, but at the time he wrote he was but just recovering from one of those attacks of illness to which he appeared to be increasingly liable. But he was still actively busy in so many directions that probably few men in the kingdom worked harder. As a relief from the cares and anxieties which he shared with the queen there had been a very delightful family reunion. The princess royal (the Princess of Prussia), and her husband, Prince Frederick William, had again been on a visit to Windsor to keep the queen's birthday, and her company was always a great delight to her father; and now he was prepared to welcome her with tender solicitude, for she had become a mother, and the first grandchild of the queen had only just been baptized at Berlin. The Prince of Wales, too, had just returned from Rome, where he had been staying after a continental journey, during which he had given ample promise of that distinguished frankness and simple bonhomie which have always made him not only popular, but welcome, in every country to which he has paid a visit. Nowhere have these qualities been more truly recognized than among his own countrymen, who see in the Prince of Wales much that is to be regarded as typically English. His characteristic outspokenness, no less than his rank, places him above artifice, and he has at command a certain serious dignity by which he can always protect himself from vulgar familiarity, while he succeeds in placing those about him at their ease, and accepts with genuine appreciation courtesies which his station might entitle him to leave unnoticed.

There had been more than one gap made in the royal circle, for Prince Alfred had commenced his nautical career at the end of October in the previous year, and was with the *Euryalus*, which had been placed on the Mediterranean station for two years. The Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales had accompanied him to Spithead. The Prince of Wales had shortly afterwards received the rank of colonel in the army and had been invested with the Garter. Mr. Gibbs, his former tutor, had retired, and Colonel Bruce, the brother of Lord Elgin, had become his governor, and with Major Teesdale had accompanied him on a visit to the princess royal, and there produced a remarkable impression by his singular tact and unaffected manner. "All that a parent's heart could desire," the Prince Regent (the present Emperor of Germany) wrote to Prince Albert. His royal highness had returned to London, and resumed some of his studies, among the pleasantest of which, we may think, were a series of lectures on history by Charles Kingsley, who had been appointed one of her majesty's chaplains, mainly in consequence of the great admiration of Prince Albert for his books, especially *Two Years Ago* and *The Saint's Tragedy*. By the end of 1858 Prince Alfred was at Malta, and we afterwards hear of him at Tunis and Algiers, and in Greece, especially at Corfu. The Prince of Wales was then starting for Italy, and his route was not at

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first changed because of approaching events. In February, 1859, he was in Rome, and, after some stay, extended his tour to the south of Spain and Lisbon, where he remained till June, when he was to return to Edinburgh to resume his regular studies, and afterwards to go to Oxford. On the 3d of September Prince Albert wrote to Stockmar from Balmoral:

"In Edinburgh I had an educational conference with all the persons who are taking part in the education of the Prince of Wales. They all speak highly of him, and he seems to have shown zeal and good-will. Dr. Lyon Playfair is giving him lectures on chemistry in relation to manufactures, and at the close of each special course he visits the appropriate manufactory with him, so as to explain its practical application. Dr. Schmitz (the Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, a German) gives him lectures on Roman history. Italian, German, and French are advanced at the same time; and three times a week the prince exercises with the 16th Hussars, who are stationed in the city.

"Mr. Fisher, who is to be the tutor for Oxford, was also in Holyrood. Law and history are the subjects on which he is to prepare the prince."

His royal highness entered on his Oxford career soon afterwards, and was to be in residence for nine months, an arrangement having been made that before he again returned permanently to town, to take possession of Marlborough House, which had been prepared for him, the new museum in the park should be opened by the queen and commemoration should be held in the same week.

Marlborough House had been adapted to the purpose of a picture gallery, containing the Vernon and Turner collection of paintings, and as it was now to become the residence of the Prince of Wales, the collection was removed to the South Kensington Museum, which already contained the "*Sheepshanks*" collection. The new portion, which was twice the breadth of that just mentioned, was built in six weeks at a cost of £3000, and consisted of brick, with fire-proof floors, and the whole structure, planned with a view of holding more or less permanent art and industrial exhibitions, was promoted by Prince Albert, and its completion greatly accelerated by the active interest he manifested in it, and the assistance given to the enterprise by Mr. Henry Cole, who had taken a prominent part in the Great Exhibition of 1851. So great had been the success of that undertaking, that the Society of Arts had already proposed to commence arrangements for organizing another such display in 1861, and Prince Albert was solicited to take part with the former commission in carrying out the necessary provisions. It is not surprising that he shrank from it a little, but he did not refuse, though he was in precarious health, and the number and importance of his engagements scarcely left him time for necessary rest and little or none for general recreation.

As we have noted, he had taken an immediate personal interest in the organization of the Volunteer force, and when the government decided to authorize the formation of rifle corps, as well as of artillery corps and companies in maritime towns with forts and batteries, the prince applied himself to the study of the means of organizing these bodies in such a way as to make them a permanent means of defence, on which the country might confidently rely upon an emergency. The results were embodied by him in an elaborate series of "Instructions to Lord-lieutenants," which he sent to General Peel, as secretary of war, on the 20th of May, 1859. It was by him found to be so complete, that he submitted it three days afterwards to the cabinet, by whom it was adopted, and ordered to be issued forthwith. Accordingly it was printed and sent out to the lord-lieutenants throughout the kingdom next day (25th May), and formed the code for the organization and working of these volunteer corps.

But at the end of the year he was again engaged in the promotion of scientific and social progress. The meeting of the British Association for the Promotion of Science had invited him to preside at their meeting, which was to be held at Aberdeen on the 14th of September; and to be president involved the delivery of an address. The task was no light one, especially to a fastidious speaker who had

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only a general knowledge of science in relation to its aims and objects, but he was just the kind of speaker they needed.

During his visit to the Association meeting the prince stayed at the house of Mr. Thomson of Banchory, about five miles from Aberdeen. Here he was met at dinner on the 14th by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Rosse, Sir David and Lady Brewster, General and Mrs. Sabine, Sir Roderick Murchison, Professor Owen, Professor Phillips, and others. After dinner the whole party drove to Aberdeen, where the prince delivered his inaugural address to an audience of 2500 people. It occupied fifty minutes in delivery, and was confined to general principles, and a comprehensive statement of the main object of the Association in advancing the arrangement and classification of what the prince called "the universe of knowledge." The address had peculiar interest for men of science, because of the keen sympathy which it showed with their pursuits, and for what it did in quickening the interest of both the public and the government in scientific research.

He referred with remarkable appropriateness to the recent death of the great naturalist Von Humboldt, and reminded his hearers that the day on which they had met was the anniversary of the birthday of that distinguished man. His address concluded with some striking remarks on the advantages and the true signification of such assemblies as that at which the Association had invited him to preside:—

"These meetings draw forth the philosopher from the hidden recesses of his study, call in the wanderer over the field of science to meet his brethren, to lay before them the results of his labours, to set forth the deductions at which he has arrived, to ask for their examination, to maintain in the combat of debate the truth of his positions and the accuracy of his observations. These meetings, unlike those of any other society, throw open the arena to the cultivators of all sciences to their mutual advantage: the geologist learns from the chemist that there are problems for which he had no clue, but which that science can solve for him; the geographer receives light from the naturalist, the astronomer from the physicist and engineer, and so on. And all find a field upon which to meet the public at large,—invite them to listen to their reports, and even to take part in their discussions,—show to them that philosophers are not vain theorists, but essentially men of practice—not conceited pedants, wrapt up in their own mysterious importance, but humble inquirers after truth, proud only of what they may have achieved or won for the general use of man. Neither are they daring and presumptuous unbelievers—a character which ignorance has sometimes affixed to them—who would, like the Titans, storm heaven by placing mountain upon mountain, till hurled down from the height attained by the terrible thunders of outraged Jove; but rather the pious pilgrims to the Holy Land, who toil on in search of the sacred shrine, in search of truth—God's truth—God's laws as manifested in His works, in His creation."

Unhappily inventions for the promotion of human welfare, however, had not alone engaged the attention of scientific men. Unless from the point of view, that the more destructive war can be made, the greater is the probability of nations declining its deadly arbitration, the "improvements" made in weapons at about the period of which we are speaking can scarcely be regarded as an addition to beneficent progress. There were many ingenious contrivances in rifles, of which the Martini-Henry and the Schneider were the outcome; bayonets and revolvers underwent sundry changes, and there was much contention on the subject of the superior rapidity and accuracy of firing of one or other of the "arms of precision" which then engaged attention. Of course in artillery there was an enormous accession of calibre as well as perfection of aim and of destructive power, and among these the Armstrong gun, invented and manufactured by Sir William Armstrong, the famous military and naval engineer, held the foremost place. It was found to be a gun built up in separate pieces of wrought iron, a method that secured the substance from flaw, and ensured great strength, lightness, and durability. The guns were to be built as

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pounders, 70-pounders, and 100-pounders; and at a distance of 600 yards, an object of the size of the crown of a hat could be hit at almost every shot. At 3000 yards a target 9 feet square, which at that distance appears a mere speck, was struck five times out of ten. A ship could of course be struck at a much larger distance, and either shot or shell could be thrown into a fortress five miles off.

It was evident that ships armed with these guns would destroy each other if they continued to be made of timber. Therefore the "Armstrong gun" was supposed to be invaluable for fortresses and defences against invasion, but useless for ships opposing each other and equally armed. The "wooden walls," it was believed, could not stand against the tremendous artillery, and the inference was that to resist it they would have to be put in armour; the Armstrong gun was the forerunner of the armour-plated ship. There were, of course, other inventions, of which the *Winans*, or cigar-shaped steamship with propeller amidships, and intended to make the voyage across the Atlantic in four days, was one of the most remarkable, though it did not fulfil the expectations of its inventors. It is manifestly impossible to do more than indicate that in every branch of manufacture where machinery was employed, as well as in engines of warfare, the implements of civilization, and the means of intercommunication, ingenuity had been stimulated, and the investigations of thoughtful and patient scholars and experimentalists had produced marvellous results.

We shall presently have to return to some evidences of the great social progress made at this period as evidenced by various remarkable inventions and discoveries, but we may here mention one of the "wonders" of the time, which, though it was far from being a surprising success, became associated with the initiation of one of the most amazing achievements known to mankind. The *Great Eastern* steamship was an experiment of which bigness was the chief attraction, and it might almost have ceased to be remembered but for the fact that it was afterwards used to convey those submarine cables which were to be the mediums of flashing instant intelligence round the world.

There had been a monster steamship launched in 1843, the largest ever built up to that date, named the *Great Britain*. Her length of keel was 289 feet, her main breadth above 50 feet; the depth of her hold more than 32 feet, and her tonnage 3444 tons. Her commander, Captain Hoskins, received the queen on board, and her majesty wished him success on his voyage across the Atlantic. It was a magnificent vessel, and could run, under favourable circumstances, at a speed of nearly sixteen statute miles an hour.

This was a decided success, but many persons who were believed to be competent judges declared that there was no advantage in enormous ships, and that the *Great Britain* represented the limit beyond which it would be difficult to ensure safety or convenience. This, however, did not prevent the enterprise of construction in 1856-1858, of the *Great Eastern*, a vessel of much vaster proportions, and of which the chief dining saloon, occupying only a portion of the poop, was 120 feet long, 47 feet wide, and 9 feet high under the beams. The main shaft of the paddle engines weighed 40 tons, the rudder 13 tons. The appointments were to be luxurious, including hot and cold baths, with fresh as well as sea water, handsomely furnished cabins, and arrangements for the complete comfort of a large number of passengers of each class. It was computed that the vessel would run at the lowest estimate 17 or 18 miles an hour—about the speed of a parliamentary train, and great expectations were formed of the advantage of possessing two or three such vessels to be used in case of war, as troop-ships, by which an army of 30,000 men might be transported to any part of Europe in ten days. Of course the exponents of this view had not sufficiently considered the consequences of such a leviathian filled with troops being intercepted by smaller ships of war, nor had the difficulties of navigating a vessel of that size at points where troops could be readily disembarked been computed. The *Great Eastern* was, so to speak, an expensive toy. The company originally interested in the construction had to go into "liquida-

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tion," and a "Great Ship Company" was formed for purchasing and completing the vessel, £300,000, including the subscriptions of the old shareholders in the Eastern Steam Company, being subscribed to purchase and finish the ship and to provide working capital. The ship was completed, and it was a truly magnificent example of what could be accomplished by the skill of the engineer and the naval architect. The names of Mr. Brunel and Mr. Scott Russell were everywhere mentioned in terms of admiration, the latter having been the originator of the idea of constructing a vessel of such magnitude. Early in August, 1859, the completion of the vast undertaking was celebrated by a banquet on board, when a large number of distinguished visitors were present, and Lord Stanley presided. The ship was then ready for her eastern voyage, and the whole arrangements were such as would satisfy the expectations even of those passengers to the East who demanded luxurious surroundings. The larger berths were handsome rooms for parties of four or five persons, the smaller berths were commodious cabins, the chief saloons were elegant and spacious apartments, the main saloon a sumptuous and magnificent hall. The ice-house held above 100 tons of ice, the wine-cellar a wine merchant's stock. In every detail of the machinery and rigging the utmost thought and care had been exercised, and the innumerable contrivances for dealing with enormous masses of machinery and working gear were more wonderful even than the enormous bulk and extent of the floating city, with its fleet of twenty boats of the size of sailing cutters hanging to the davits at the sides. Both paddle and screw engines were used for propelling this vast edifice through the water; the paddle engines of 3000 horse-power, the screws from 4000 to 6000 horse-power; the average consumption of coal when both engines were at work was estimated at 250 tons a day.

The initiatory experiences of the *Great Eastern* were not altogether encouraging. On her trial trip to Portland she had only arrived off Hastings, when, through some negligence, the explosion of a jacket or casing for heating the water before it entered the boilers had a terrific effect, blowing up the centre of the ship and tearing away the enormous funnel of eight tons weight, and along with it the decks, cabins, and steam-gearing. The furnace doors were burst open, and a number of firemen killed or seriously injured. Captain Harrison and the officers showed prompt courage and mastery of the accident, and many of the passengers were also of great service in attending to the wounded or scalded men. The vessel did not discontinue her course, and arrived at Portland the next morning. Captain Harrison was four months afterwards drowned in Southampton Water by the capsizing of a small boat, in which he was being rowed to the town. A sudden squall took the boat, and the intense cold (it was in January, 1860) was supposed to have caused the death of the captain by bringing on a fit of apoplexy when he was submerged. The coxswain and the son of the purser also perished. The *Great Eastern* subsequently made a successful voyage to the United States, reaching New York in ten days and a half. She was received with great enthusiasm, and made the return run from New York to Halifax in forty-six hours, the shortest time then on record. Her speed during the whole voyage averaged fourteen knots an hour. She afterwards left the Mersey to convey about 3300 troops to Canada, where, being caught in a storm about 280 miles west of Cape Clear, she was so damaged that she had to put back to Kinsale. The experiments made with this "Leviathan" seemed to show, that while she was not likely to become a profitable investment as a passenger vessel, which could only make a paying voyage by conveying an altogether unusual number of persons at one time, she was too unwieldy and too much exposed to accident either for a passenger or a troop ship to run in all weathers and for any voyage.

It will be seen, however, that the possibility of constructing such a vessel complete in all its parts, and including so many remarkable inventions and contrivances, showed an extraordinary advance in practical and mechanical science. In another direction, too, there had been an equally astonishing application of recent discoveries. Communication by means

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of electric telegraphy had, as we have seen, become possible not only between distant points of the same mainland, but between countries separated by seas and rivers. We were already in constant communication with the Continent of Europe, and it was being urged that the telegraph line should be brought to us direct from India, that we might not derive our intelligence from our Indian possessions through foreign channels. The prospect of establishing a great length of submarine cable between England and the United States had not been very cheering; but that was not unnaturally regarded as a supreme test, and discoveries were being perfected which might eventually enable us to redeem the first failure. It was during the visit of the queen to Cherbourg in 1858 that two vessels, the *Agamemnon* and the *Niagara*, had gone out in unfavourable weather, and laid an electric cable at the bottom of the Atlantic. Messages of congratulation had passed between her Majesty and the President of the United States, and between the Lord-mayor of London and the Mayor of New York. The jubilation was great on both sides. It was hoped that a vast scientific success had been achieved; and so it had, for the fact of having been able to send messages at all was a great step in advance; but the signals became fainter; the electric current apparently grew feeble, and at length ceased altogether, or was too weak to transmit any further signals. It was at first suspected that a portion of cable, temporarily laid down to make good the connection in the shallow water near the Irish coast, was weaker than the rest, and that there the fault would be discovered. This, however, proved not to be the case; the cause of the cessation of the current could not be detected, and the first great Atlantic cable was set down as a failure, and remained at the bottom of the ocean.

But science, or rather the patient indefatigable workers of science, can accept no failure; science to them is indeed the constant rectification of mistakes by repeated processes of experiment; and there was a man at work whose discoveries had already prepared the way to the ultimate success of the scheme.

It was not till 1866 that a second Atlantic cable was taken out by the *Great Eastern* steamship, which had from that time found a vocation, and afterwards took out the French and the Suez cables with equal success; but this is the fitting time to introduce the name of the man who may be said to have come to the rescue. This was Mr. William Thomson, who, beside the highest academical titles conferred on him by the Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Edinburgh universities, and by scientific associations, has received the honour of knighthood in recognition of his claims to public honour by the state.

It is not out of place to record here that submarine telegraphy owes its present degree of perfection, if not its practically useful existence, to the remarkable research and the inventions of Sir William Thomson, the professor of natural philosophy in the University of Glasgow. It would be difficult to name any subject of modern science with which this distinguished experimentalist has not been associated, but for some time his investigations were particularly directed to the various conditions affecting the transmission of electricity. His father, the late James Thomson, LL.D., who was lecturer on mathematics at the Royal Academical Institute at Belfast, was appointed to the mathematical professorship of the University of Glasgow, and Sir William, when he was only twenty-two years of age, was appointed professor of natural philosophy in the same university, where he had entered as a student in 1835 when he was only eleven years old, and—after completing his course of study—had left it for Cambridge, where he graduated as second wrangler, was immediately afterwards elected to a fellowship, and was appointed to his professorship in the following year, when he also accepted the editorship of the *Cambridge and Dublin Mathematical Journal*. It was during the time of his editorship (about seven years) that he published in its pages some remarkable papers on the mathematical theory of electricity, and these studies were followed by many valuable experiments on the electrodynamic properties of metals, his investigations being afterwards summarized in the "Bakerian" lecture which he delivered in 1855. But perhaps still more

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important to the development of electric science and its numerous associations were his studies of atmospheric electricity, and the electrometers and other instruments of his invention, which have since remained in use, for determining and marking atmospheric conditions. From these it was but a step to the "mirror galvanometer" and the "siphon recorder," those delicate instruments which, because of their capability of being worked by a low power, have been so effectual in preserving submarine cables. It was by the ingenious application of these instruments that the Atlantic cable was at last successfully completed in 1866, on which occasion the inventor received the honour of knighthood, and was presented with the freedom of the city of Glasgow. This was in 1866; but his name is naturally associated with the first mention of the great advance made, not only in the science of practical magnetism and electricity, at the period which we are now considering, but also in any record of the march of social progress. He had then, and has since, been a constant and indefatigable worker for the public advantage, and even the list of his writings and lectures would give but an imperfect idea of the ardour with which he patiently pursued experiments of which the world can know little except the results by which it is benefited.

The generally prosperous condition of the country at the end of the year 1859 enabled Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to look forward with some confidence to a favourable financial statement in the coming session. There were still many proposals for measures of financial reform, and an association which had been organized at Liverpool drew public attention to the increase of taxation which had taken place during a few years. To this it was answered that the increase of taxation was less rapid than the increase of population, and that while at the beginning of the present century the taxation of the country had represented 43*s.* per head, in the year 1858 it was only 41*s.* 2*d.* per head, while in 1851 it had fallen as low as 39*s.* per head. It was also argued that the increase of wealth had during the same period gone on much more rapidly than the increase of taxation. The proportion which the taxation of the country bore to its wealth was only half that of the year 1803, and four-fifths of what it was in 1845, and this notwithstanding the large expenditure for national defences. The cost of collecting the revenue was said to be excessive. It was stated that to collect the £69,207,000 of estimated revenue it would cost very nearly £7½ per cent, and the Financial Association computed it at a still higher figure; but the cost was alleged to be lower in England than in France or America, and also to be placed at a higher rate than it really was, because it included the payment for a large number of extraneous services, such as the collection of statistics and of light duties, the working of the merchants' shipping act, and the cost of bonding and warehousing incurred for the benefit of the merchant. When these various items were deducted it would be found that the actual cost of collecting would probably not exceed £3 per cent, and if certain remaining protective duties were abolished, the amount would undergo further considerable reduction. Still it was contended that the cost of collection was excessive, and that a saving of at least two millions might be effected. This was before Mr. Cobden had fulfilled his mission to France, and Mr. Bright, at a meeting of the association on the 1st of December, 1859, proposed a scheme for a financial reform which would, it was contended, repeal those taxes that pressed unduly on the larger portion of the community, and on persons with precarious incomes, and substitute for them taxes on property which produced a fixed and comparatively certain income. This would involve the abolition of the existing income-tax, assessed taxes (except the house duty), the tax on marine assurances and fire assurances, and the excise duty on paper. All duties on the customs' tariff were to be struck off except those on foreign wines, which were to be reduced from five and sixpence to one shilling a gallon, and the duties on foreign spirits and tobacco. These remissions, it was calculated, would reduce the revenue by upwards of £26,000,000, and he proposed to cover this enormous deficiency by a tax of eight shillings per cent on the income

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SIR WILLIAM THOMSON, LL.D. D.C.L.

PROFESSOR OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

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of all persons whose property was above £100, which according to the estimate based on parliamentary returns would, he said, yield a revenue of about £27,000,000, and thus more than cover the deficiency caused by the proposed reductions.

Such a scheme of course excited considerable attention, and though this is not the place to consider its merits or demerits, it could scarcely have been passed by without notice, as illustrating the extent to which financial questions were then being discussed.

Before parliament met in 1860 Mr. Cobden's mission had been fulfilled, and the approaching financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer was looked forward to with no little interest, and with some anxiety, for it was known that the commercial condition of the country—notwithstanding some disturbances, one of the principal of which was a long and obstinate strike of the workmen employed in the building trades—was such as to warrant a wide and comprehensive scheme. In these respects Mr. Gladstone was not likely to disappoint the public expectation. For two or three days the financial statement had to be postponed, because of a temporary illness from which he was suffering; but on the 10th of February he walked into the house without any apparent traces of his recent indisposition. Every seat was occupied, every avenue crowded, and he was received with cheering from all parts of the house, after which every sound was hushed, and the whole assembly listened with almost breathless attention, for it was known that the revenue from customs, excise, assessed taxes, and the post-office had surpassed that of any previous year by £2,023,000; that the imports and exports had increased also beyond those of any other period, amounting to nearly £335,000,000; that pauperism had diminished, wages were high, employment plentiful, the funds steady and at a good figure, the rate of discount low, and money abundant; and that the budget must derive peculiar importance from the changes which would result from the commercial treaty concluded with France. There was neither doubt nor hesitation in the manner in which the chancellor of the exchequer introduced his financial scheme, nor in all that speech which included an elaborate statement did he once falter or fail to hold the deep interest of his audience in the lucid explanations which he put forth.

"Public expectation," he said, "has long marked out the year 1860 as an important epoch in British finance. It has long been well known that in this year, for the first time, we were to receive from a process not of our own creation, a very great relief in respect of our annual payment of interest upon the national debt—a relief amounting to no less a sum than £2,146,000—a relief such as we never have known in time past, and such as, I am afraid, we shall never know in time to come. Besides that relief, other and more recent arrangements have added to the importance of this juncture. A revenue of nearly £12,000,000 a year, levied by duties on tea and sugar, which still retain a portion of the additions made to them on account of the Russian war, is about to lapse absolutely on the 31st of March, unless it shall be renewed by parliament. The Income-tax Act, from which during the financial year we shall have derived a sum of between £9,000,000 and £10,000,000, is likewise to lapse at the very same time, although an amount not inconsiderable will still remain to be collected in virtue of the law about to expire; and, lastly, an event of not less interest than any of these, which has caused public feeling to thrill from one end of the country to the other—I mean the treaty of commerce, which my noble friend the foreign minister has just laid on the table—has rendered it a matter of propriety, nay almost of absolute necessity, for the government to request the house to deviate under the peculiar circumstances of the case from its usual, its salutary, its constitutional practice of voting the principal charges of the year before they proceed to consider the means of defraying them, and has induced the government to think they would best fulfil their duty by inviting attention on the earliest possible day to those financial arrangements for the coming year which are materially affected by the treaty with France, and which, though

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they reach considerably beyond the limits of that treaty, yet, notwithstanding, can only be examined by the house in a satisfactory manner when examined as a whole."

Mr. Gladstone went on to state that the financial results of the year, so far as the receipts were concerned, were eminently satisfactory. The total estimated revenue was £69,460,000; the actual amount produced was not less than £70,578,000. The expenditure had been £68,953,000. Under ordinary circumstances this amount would have left a surplus of £1,625,000; but there had been additional charges, arising out of the expedition to China, in the army of £900,000, and the navy £270,000. Then came the effect of the treaty with France, for which there was to be deducted from the customs £640,000. The total was £1,800,000, which would have placed the revenue on the wrong side of the account; but in a happy moment, Spain, "not under any peculiar pressure from us, but with a high sense of honour and duty," had paid a debt of £500,000, of which £250,000 would be available at once, so that a small surplus would still be left on the total revenue. With regard to the interest of the debt in the coming year, the estimated charge was £26,200,000, leaving £2,438,000, or more than the annuities which were about to lapse. The consolidated fund charges would be £2,000,000; the army, militia, and the charge for China would be £15,800,000; the navy and packet service, £13,900,000, or altogether £29,700,000, being an increase of more than £3,000,000 on the military estimates of the preceding session. The miscellaneous estimates were £3,500,000; the revenue departments, £4,700,000 — the grand total being £70,100,000. Coming to the estimate of the year in perspective, Mr. Gladstone said that, taking the imports as they then stood, it was: Customs, £22,700,000; excise, £19,170,000; stamps, £8,000,000; taxes, £3,250,000; income-tax, £2,400,000; with the post-office the total being £60,700,000; thus leaving a deficit of £9,400,000, and this without any provision for £1,000,000 coming due on exchequer bonds. Even if the existing war duties on tea and sugar should be retained the deficit would still be £7,300,000. This would require an income-tax of 9*d.* in the pound, there being no remission of taxation in the trade and commerce of the country; but the £9,400,000 would require an income-tax of 1*s.* in the pound. He knew that it might with justice be demanded of him, "What has become of the calculations of 1853?" His answer was, that in that year it was reckoned there would be gained by taxes then imposed between that and the present time a sum of £5,959,000, which was about the sum that the income-tax would have reached at 5*d.* in the pound in the present year. The succession duty had failed to produce what was expected; surpluses had been stopped by the intervention of war; and there was, moreover, the charge for additional debt incurred by the Russian war, which amounted to £2,920,000. The alteration in the spirit duties, however, had added £2,000,000 to the revenue; and the revenue generally had been so prosperous that if the expenditure had not rapidly increased the amount calculated in 1853 would have been realized. It was a constantly increasing expenditure which had destroyed the calculations of 1853.

The chancellor of the exchequer then brought forward statistics showing how much richer the country was than in 1842 and 1853. In the former year the annual income of the country was £154,000,000; in 1853 it had risen to £172,000,000; in 1857–58 it stood at £191,000,000, and in 1859–60 at £200,000,000. The increase had occurred in every class in the country, and in the agricultural class most of all. In 1842 the gross expenditure of the country was £68,500,000; in 1853 it was £71,500,000; in 1859–60 it was £87,697,000; these totals, including the local expenditure as well as that of the state properly so called, showing a gradual but large increase. The comparative growth of wealth and expenditure was therefore wholly unequal, and it showed the course which the country was pursuing—a course with which he was far from being satisfied. But there was a deficit of £9,400,000 to be met. He had shadowed out a budget by which, with an income-tax of 1*s.* in the pound, their object could be achieved, with a relief to the consumers of tea and

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sugar to the extent of the remaining portions of the war duty; or, there was a more niggardly budget, which would keep up the duties on tea and sugar, yet still leave the country liable to an income-tax of not less than 9*d.* in the pound. It was his intention to apply in aid of the expenditure of the year a sum of not less than £1,400,000, which was no part of the proposed taxation of the year, but which would be obtained by rendering available another portion of the malt credit, and likewise the credit usually given on hops. The heavy income-tax which had been borne would not have been borne as it had been, but for the strength which the country had derived from the recent commercial legislation, and the confidence of the nation in the integrity and wisdom of Parliament.

Enforcing the duty of the government to take further steps in the direction of relieving trade and commerce from imposts in pursuance of the principles of free-trade, notwithstanding the difficulties which existed, Mr. Gladstone entered into calculations to show that remissions of taxation had always been accompanied by increase of revenue consequent on the increase of trade and commerce. He then announced that he did not propose to touch the taxes on tea or sugar, which would be renewed as they then stood for one year. "I now come," he continued, "to the question of the commercial treaty with France. And I will at once confidently recommend the adoption of the treaty to the committee as fulfilling and satisfying all the conditions of the most beneficial kind of change in our commercial legislation." The first points of the treaty were that France was to reduce the duties on coal and iron in 1860; on yarn, flax, and hemp early in 1861. On the 1st of October, 1861, the duties would be reduced or prohibition removed from all British articles, so that no duty should be higher than 30 per cent *ad valorem*, all the staple manufactures of Britain being included. In three years afterwards the maximum duty was to be 25 per cent *ad valorem*. England, on her part, engaged herself immediately and totally to abolish all duty on all manufactured goods from France, to reduce the duty on brandy from 15*s.* to the level of the colonial duty of 8*s.* 2*d.* per gallon; and that on foreign wine (not merely French) from nearly 5*s.* 10*d.* a gallon to 3*s.* per gallon, and in 1861 still further, in reference to the strength of the wine—the lowest duty being 1*s.* per gallon; the charge on French articles liable to excise duty in England to be the same as the English duty. The treaty was to be in force for ten years. Mr. Gladstone denied the charge of subserviency to France brought against the treaty, and said that he was aware it would be held to bear a political character. He pointed out that this was not alone an union of the governments, but that it was hoped it would be an union of the nations themselves, and that their being in harmony would be a conclusive proof that neither of them could be engaged in meditating anything dangerous to the peace of Europe. He next combated the objection which then existed, and has never ceased to have some force, that a commercial treaty is an abandonment of the principles of free-trade. That would be so in one sense if it involved the recognition of exclusive privileges. This particular treaty was an abandonment of the principle of protection. He was not aware of any entangling engagement which it contained; and it certainly contained no exclusive privilege. He hoped it would be a means, "tolerably complete and efficacious, of sweeping from the statute-book the chief among such relics of that miscalled system of protection as still remain upon it. The fact is—and you will presently see how truly it is so—that our old friend protection, who used formerly to dwell in the palaces and the high places of the land, and who was dislodged from them some ten or fifteen years ago, has, since that period, still found pretty comfortable shelter and good living in holes and corners; and you are now invited, if you will have the goodness to concur in the operation, to see whether you cannot likewise eject him from those holes and corners." Dwelling upon the effects of the treaty, Mr. Gladstone said that the reduction on wine would cause a loss in revenue of £515,000, on brandy of £225,000, on manufactured goods of £440,000 —making a total of £1,180,000. He main-

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tained that these were not revenue duties, but were all protective duties. Statistics were quoted to show that it was desirable to make such a bargain with France as would allow of the interchange of manufactures and commodities, which was already important, and which must largely increase when France was induced to break down her prohibitory system. That which had been done would have been good for this country if France had done nothing; it was better for us in proportion as France did something. One result of the high duty on French brandy, for example, was the manufacture of an unhappy production in the shape of a spirit called British brandy. As to wine, it was said to be the rich man's luxury, and tea the poor man's luxury; but in 1760 tea was the rich man's luxury, and sold at 20*s.* a pound; and by reducing the duty you might make wine the poor man's luxury. In fact the existing duties were not merely protective but prohibitory, and there was a pressure with regard to that article which, apart from any treaty with France, would compel a dealing with the wine duties. The consumption of foreign wines in this country had greatly increased—by at least 168,000 gallons in the last year; and concurrent with that there had been a large consumption of colonial wines and even of British wines. This showed a great demand for wine, and there was reason to believe that a greater production of wines, fitted for the English market and middle and lower classes of this country, could be effected. The idea that under no possible circumstances could Englishmen like French wines ought to be exploded, there being, in fact, a great taste in England for those wines; but it was stifled by prohibitory duties, which generated a mass of evils in the shape of fraud and adulteration. The alteration in the tariff with France would tend greatly to facilitate personal intercourse with the Continent, by enabling the customs authorities to withdraw the greater part of the annoying restraints now existing on the rapid transit of passengers and their baggage.

But Mr. Gladstone had now to speak of Cobden's exertions, and in felicitous words and with ardent feeling he said: "I cannot pass from the subject of the French treaty without paying a tribute of respect to two persons, at least, who have been the main authors of it. I am bound to bear this witness, at any rate, with regard to the Emperor of the French: that he has given the most unequivocal proofs of sincerity and earnestness in the progress of this great work, a work which he has prosecuted with clear-sighted resolution, not, doubtless, for British purposes, but in the spirit of enlightened patriotism, with a view to commercial reforms at home, and to the advantage and happiness of his own people by means of those reforms. With regard to Mr. Cobden, speaking as I do at a time when every angry passion has passed away, I cannot help expressing our obligations to him for the labour he has, at no small personal sacrifice, bestowed upon a measure which he—not the least among the apostles of free-trade—believes to be one of the most memorable triumphs free-trade has ever achieved. Rare is the privilege of any man who, having fourteen years ago rendered to his country one signal and splendid service, now again, within the same brief span of life, decorated neither by rank nor title, bearing no mark to distinguish him from the people whom he loves, has been permitted again to perform a great and memorable service to his sovereign and to his country."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to explain his supplemental measure of customs reform. He had asked the committee, he said, to sacrifice £1,190,000 of the existing revenue in order to effect a relief to the consumer of £1,737,000 by giving effect to the provisions of the treaty with France. That treaty would bring about a sensible reform in the customs establishments of the country; at the same time, it would not effect a reform which would, of itself, have any pretensions to a character of completeness, and there were many other duties still remaining on the tariff of a description which called for the attention of parliament, and by the reduction or removal of which immense advantage might be conferred upon the nation. It was proposed to reduce custom duties, in addition to those named, to the extent of £910,100, but

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to supply that sum by other impositions on trade. The duties to be abolished were those on butter, tallow, cheese, oranges and lemons, eggs, &c., which amounted to £380,000 a-year. There were to be reductions of duties on timber, currants, raisins, figs, and hops, making together £658,000; the total reduction being £1,039,000. An extension of penny taxation would be resorted to, in order to compensate this loss, and by this means £982,000 would be restored to the general revenue. The loss to the revenue by the French treaty and reduction of duties he estimated at £2,146,000, but of this sum half was redeemed by the imposts specified.

The chancellor of the exchequer next announced that he proposed the abolition of the excise duty on paper. And this proposition served in some degree to mark the changes which had taken place, not only in his views, but in the current periodical literature. Besides, the duty had been condemned by the House of Commons. It operated most oppressively on the common sorts of paper, and tended to restrict the circulation of cheap literature. By taking off the duty it was contended that the house would promote rural labour, and so produce a beneficial effect on the poor-rates of the various districts. He therefore proposed that the paper duty should be abolished from the 1st of July, allowing the usual drawback to those who had stocks on hand. It was also proposed to abolish the impressed stamp on newspapers. With this announcement he had reached the end of the remissions it was proposed to make. But he still had to refer to some articles which were connected with the departments of excise and taxes. With regard to hops, the system of credits would be altered. It was proposed to remove the prohibition on malt, and to fix a duty on it of 3*s.* a bushel. The alterations and reductions he had proposed would give a total relief to the consumer of £3,931,000, and cause a net loss to the revenue of £2,108,000, a sum about equivalent to the amount falling in from the cessation of government annuities that year. The number of articles which would remain on the customs tariff would be forty-eight, and in the following year forty-four—spirits, tea, tobacco, sugar, wine, coffee, corn, currants, and timber being the principal—only fifteen of the whole being retained for purposes of revenue. He expected to obtain £1,400,000 by taking up the malt and hop duties within the year. Mr. Gladstone then came to the last of the chief points of his budget. There was no liberty of choice but to retain the income-tax. He consequently proposed that, in order to supply the remainder of the deficit of £9,400,000, the tax should be renewed at the rate of 10*d.* in the pound on incomes of upwards of £150 a year, and at 7*d.* below that sum; the tax to be taken for one year only, three-quarters of the year's rate to be collected within the year, which would give a sum of £8,472,000. This would bring the total income up to £70,564,000. The total charge was £70,100,000; and thus they remained with an apparent or estimated surplus of £464,000.

"Our proposals," said Mr. Gladstone, in concluding his statement, "involve a great reform in our tariff; they involve a large remission of taxation, and last of all, though not least, they include that commercial treaty with France which, though we have to apprehend that objections in some quarters will be taken to it, we confidently recommend, not only on moral, and social, and political, but also, and with equal confidence, on economical and fiscal grounds. . . . There were times, now long by, when sovereigns made progress through the land, and when, at the proclamation of their heralds, they caused to be scattered whole showers of coin among the people who thronged upon their steps. That may have been a goodly spectacle; but it is also a goodly spectacle, and one adapted to the altered spirit and circumstances of our times, when our sovereign is enabled, through the wisdom of our great council, assembled in parliament around her, again to scatter blessings among her subjects by means of wise and prudent laws; of laws which do not sap in any respect the foundations of duty or of manhood, but which strike away the shackles from the arm of industry, which give new incentives and new rewards to toil, and which win more and more for the throne and for the institutions of the

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country the gratitude, the confidence, and the love of an united people. Let me say, even to those who are anxious, and justly anxious, on the subject of our national defences, that that which stirs the flame of patriotism in men, that which binds them in one heart and soul, that which gives them increased confidence in their rulers, that which makes them feel and know that they are treated with justice, and that we who represent them are labouring incessantly and earnestly for their good—is in itself no small, no feeble, and no transitory part of national defence. We recommend these proposals to your impartial and searching inquiry. We do not presume, indeed, to make a claim on your acknowledgments; but neither do we desire to draw on your unrequited confidence, nor to lodge an appeal to your compassion. We ask for nothing more than your dispassionate judgment, and for nothing less; we know that our plan will receive that justice at your hands; and we confidently anticipate on its behalf the approval alike of the parliament and the nation."

We can do no more than give the actual outline of this great financial scheme—and even had the speech itself, with all its fulness of detail, its remarkable illustrations, and its wealth of suggestion, been printed in these pages, the reader would not—could not realize the tone, the voice, the manner, which, added to a masterly dealing with the subject, enchained the house for four hours, during which neither they nor the orator exhibited weariness or exhaustion. The budget speech of 1860 soon became historical.

END OF VOL. III.

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ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOYNE-CECIL.

THIRD MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

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WILLIAM EWART

GLADSTONE

AND HIS

CONTEMPORARIES:

FIFTY YEARS

OF

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

BY

THOMAS ARCHER, F.R.H.S.,

AUTHOR OF "PICTURES AND ROYAL PORTRAITS," "DECISIVE EVENTS OF HISTORY," "THE TERRIBLE SIGHTS OF LONDON," ETC.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

		PAGE
Portrait	MARQUIS OF SALISBURY—From a photograph,	*frontispiece.*
„	DAVID LIVINGSTONE, M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.—From a photograph,	*to face* 22
„	SIR STAFFORD HENRY NORTHCOTE—From a photograph,	„ 122
„	DUKE OF ARGYLE—From a photograph,	„ 170
„	WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER—From a photograph,	„ 212
„	MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON—From a photograph,	„ 270
„	SIR GARNET J. WOLSELEY (LORD WOLSELEY)—From a photograph,	„ 304
„	MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK S. ROBERTS—From a photograph,	„ 320

CHAPTER X.

LOSS AND GAIN—THE EDGES OF GREAT REFORMS.

PAGE

Hopeful Condition of the Country in 1860—Expansion of Trade, ... 1
Increase of Imports and Exports between 1840 and 1860, ... 2
Agricultural Improvements—Cattle Disease—The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 2
Increase in import of Meat and Grain, . . 2
Railway Extension—Thames Embankment—Drainage of London—Works of Stephenson and Brunel—Suez Canal, ... 3
Metropolitan Underground Railway—Drinking Fountains—Drainage, ... 3
Completion of Houses of Parliament—London Architecture, ... 4
Water Supply of London and Glasgow, . 4
Feeling against Capital Punishment, . . 5
Pugilism—Tom Sayers and Heenan—Public Excitement—Cobden's View, ... 5
Degrading Amusements—Music Halls—Cremorne—Burning of Covent Garden Opera House, ... 7
Jullien's Concerts—Handel Festival—Albert Smith—Faraday—Polytechnic—Restaurants, ... 8
Surrey Zoological Gardens—Surrey Hall, . 10
Charles H. Spurgeon—The Tabernacle, . 10
Low Church and Dissent—High Church and Ritualism—Mr. Gladstone on Laymen in the Church—Ritualism and its Consequences, ... 11
Proposed Abolition of Church-rates—Sir John Trelawney's Bills, ... 13
Ritualism in St. George's-in-the-East, . . 17
Sketch of Cardinal Manning, ... 17
Spiritism—The Arch-medium Home—Letter of Professor Faraday, ... 18
Scientific Progress—Bessemer Steel—Sewing and Washing Machines—The Steam-hammer—Mont Cenis Tunnel—Increase in our Shipping and Trade, ... 19
Arctic Exploration—Expedition of the *Fox*, . 20
Australian Explorations, ... 20
African Exploration—Early Life of David Livingstone—His Missionary Labours and Travels in Africa—His Expedition to Eastern Africa—His Third and Last Journey—Honours conferred upon him, . 20
The Gorilla—Professor Owen's Lecture, . 24
Darwin's Theory of the Origin of Species—Opposition to his Views—His Early Life, 24
Agitation for Repeal of the Paper Duties—Opposition of Paper-makers—The Lords reject the Bill—Lord Palmerston's attitude, 26
Mr. Disraeli willing to support Lord Palmerston's Government, ... 29
Increased Armaments, ... 29
Lord Palmerston's Resolutions on the Rights of the two Houses carried—Dissatisfaction with them, ... 29
The Customs and Excise Duty on Paper equalized, ... 30
Budget of 1861—Increase in Exports and in Importation of Food—The Income-tax and the Duty on Paper—Growing Expenditure, ... 31
Opposition to the Budget—Lord Robert Cecil's Attack on Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Gladstone on the Constitution—The Budget passed, ... 34
Admission of Jews to Parliament—Sir David Salomons takes his seat—The Law altered, 36
Abolition of the Property Qualification, . . 37

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Indifference to Parliamentary Reform—Lord John Russell introduces a Reform Bill, which is withdrawn, ... 37
Death of Douglas Jerrold—Hallam—Leigh Hunt—Chevalier Bunsen, . . . 38
Death of Lord Macaulay—His Writings and place in Politics—Mr. Gladstone on his Career, ... 39
Death of the King of Prussia, ... 41
Death of Lord Aberdeen—Sir Sidney Herbert and Count Cavour, ... 42
Death of Dr. Baly—Sir George Couper and Prince Ernest of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, 42
Frequent Illnesses of Prince Albert, . . 42
Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and of Prince Alfred to the Cape of Good Hope, ... 42
Institution of the "Order of the Star of India," 43
Discontinuance of a Separate Army for India, 43
Increase of Volunteer Force, ... 43
Industry of Prince Albert, ... 44
First Volunteer Review in Hyde Park, and Meeting at Wimbledon—Volunteer Review in Edinburgh, ... 44
Prince Albert on Training for the Naval Reserve, ... 46
Royal Visit to Coburg—Accident to Prince Albert—Illness of the Queen, . . . 46
Prince Alfred at the Cape of Good Hope—Prince of Wales in America—President Buchanan's Letter to the Queen—Her Reply, ... 47
Prince of Wales goes to Cambridge—Betrothal of Princess Alice—Illness of Prince Albert, ... 48
Twenty-first Anniversary of the Queen's Marriage—Letters from Prince Albert and the Queen, ... 49
Illness and Death of the Duchess of Kent, . 49
Health of Prince Albert—His Visit to Sandhurst—Increase of his Illness—Public Anxiety—His last Moments and Death—National Mourning—Mr. Gladstone on the Lesson of his Life—Sermon by Dean Milman—Funeral of the Prince, . . 51
Wreck of the *Royal Charter*, ... 56
The Hartley Colliery Tragedy—Scene near the Pit—The Queen's expression of Sympathy—Subscriptions for the Relatives, . 57
Difficulties in China—The Taku Forts—Outrages on the English Commission—Looting and Burning of the Summer Palace—Terms concluded with the Chinese, . . 59
Disturbances in Syria—Burning of the Christian Quarter of Damascus—Lord Dufferin's Account of the Scene—Order restored by France and England, . . 63

PAGE

The State of Italy—Action of the Austrians—The Tyranny of King Ferdinand, . 66
Movements of Garibaldi—His Personal Appearance—His Home at Caprera—His part in the Austrian War, ... 67
Garibaldi prepares to liberate Sicily—Francis II., King of Naples—Insurrection in Sicily—Landing of Garibaldi and taking of Palermo—Evacuation of Sicily by the Neapolitan Army—Cavour's skilful Management—Position maintained by England and the other European Powers, . . 69
The Emperor of France and the Papal Territory, 72
Garibaldi's Expedition to Naples—His ability as a Tactician and Leader—Composition of his Army—English supplies sent to him—Colonel Peard, "Garibaldi's Englishman"—Taking of Naples, . . . 73
Critical State of Italian Affairs—Foreign Troops collected for the Defence of the Papal States—General Lamoricière—Cavour's Diplomacy—Napoleon remains neutral—The Sardinian Army take possession of the Papal States, ... 76
Necessity for preventing Garibaldi from invading Venetia—Meeting of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi—Their Entry into Naples—Sketch of Garibaldi, . . . 79
Victor Emmanuel chosen King of the Two Sicilies—Garibaldi retires to Caprera—Despatch by Lord John Russell, . . 80
Cavour is succeeded by Rattazzi, . . . 83
Garibaldi raises an Army for the taking of Rome—Is opposed by the Royal Troops, and wounded at Aspromonte—He visits England, ... 83
Removal of Italian Government to Florence—Venetia joined to Italy—Another Failure to liberate Rome, ... 85
The Pope's Irish Brigade—Mr. Pope Hennessey and Italian Affairs—Debate in House of Commons, ... 86
The Civil War in America—Secession of Southern States—Jefferson Davis President, ... 88
The Slavery Question in the States, . . 90
Establishment of the Negro Colony of Liberia—Anti-slavery Societies—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ... 91
Case of John Brown—His Efforts to free the Slaves—Affair at Harper Ferry—He is taken Prisoner, tried, and sentenced to Death—Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Rev. Mr. Beecher on John Brown—His Correspondence while under Sentence—His Execution—Feeling throughout the Union, . 92
Additions to the Seceded States—Taking of Fort Sumter, ... 99

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Sketches of Jefferson Davis and of Abraham Lincoln, ... 100
State of Public Feeling in England — Mr. Bright on the United States and the War, ... 102
The Fugitive Slave Question—Case of John Anderson, ... 106
Causes of the Misunderstanding between Britain and the United States—The *Times* on the Situation, ... 108
Troops are called out by North and South—Britain recognizes the South as a Belligerent Power — Ill-feeling in the North to Britain — Jefferson Davis justifies the South—Cassius M. Clay's Appeal to Britain, ... 110
Beginning of the War—Superiority of Confederate Soldiers—Bull Run, ... 115
The *Trent* Affair—Capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell by Captain Wilkes — Correspondence between the Governments — Liberation of the Commissioners, . . 116
Mr. Gladstone's Budget of 1862—Increase of National Debts—Mr. Disraeli attacks the Budget, ... 119
Sketch of Sir Stafford Northcote, ... 123
Exhibition of 1862—Comparison with Exhibition of 1851, ... 123
President Lincoln's Letter to the Workingmen of Manchester—Distress in Lancashire and the Relief Fund—Mr. Cobden on the Distress, ... 126
George Peabody—His Gifts to the Poor of London, ... 127
Mrs. Gladstone's efforts to relieve the Distress—Growth of Cotton in British Dependencies, ... 129
Co-operative Societies—Success of the Rochdale Societies, ... 130
Blockade-running and Privateering — The *Sumter* and *Florida*—The *Alabama*—Differences between the American and British Governments, ... 134
Gladstone, Bright, and Cobden on the Prospects of the South, ... 137
Proclamation of Freedom to the Slaves, . 139
Increased Efforts of the Northern States—Their Successes, ... 141
Re-election of Mr. Lincoln—Capitulation of Richmond — Surrender of General Lee—End of the War, ... 142
Assassination of President Lincoln, and attempted Assassination of Mr. Seward, . 143
Cost of the War, ... 144
Betrothal of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra—Her Arrival in London—The Marriage—Tennyson's Ode, . . 144
The Throne of Greece offered to Prince Alfred, but declined—Accepted by Prince William of Denmark, ... 145
Prince Christian becomes King of Denmark, 146
The Budget of 1863 — Mr. Gladstone's proposed "Taxes on Charities" rejected by the House—Main Scheme of the Budget approved, ... 146
Improved Trade with France, ... 148
The Temperance Movement—Father Mathew—Formation of Temperance Societies—United Kingdom Alliance—The Permissive Bill—The Clergy and Temperance—The Permissive Bill introduced to the Commons, ... 149
Cheap Trains—The Factory Acts, . . . 153
Russian Atrocities in Poland — Indignation throughout Europe, ... 153
French Conquest in Mexico—Maximilian proclaimed Emperor — Departure of the French Troops—Siege of Mexico by Juarez, and Surrender of Maximilian—His Trial and Execution, ... 155
Policy of Napoleon — Proposes an International Peace Congress — Replies of the European Powers—War Clouds gathering, 159
The Schleswig-Holstein Difficulty — The Duchies invaded by an Austro-Prussian Army—Defeat of the Danes, and Cession of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, . 160
Debate in the French Chambers on National Disarming, ... 164
Debate in Parliament on the Dano-German Question—Mr. Disraeli's Resolution, and Mr. Gladstone's Reply—Mr. Bernal Osborne's Sallies—Lord Palmerston defends his Administration — His Letter to the King of the Belgians—His Lordship at eighty years of age, ... 165
Law Reforms, ... 168
National Education—Commission of Inquiry into Public Schools—Mr. Lowe's Administration—He is charged with mutilating Reports, and resigns Office, . . . 169
The Dissenters' Burial Bill, ... 171
The Budget of 1864—Benefits of Free-trade Legislation, ... 171
Government Annuities and Life Assurance Bill passed, ... 172
The Budget of 1865, ... 173
Reform Movements, ... 173
Mr. Gladstone and the Irish Church—He is defeated at Oxford—His Farewell Address—He is returned for South Lancashire—Result of the Elections, ... 175
Mr. Cobden's failing Health—He declines a lucrative Government Post—His last Illness and Death—Tributes to his Memory, 179
Death of Lord Palmerston, ... 181

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Ministry of Earl Russell, ... 182
Mr. Gladstone's Addresses in Glasgow and Edinburgh, ... 182

CHAPTER XI.

"Leaps and Bounds."

Bursting of the Bilbury and Bradfield Reservoirs—Bursting of Sluice between Lynn and Wisbeach, ... 184
Destructive Fires in London—Railway Accidents: Staplehurst, Abergele — Assaults and Murders in Railway Carriages, . . 187
Governor Eyre and the Jamaica Riots—Organization among the Negroes—Breaking out of Insurrection—Execution of George William Gordon—Indignation in England, and Proceedings against Governor Eyre, . 190
Death of Thackeray—His Work—Dickens's Obituary Notice, ... 196
Death of John Leech, ... 197
Death of Professor Aytoun, ... 198
Death of Lord Brougham, ... 198
African Exploration—Captains Speke and Grant—Death of Speke—Mr. Baker—Dr. Livingstone, ... 198
The Electric Telegraph and the Post-office—London Improvements—Increased Intercourse with the Continent—Albert Memorial, ... 199
Movements in the Church—Church Extension—Mr. Disraeli at Meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society, . . . 200
Dr. Pusey and Tractarianism—Mr. Gladstone on the Evangelical Movement, . . 202
Free Interpretation of the Scriptures—Rationalism—Dr. Colenso, ... 204
Essays and Reviews—Prosecutions of the Authors—Lord-chancellor Bethell on Convocation—Bill for Relaxing Subscription to Clerical Oaths, ... 205
Sketch of Sir Richard Bethell (Lord Westbury) — He is charged with Laxity of Practice, ... 208
The Queen opens Parliament of 1866—Reform Bill promised—The Bill introduced but received with apathy—Earl Russell's Ministry — William Edward Forster — George Joachim Goschen—Mr. Stansfeld —The Duke of Argyle, ... 211
The Budget of 1866, ... 212
Provisions of the Reform Bill—It meets with Indifference and Opposition—Speeches by Messrs. Lowe and Bright—The Cave of Adullam—Sir E. Bulwer Lytton on the Bill, ... 213

PAGE

Speeches of Mr. Gladstone at Liverpool and of Mr. Bright at Birmingham, . . 217
The Debate renewed—Speeches by Lowe and Disraeli—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—The Division, and narrow majority for the Government, ... 218
Bill for Redistribution of Seats—The Government defeated and resign, . . . 221
Lord Derby's Ministry, ... 222
Popular Demonstrations in favour of Reform — Edmond Beales, M.A.—The Hyde Park Riots, ... 223
Lord Derby's Government and Reform—Proposal to proceed by way of Resolutions, 226
The "Ten Minutes Bill," 227
Introduction of a new Reform Bill—Its Provisions—Important Alterations made on the Bill, which passes the Lower House, . 228
The Bill amended by the Lords and returned to the Commons—It finally becomes law, 233
Earl Derby resigns—Mr. Disraeli succeeds him—Death of Earl Derby, . . . 235
Mr. Gladstone succeeds Earl Russell in the Leadership of the Liberal Party, . . 235
Financial Disasters—Collapse of Overend, Gurney, & Co.—"Black Friday"—Suspension of the Bank Charter Act, . . 236
The Austro-Prussian War—The Austrians defeated at Sadowa—Close of the War—Energy of War Correspondents, . . 237
Commercial Embarrassment of 1867—Trades-unions — Loyalty of the Working-classes —Wide-spread Distress, and working of the Poor-law, ... 238
Trades Outrages at Sheffield—Investigations by a Commission—Evidence of Witnesses —Broadhead's villainous Proceedings, . 240
The Abyssinian Expedition—Conduct of King Theodore—He imprisons the Europeans—General Sir Robert Napier advances upon Magdala—The Prisoners delivered up—Magdala stormed, and death of Theodore, 244
Irish Troubles—Evil Influence of Professional Agitators — The Fenian Organization — Threats against England—The Habeas Corpus Act suspended in Ireland—Capture and Escape of Stephens — Fenian Raid on Canada—Arrival of Irish Americans—Colonel Burke arrested—Attack on Prison Van at Manchester, and Murder of Sergeant Brett—Execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, ... 247
Fenian Attempt on Clerkenwell Prison — Execution of Barrett, ... 255
Burning of Her Majesty's Theatre, London—Explosion of Nitro-glycerine at Newcastle, 256
Outrages in Ireland—Procession in Memory of the Manchester Murderers, . . . 257

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Attempted Assassination of Prince Alfred in Australia, ... 257
Visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland, ... 258
Mr. Gladstone on the Fenian Outrages—His Views on the Irish Problem—The Established Church in Ireland—The Land Question, ... 258
Mr. Disraeli's Administration of 1868—Mr. Maguire's proposed Inquiry into the Condition of Ireland—Mr. Gladstone's Declaration—His Resolutions to disestablish the Irish Church—Debate in the Commons—Mr. Disraeli on Lord Cranborne—Charges against Mr. Gladstone, . . 262
Debate on the Irish Church resumed—The Government defeated—Mr. Disraeli's Tactics, ... 265
Mr. Aytoun's Motion on the Maynooth Grant and the Regium Donum, ... 266
Scotch and Irish Reform Bills passed—Electric Telegraph Bill, ... 266
Dissolution of Parliament, ... 267
The new Elections—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone—Is elected for Greenwich—Rejection of Mr. John Stuart Mill and of Mr. Roebuck—Changes in the new House, . . 267
Increase of Liberalism—Majority in the Commons—Resignation of the Ministry, . 269
Mr. Gladstone's Administration—Mr. Bright accepts Office—The Liberal Programme, . 269
Mr. Gladstone introduces the Bill for disestablishing the Irish Church—Its Provisions—Debate on the Bill—It is read a second time, ... 270
Mr. Lowe's Budget of 1869, ... 273
Opposition to the Irish Church Bill—Its reception in the Lords—The Bill finally passed, ... 274
The Work of the Commissioners—New Constitution for the Irish Church—The Catholic Clergy on the Education and Land Questions in Ireland—Mr. Bright's Declaration, ... 275
Mr. Gladstone introduces the Irish Land Bill—Its Provisions—Debate on the Bill, which becomes law, ... 276
National Education—The Religious Difficulty—The Elementary Education Act—Need for Primary Instruction, . . . 279
Inquiry into the Employment of Women and Children—Evils of the Gang System in Agricultural Districts—Lord Shaftesbury's Bill regulating Female Labour, . 282
Mr. Foster's Education Act—The first Chairman of the London School-board—Progress made in providing Schools—Objections of Teachers to the Code, . . . 283
PAGE
The Franco-German War, ... 285
Army Reform—Abolition of Purchase—Mr. Gladstone's Stratagem, . . . 286
Passing of the University Tests Bill, Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and the Trades Union and Local Government Acts, . . . 286
Mr. Lowe's Budget of 1871—His Proposal to tax Matches, ... 287
Illness of the Prince of Wales, . . . 287
Bill regulating the Liquor Traffic, . . 288
Arbitration on the *Alabama* Claims and the Island of San Juan, ... 288
Mr. Gladstone's Education Bill for Ireland—His Ministry defeated—Resignation, . 289
Lord Selborne's Judicature Bill, . . . 289
General Election of 1874—Mr. Gladstone's Ministry leave office—His Letter to Lord Granville, ... 289
Lord Hartington becomes Leader of the Liberal Party in the House—Prognostications concerning his Lordship, . . . 290
Mr. Disraeli Prime Minister—Session of 1874—State of the Country, ... 292
John Mitchel elected and re-elected for Tipperary—His Death—Dr. Kenealy returned for Stoke-upon-Trent, ... 293
Ritualism in the Church of England—Compulsory Church-rates abolished, . . 294
The Elementary Education Act and Denominational Schools—The Question of Disestablishment—Mr. Gladstone's Views—His Article on Ritualism—Deputation to the Archbishop of Canterbury—A Royal Commission appointed, ... 296
The Church Patronage of Scotland Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Objections to it, . . . 300
The Public Worship Regulation Bill passed—Effects of the Ecclesiastical Discussions, . 301
Sketch of Sir William Harcourt, . . . 302
Mr. Gladstone on the Vatican Decrees—His Public Life, ... 303
The War in Ashantee—Career of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Coomassie entered, . . . 304

CHAPTER XII.

The Latest Stride.

Vote by Ballot—Motion for Uniform Parliamentary Franchise in Boroughs and Counties, ... 307
Strikes—The Agricultural Labourer—Agitation led by Mr. Joseph Arch—The *Labourers' Chronicle*—End of the Struggle, . 309
Overladen Ships—Mr. Plimsoll's Efforts on behalf of our Seamen—Scene in the House—A Government Measure for regulating Structure of Merchant Vessels, . . 312

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Character of Mr. Disraeli—His Elevation to the Peerage, ... 313

The Eastern Question again—Policy of Russia—Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—Russia declares War against Turkey—Advance of the Russians to Constantinople—Excitement in England—The "Jingoes"—A Treaty signed—"Peace with Honour," . 314

War in Afghanistan—General Sir Frederick Roberts, ... 319

The Zulu War—Defeat at Isandula—Death of the Prince Imperial—Cetewayo made prisoner, ... 320

Egypt and the Suez Canal—British Action at Alexandria, ... 322

The Home Rulers and their "Policy of Exasperation," 322

PAGE

State of Political Parties at the end of 1879—The "Midlothian Campaign"—General Election of 1880—Mr. Gladstone becomes Prime Minister, ... 323

Deaths of Eminent Men, ... 324

Difficulties in Ireland—Protection of Life and Property Bill—The Land Bill, . . 324

Statistics of Crime, Education, and Emigration, ... 326

Employers' Liability Bill—Ground Game Bill—Married Women's Property Act, . 329

Progress of the Country—National Income and Enterprise—Railways—Post Office—Population—Trade, ... 329

Conclusion, ... 332

INDEX, ... 335

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GLADSTONE

AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

CHAPTER X.

LOSS AND GAIN—THE EDGES OF GREAT REFORMS.

Signs of Prosperity—Public Works—Amusements—Albert Smith—Burning of Covent Garden Theatre—Crime—Social and Intellectual Progress—Church-rates—Invention and Discovery—Livingstone—The Gorilla—Darwin—The Palmerston Government—Signs of the Times—Russell's Reform Bill—Losses—Lord Aberdeen—Bunsen—Leigh Hunt—Macaulay—Death of Prince Albert—Gladstone's Tribute to his Memory—The American War—President Lincoln—Jeff. Davis—The Slavery Question—Gladstone's Views—The Trent—Cotton Famine—Lancashire Co-operation—The *Alabama*—Exhibition of 1862—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Princess Alexandra—Budget of 1863—Denmark—Law Reform—Education—Permissive Bill—Garibaldi in London—Session of 1865—Lord Westbury—The Irish Church—Defeat of Gladstone at Oxford—Death of Cobden—Death of Lord Palmerston.

Though the war in Italy had caused many apprehensions, and at one time a panic had seemed imminent on the Stock Exchange, the condition of the country in 1860 was such as to call forth general satisfaction. The year 1859 had ended with evidences of increased prosperity, and with reason for good hope for the future. Exports and imports, employment and profits, and the produce of the public revenue had steadily increased notwithstanding political uneasiness, the shipping interest seemed likely to recover from the depression which followed the exceptional demand for vessels during the Crimean campaign, and the progress which had been made during the ten years since 1850 was such as to justify the general belief that England would be able to maintain her position among the nations of the world.

The commercial prosperity of a nation may not be absolutely calculable by the figures of statistical returns, but those figures afford sufficient proof of it when they are complete, and when by comparison they show a permanent and decided advance. The accounts of the Board of Trade sufficed to show that after the removal of restrictions on our commerce the business of the country expanded to a surprising extent, and that the expansion continued. In the ten years from 1848 to 1858 inclusive, the total value of exports of British produce had increased from less than 53 millions in the former year to above 116½ millions in the latter year; or from £1, 18*s.* to £4, 2*s.* 5*d.* per head of the population. In the same period the total value of imports had increased in even greater proportion. There were no accurate returns of them in the Board of Trade accounts, so far as their real value is concerned, earlier than 1854, but in that year the total value of imports was 152½ millions, while in 1858 it had increased to 164½ millions. It is worth noticing, however, that the imports did not show such an enormous proportion of food — provisions, meat, corn, flour, &c.—as we may have to note in subsequent years. For instance, the importations of these articles in 1854 reached the total value of 27½ millions, in 1858 of only a little over 24 millions, but in 1863 it had risen to above 40½ millions. The produce of our own country had long ceased to suffice to feed the population, and increased means of steam transit, the lowering of freights, the enormous development of the food supplies of America, the increased productions of our

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colonies, and the free opening of our ports to all comers had wrought this change in the condition of English consumers.

For want of the correct totals of real values in the accounts of the Board of Trade, the returns for 1840 cannot be given; but they have been computed as nearly as possible, and the total imports (of which there *is* an account) show a value of just over 62 millions, while the exports are calculated at a little less than 61½ millions. In twenty years, that is to say in 1860, they had risen respectively to 210½ millions and 164½ millions. In 1840 the import and export trade together represented £5, and in 1860 they represented £13 per head of the population.

Although we were increasingly dependent for our food supply upon importations from abroad, agricultural operations had continued to improve, and mechanical implements were already superseding the old methods of farming. The yield of wheat per acre was increasing; but the area of the country could not be increased, and land became of greater rental value, though the average of prices of grain were diminished as compared with the earlier years of the century. Complete systems of draining and deep ploughing, increased the productiveness of the soil. Since the introduction of guano in 1841 various kinds of manure had been adopted for different crops, and many of those experiments which we have already noted in relation to Mr. Mechi's operations at Tiptree had proved successful. A great improvement had been manifested in Dorsetshire farms, where the cultivators had previously exhausted their efforts in breaking up heath wastes and sheep-downs, but had not adopted the steam-plough to cultivate them. They had begun to feed their sheep and cattle on oil-cake and corn, and the consequence was not only that the land improved on the cattle and sheep runs, but that the flocks increased in quantity and vastly improved in quality, while the herds of horned stock advanced in an equal or even a greater degree. In 1851 the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society and the Devon Agricultural Society amalgamated, and a series of annual meetings and exhibitions at different parts of the country was inaugurated. The first of these meetings took place at Taunton in 1852, when the entries of stock for the show numbered 238 and the implements 400; in 1860, at Dorchester the number of cattle shown was 599 and of implements 1453, including 29 machines in motion. Reaping and haymaking machines, steam ploughs, harrows, and other machines were soon in very general use, and the system of breeding and feeding cattle underwent a remarkable change, which produced extraordinary results not in England only, where the animals were bred and exhibited for their fine points and meat-yielding quality, but also in Canada and America, where our shorthorn bulls and heifers, our Cotswold sheep and Berkshire pigs were used to start a new stock, to be returned hither in due time in the shape of American beef and mutton. At the same time special legislation had to be introduced in consequence first of the murrain, which was believed to have been brought by foreign cattle in 1841, and afterwards because of the rinderpest of 1856, which, originating among the vast herds of the Russian steppes, travelled westward over Europe, and could only be checked from spreading in England by the stringent provisions of an act of parliament —the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act.

A few more figures may not be out of place to indicate the enormous extension of food supply by the returns of importations of cattle, meat, and grain to this country.

In 1842, when the prohibition of the importation of cattle and sheep was removed, there were imported 4264 oxen, bulls, cows, and calves, and 644 sheep, 6181 cwts. of bacon and hams, 30,022 cwts. of beef. In 1845 the cattle imported had increased to 16,833, the sheep and lambs to 15,957. In 1846, the year of the repeal of the corn-laws, there were imported 45,043 cattle and 94,624 sheep, &c., and the imports of bacon and hams reached 14,203 cwts., and of beef 177,172 cwts. In 1847 the figures were 75,717 cattle, 142,720 sheep, 107,732 cwts. of bacon and hams, and 117,695 cwts. of beef. The quantities afterwards fluctuated according to demand and the home production, but with a general tendency to

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great increase, so that in 1860 there were 104,569 cattle and 320,219 sheep imported, 326,106 cwts. of hams and bacon, and 262,194 cwts. of beef, other commodities, such as pork, eggs, butter, cheese, and lard increasing in proportion, to about 168,000,000 eggs, 841,000 cwts. of butter, 173,000 cwts. of pork, and 198,000 cwts. of lard.

With regard to grain, the importations in 1845 were 3,777,410 cwts. of wheat, 945,864 cwts. of wheat meal and flour, 1,623,784 cwts. of oats, 1,315,550 cwts. of barley, 3,024,883 cwts. of maize, and 542,160 cwts. of rice. In 1847 the amounts were 11,511,305 cwts. of wheat, 6,329,058 cwts. of wheat flour and meal, 4,690,697 cwts. of oats, 2,759,582 cwts. of barley, 15,464,196 cwts. of maize, and 1,901,464 cwts. of rice; and the general increase, with fluctuations marking the years of larger or smaller home produce, brought the totals to larger and larger amounts, till in 1860 they stood at 25,484,151 cwts. of wheat, 5,086,220 cwts. of wheat flour and meal, 6,300,115 cwts. of oats, 7,545,932 cwts. of barley, 7,936,123 cwts. of maize, and 1,535,575 cwts. of rice, the maize rising in the next year to 13,000,000 cwts., but remaining for several years below the estimate of 1847, when maize, rice, and wheat meal were, as we shall remember, needed for the relief of the Irish famine. The exportation of food supplies from this country during the period from 1849 to 1860 were about 2 per cent of the quantity of the imports of wheat and wheat flour, 48 per cent of the imports of rice, 13 per cent of bacon hams and pork and beef. Of cattle and sheep only a fraction were re-exported.

Among the numerous signs of increased prosperity may be mentioned the large number of railways and public works which were either completed or undertaken. The Thames Embankment was, as we have seen, in progress. The vast scheme for the drainage of London had been agreed upon and was in the course of initiation, and an enormous addition had been made to our railways. Robert Stephenson had completed his life's work on the 12th of October, 1859, at fifty-six years of age, and had accomplished enormous results. Not only had he been concerned in the construction of about one-third of the railways in Great Britain and numbers of lines on the Continent, but he had left enduring monuments of his genius in the High Level Bridge at Newcastle, the Britannia and Conway bridges over the Menai Straits, the Victoria Bridge at Berwick, the great bridge over the St. Lawrence and other works. His method of tubular bridging enabled him to achieve marvellous results, and in all the works that he undertook he was guided by a shrewd common sense which looked not only to their scientific but to their commercial success. Everything with which he was concerned must be made to pay, and in this respect he was a remarkable contrast to his contemporary Isambard Kingdom Brunel, whose splendid enterprises were mostly pecuniary failures, and against whom Stephenson had upheld the narrow against the broad gauge for lines of railway, mainly on the question of cost. The elder Brunel, who made the Thames Tunnel, had died in 1849, and his son's death took place on the 15th of August, 1859, only two months before that of his competitor Robert Stephenson. In the ten years from 1849 to 1859 the number of railways had greatly augmented. The narrow gauge had been adopted because of the losses incurred by the line which had been worked by the rival plan. On the same principle of securing commercial success Stephenson had been strongly opposed to the scheme for cutting a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, which had been proposed in 1857, and was being vehemently discussed in 1859 when the French government were pushing on with considerable zeal what the *Times* called "the suspicious project of the impracticable Suez Canal." Stephenson did not declare the project to be impracticable, but he was of opinion that the continued silting up of the sand would necessitate such expenses that the undertaking would never be profitable.

The principal lines of railway were mostly completed before the death of the great engineer, but much remained to be done, and in the following year the preparations for the Metropolitan Underground Railway showed

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that the country was alive for fresh enterprises. At the same time the aspects of our streets were undoubtedly improved and the sanitary arrangements there received more attention,—the roadways were better swept, and there was more protection against fire, not only by a reorganization of the fire brigade and the appointment of more stations, but by an increased supply of water. It is worth noting, too, that in the spring of 1859 the first of a series of ornamental drinking fountains (to some, but too few, of which horse-troughs were added) was erected in London in the wall of St. Sepulchre's Churchyard at the corner of Snow Hill. This fountain, as well as others in the Royal Exchange, in Regent Circus, and elsewhere, was the gift of Mr. Gurney of Lombard Street, and was very ornamental in design. It was time for some such provision to be made, and it should have received greater attention than has since been given to it, for some of the old springs and wells disappeared with the deeper drainage of the metropolis, and those that remained and were drawn from the few surviving pumps were mostly in the vicinity of churchyards or other places, where they had become polluted, so that the sanitary authorities found it necessary to chain up the pump-handles. But the drainage of London still went into the Thames, though, as we have mentioned, the new system of an outfall further out towards sea, from which the sewage of nearly the whole metropolitan area would be discharged, was being carried out by the Metropolitan Board of Works. Though the Thames Embankment was being constructed, the river itself was little better than an open drain, and during the sultry weather the stench which it emitted penetrated to the Houses of Parliament and gave legislators a practical example of the evils under which people dwelling on the banks of the stream had long been suffering.

In recording the progress of public works we cannot properly pass over the completion of the new Houses of Parliament, which was really only effected just before the session of 1859, though the House of Peers had been opened in 1847 and the Commons had first met for business in their new chamber in 1852. The coloured glass windows were added in 1859, the old St. Stephen's Crypt, or St. Mary's Chapel in the vaults, was renewed, the wall frescoes, the colours of which did not stand, were not all finished, but the Speaker's House was being furnished and "Big Ben" was swung along with the other bells in the Clock tower. Sir Charles Barry, the architect of the stupendous pile at Westminster, only lived long enough to see the completion of the building. He died on the 12th of May, 1860. It may be mentioned that very considerable changes were at the same time made in various parts of London, where buildings of a rather mixed architectural character, and some of them of no character at all, but mostly of great size and often of effective appearance, were superseding meaner structures. This necessitated improvements in our thoroughfares, the widening of main streets and therefore the demolition of some crowded neighbourhoods to open up new means of transit, with the result that the city and other trading portions of the metropolis became still less places of residence, and the suburbs of London continued to be extended by the indefinite multiplication of houses, too often badly built, imperfectly drained, and "run up" without due consideration of the proper provisions for health and comfort.

One of the most aggravating conditions of metropolitan dwellings was, and has long continued to be, the want of an ample and pure supply of water. The companies which had the monopoly of carrying water from the Thames, the Lea, and the New River into the houses of Southern, Northern, and Eastern London not only took too little pains to deliver it in a proper condition, but though they were empowered to charge for it at a price reckoned on the rated rental of the houses, refused, or omitted, to do more than fill such cisterns or other receptacles as the landlords of the houses chose to supply to their tenants. It may well be imagined, therefore, that in the poorer neighbourhoods there was a great scarcity, and that the small quantity which the inhabitants could collect in tubs, pails, or

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other utensils was scarcely fit for drinking after it had stood in filthy yards or in close confined rooms, subject to all kinds of emanations from drains and other sources of infection. As to daily ablutions, or even of a weekly bath, there was scarcely a poor neighbourhood where such a provision existed; and in London even the better class of houses were not, and many of them are not now, provided with any water supply for bathing purposes, nor with a bath to receive it even if they chose to pay the extra rate which the companies demand for providing the means of ordinary cleanliness.

Other towns and cities of the kingdom have long been far in advance of London in this respect. Among the great public enterprises of the year 1859 had been that of the Glasgow Water Works Commissioners, who obtained an abundant supply of fine water from Loch Katrine. To overcome the first great engineering difficulty they had been obliged to tunnel a mountain 600 feet below the summit for 2325 yards in length and 8 feet in diameter, and this was only the first of a series of seventy tunnels measuring altogether thirteen miles in length.

The bogs were traversed by nearly four miles of iron pipes and the rivers and valleys by above nine miles of aqueducts. Londoners might well have looked with longing eyes on a scheme which provided Glasgow with fifty million gallons of pure soft water daily; and the completion of the works, the total cost of which had been about £1,500,000, was signalized by the presence of the Queen, with Prince Albert and two of the princesses, her majesty having journeyed from Edinburgh to the outflow at Loch Katrine on her way southward, for the purpose of inaugurating the new enterprise by putting in motion the apparatus for admitting the waters of the lake into the first tunnel.

Increased political and commercial liberty, enormous additions to public works, the extension of the means of travelling, and numerous adaptations of discoveries and inventions, were accompanied by certain significant changes in the social if not in the moral attitude of the population. It was a time of transition, or rather we were on the edge of further important changes in our political and social relations, and it was not to be wondered at that there were some extravagances which were occasionally difficult to reconcile with the belief in general moral and intellectual progress: but in looking back it is more easy to assign to them their true character as final ebullitions of certain popular sports which were becoming obsolete, or as peculiar results of the substitution of one kind of public amusement for another, or even as the outcome of those transmutations which follow a sudden endeavour to introduce the customs and recreations of other countries, where even amusements are directly controlled and regulated by government officials.

The records of crime during this period were not remarkable for increased brutality, but it may be mentioned as having some relation to an account of the social aspects of the time, that there appeared an increasing reluctance to convict of crimes involving capital punishment, except on the most indisputable evidence, and with an evident desire to give any prisoner the benefit of the least doubt rather than inflict the extreme penalty of the law. The consequence of this was a considerable extension of the time during which every important trial lasted—the minute examination of the evidence of numerous witnesses, and the gradual adoption of the present cumbersome and apparently unnecessary proceeding of trying cases twice over—once before the police magistrate or the coroner, and again before the tribunal to which the accused was committed.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable evidences of what many people regarded as a declension of public morality, or at least a reaction in favour of what may be called gross and brutal exhibitions, was the almost universal interest expressed in a great prize-fight between the so-called pugilistic "champion of England" Tom Sayers, and an antagonist named Heenan, but known as the "Benicia Boy," who came from America for the avowed purpose of wresting the "belt" from the man who had been proclaimed the most formidable

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boxer in England. For some time it was found difficult to arrange a match, but the proposed conflict had caused so much excitement, and was known to be regarded with so much expectant attention among influential persons, that, either the police were baffled, or they made only a show of taking effectual means for preventing what was clearly an illegal assembly. On the 17th of April, 1860, a special train left London Bridge station, and, eluding a number of mounted police who were stationed for a considerable distance along the line, where it was expected the passengers would alight, turned off from the supposed route and stopped at Farnborough. Not far from Aldershott, in a field on the Hampshire side, a ring was formed, and the two men, who had there met for the first time, stood up amidst a great crowd of spectators, largely composed of noblemen, gentlemen of rank, members of parliament, members of the learned and artistic professions, and even of clergymen. It is only reasonable to conclude that some kind of sentiment not very easy to explain had grown out of the public excitement, and probably also out of the bellicose spirit promoted by the recent aggressive temper of the country, which eclipsed the actual nature of an exhibition more brutal and sickening than had ever been witnessed even in the modern prize-ring. There is no need to follow the revolting details. Heenan, the American, was a youthful giant six feet two inches in height, of enormous muscular proportions, with overwhelming strength, and in perfect training. Sayers was but five feet eight inches high, and though a powerful man, and rendered hard and enduring by constant exercise, not comparable to his antagonist except for activity, cool skill, and that sort of intrepidity which is of the bull-dog sort. For thirty-eight "rounds" these two men pounded each other with blows, by which they were frequently dashed to the ground. Heenan's face was battered out of human semblance, and when the fight was over he was completely blinded by the terrific and repeated hits of his adversary, one of whose arms had been completely disabled at an early period of the fight. Sayers was a less dreadful spectacle, but he also received severe though only temporary injuries, and might have succumbed to Heenan, who, it was said, caught him at the ropes and nearly strangled him, but that some alleged unfairness in this proceeding caused the umpires to put an end to the fight, just as the police, who had at last mustered in sufficient force, broke their way into the ring. This termination to the horrible spectacle caused much dissatisfaction and a good deal of crimination between the rival backers, which was but imperfectly allayed by the presentation of a belt to each of the combatants. Sayers, however, who was regarded as a hero, made a kind of triumphal entry into London and afterwards into Liverpool, considerable sums being collected for him on the Stock Exchange and at other places. The event might not have found a record in these pages but for the fact that one of those places was the division lobby of the House of Commons, where "the great prize-fight" became the subject of part of the proceedings. Mr. W. Ewart, member for Dumfries, rose to ask whether steps would be taken to prevent such brutal exhibitions in future. Mr. Vincent Scully, an Irishman with a considerable dash of humour in his character, gravely protested against the "outrage of public morals," which he averred would not be tolerated in Ireland. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, as home secretary, made a half serious half humorous reply which meant little or nothing, and in which he remarked that "it had been said that pugilistic encounters afforded a model of fair fighting, and afforded an inducement to practise a mode of fighting better than the use of the bowie-knife or the stiletto, or that other mode of fighting not uncommon in Ireland, namely, with the shillelagh." This was, of course, one way of getting out of the difficulty, but Lord Palmerston had declared that he saw nothing more demoralizing in a boxing-match than in an ascent in a balloon. This declaration may have had some pungent truth in it, but the fact remained that prize-fighting was an offence against the law. Many of the members chuckled or laughed outright at the home secretary's evasion of the difficulty, and some of the sporting representatives of the nation

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stationed themselves in the lobby and levied contributions for Tom Sayers which amounted altogether to about a hundred pounds. But from that time the prize-ring ceased to be acknowledged as a national institution. It was, perhaps, a good thing that the latest attempt to revive it had been accompanied with so much that was revolting, and when the false enthusiasm cooled, "the championship" of professional bruisers soon ceased to be of any imperial or of much public concern.

"I am not very proud," wrote Cobden to Mr. Hargreaves, "of the spectacle presented by our merchants, brokers, and M.P.'s in their ovations to the pugilist Sayers. This comes from the brutal instincts having been so sedulously cultivated by our wars in the Crimea, and especially in India and China. I have always dreaded that our national character would undergo deterioration (as did that of Greece and Rome) by our contact with Asia. With another war or two in India and China, the English people would have an appetite for bull-fights, if not for gladiators."

Lord Palmerston's remark that a boxing-match was no more demoralizing than a balloon ascent had more in it than may appear at first sight. There was a general tendency to increase exhibitions the chief attractions of which were the perils in which the performers were placed, and balloon ascents, including a male or a female acrobat swinging from a "trapeze" fastened to the car,—or mounted or suspended on a kind of platform surrounded by fireworks, were found exceedingly attractive. Women, or youths pretending to be women, performed gymnastic feats, the least failure in which, or in the apparatus, would be dangerous and might prove fatal. These exhibitions took place in music-halls and other places. The music-hall itself was becoming a permanent institution. The old fairs like that formerly held at Greenwich had been abolished. Bartlemy and Bow and Stepney fairs had been suppressed in the interests of public order and morality, but large buildings, licensed for music, for stage-dancing, and for performances of other descriptions, and licensed also for the sale of strong drink and tobacco to the audience, began to multiply. Instead of being only occasional resorts like the fairs, these places were open nightly, to admit the debased and the degraded as well as the comparatively innocent. In some instances the music-halls became sinks of immorality, and in most cases they possessed dangerous facilities for contracting vicious habits and joining evil company. Since the Great Exhibition of 1851, and subsequent on supposed familiarity with foreign customs and amusements, there had been constant endeavours to assimilate some of our public recreations to those which were represented to be the simple, gay, and sober amusements of the people who resorted to the concert-rooms and gardens of France, Italy, and Germany. The most conspicuous result seems to have been the multiplication of licenses, which included amusements neither simple nor sober even if they could be called gay; and the resuscitation of certain "gardens," where, if the "humours" of old Ranelagh and Vauxhall were present, the gross immoralities of both were probably sometimes surpassed. Of these public gardens, that called Cremorne, on the banks of the river near Chelsea, was most conspicuous and most largely patronized. It was known that personages of high rank frequently visited it and joined with *demi-reps* and the *demi-monde* in the *bals masqués* and other amusements. For some time it was a resort of all the "fast" set in society, and even some of the more prudent went occasionally to see what it was like; but a peculiar fatality attended it. To maintain its attractions constant changes of performance and "sensational" exhibitions must be provided, and the proprietors could not make it pay. Among the excitements of Cremorne were the periodical insolvency of its *entrepreneurs*. Fortunately, perhaps, for our moral and social progress, the public *bal masqué* did not take any definite hold on the class of persons whom it was most likely to injure, and though such entertainments were frequently attempted, they eventually became, like the modern *bal de l'opéra* in Paris, very dreary affairs, in which the performers were mostly of a low and degraded class, appearing in meaningless costumes, and adding to their ignorance the extravagant imbecility produced by intoxication. The at-

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tempt to introduce the Parisian fashion of holding these assemblies at our theatres failed, as it deserved to do, but not before it had been associated with a serious loss upon the public, for even as early as March, 1856, one of the most calamitous results of a night's entertainment of this description was the destruction of the Royal Italian Opera House at Covent Garden by fire, so suddenly that in two hours the stately fabric was in ruins. During the operatic recess Mr. Gye, the lessee of the theatre, had sublet it to a performer of sleight-of-hand feats, who called himself Professor Anderson, and was known as "The Wizard of the North." He brought his short season to a close by an entertainment described as a "grand carnival complimentary benefit and dramatic gala, to commence on Monday morning and terminate with a *bal masqué* on Tuesday night." On the last day of the show the amusements proceeded with animation, and if with freedom still with decorum, until, as the night advanced, the more respectable or cautious withdrew, and the disreputable yielded to the temptation of excitement and wine. After midnight the theatre is said to have presented a scene of undisguised indecency, drunkenness, and vice, such as the lowest places of resort have rarely witnessed. Between four and five o'clock the professor thought it time to close the orgies, and commanded the band to play the national anthem. The gas at the same time was turned down a little to warn the revellers to depart. At this moment the gasfitter discovered fire issuing from the cracks of the ceiling, and amid the wildest shrieking and confusion the drunken, panic-stricken masquers rushed to the street. It was now hardly five o'clock, and yet in the few minutes which had elapsed the doom of the theatre was sealed. The flames had burst through the roof, sending high up into the air columns of fire, which threw into bright reflection every tower and spire within the circuit of the metropolis, brilliantly illuminating the whole fabric of St. Paul's and throwing a flood of light across Waterloo Bridge, which set out in bold relief the dark outline of the Surrey Hills. This glare operated as a speedy messenger in bringing up the fire-engines from every quarter of London at a tearing gallop to the scene of conflagration. There was no want of water, but neither engines nor water were of any avail in saving the property. The theatre blazed within its four hollow walls like a furnace, and at half-past five o'clock the roof fell in with a tremendous crash. The building was uninsured, no office having been willing to grant a policy after the fire of 1808. Mr. Gye had effected an insurance on his properties to the amount of £8000, and Mr. Anderson to the amount of £2000. Mr. Braidwood, the experienced superintendent of the London fire establishment, was of opinion that the fire had originated from spontaneous combustion among the masses of waste stuff accumulated in the workshops—an opinion strengthened by the evidence of Mr. Grieve, the scene-painter, who stated that on a previous occasion he had called attention to a heap of such materials allowed to gather, and which, when removed by his authority, were found to be too hot for handling. The theatre was not rebuilt till May, 1858.

But though many extravagances arose out of the changes in public customs, there were many indications of a remarkable improvement in our popular amusements. The grand promenade concerts, over which M. Jullien presided, have already been mentioned, and they had been effectual not only in popularizing much of the best music, but in introducing some of the best performers in Europe to large audiences of the middle and even the decent lower classes in London. From all parts of England people came to "Jullien's concerts" at Covent Garden Theatre, and along with the performances of oratorios by the members of two harmonic societies at Exeter Hall, this "monstre orchestra" may be said to have developed a taste for the execution on a grand scale of good vocal and instrumental music. M. Jullien had but a short career. He died in an asylum for the insane in Paris, and his successors scarcely maintained the attractions which had made his concerts so famous, but performances by large orchestras and "monstre" concerts of various kinds were not dependent on any particular

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conductor, and associated "choirs," including those of Sunday scholars and various societies, repeatedly appeared at the Crystal Palace and at Exeter Hall. At the former place the great "Handel centenary," which was celebrated by a performance of the great composer's works, was an important event. It lasted three days, the 20th, 21st, and 22d of June, 1859. The central transept was converted into a vast concert hall 360 feet long by 216 wide, containing an area of 77,000 feet, and there were also several tiers of galleries. The choir numbered 2765 persons, the band 393. On the first day above 17,000 persons were present, on the second 18,000, and on the third nearly 27,000. The receipts of the three days were above £33,000 and the expenses about £18,000. Thenceforward the Handel Festival became an annual celebration, and was looked forward to by large numbers of persons in London with as much interest as the annual musical festivals in some of our cathedral cities excite in the inhabitants of those districts, and the musical connoisseurs who attend the performances. It is scarcely possible to refer to the numerous and varied forms of public amusement which seem to have made this period the commencement of a new era in the art of "entertainment," without mentioning the charming descriptions and humorous sketches of character by Mr. Albert Smith at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. Albert Smith, already well known as a witty journalist and novelist, whose contributions to *Punch* and other periodicals had often made the world laugh, was also distinguished for genial bonhomie, an attractive presence, and for that rare and valuable art of becoming in a moment on good terms with his audience, which is certain to command success for a lecturer. His entertainments were humorous, but graphic and striking descriptions of the journey to Switzerland and the Bernese Oberland, especially to Chamounix: of the ascent of Mont Blanc, and,—as a separate lecture,—of the overland route to Hong Kong. The course of his "lectures" was diversified, not only by excellent panoramic views painted by Mr. Beverley, but by stories, sketches of character, and original songs, all given with an easy rapidity which carried the audience with him from beginning to end. He was perfectly familiar with the scenes he described, and the characters he portrayed were familiar to the audience. Perhaps his was at one time the most popular entertainment in London for refined and educated people, and as he himself used archly to observe, numbers of persons would attend it and would secure seats for their families, who would on no account enter a theatre to witness a regular dramatic performance. The queen and the royal family were particularly delighted with Mr. Albert Smith's performance, and the Prince Consort notices it in his journal with the words "very amusing" appended to the entry which appears among much graver matters. The lectures which had delighted London, and had made the fortune of Chamounix, by sending thousands of English travellers thither, were continued and repeated with almost undiminished success, till, unhappily, the genial author and *raconteur* was almost worn out, and though a robust man, he fell into ill-health, and to the great grief of a wide circle of friends to whom he was much endeared, died at the age of forty-four, on the 22d of May, 1860. It may be mentioned that Mr. Albert Smith had married Miss Mary Keeley, the daughter of the famous comedian, and herself well known as an actress at the Adelphi Theatre. Numerous entertainments of a similar elegant and refined description attracted considerable audiences. Lectures on science at the Royal Institution, where Professor Faraday showed brilliant experiments, were supplemented by others at various institutions, and notably at the "Polytechnic" in Regent Street, a great resort for juveniles whose parents or guardians believed in combining instruction with amusement, and therefore were willing to devote a long evening to the diving-bell machinery in motion, the diorama, a lecture on chemistry, a great gas microscope reflecting objects on a screen by means of a magic lantern, and a series of songs in the nature of an "entertainment" to accompany the beautiful series of dissolving views. The "Polytechnic" had formerly had a rival in the "Adelaide Gallery," near the Lowther

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Arcade, but this having been closed, was transformed by an Italian confectioner into a large café and restaurant. It may be regarded as another sign of the change which had become apparent in our public customs, that a complete alteration seemed to have taken place in our method of providing refreshment for the increased numbers of people who took their meals away from home. French and German restaurants were numerous in several parts of London, and the hot, stuffy tavern with its chops and steaks, or the sordid, greasy cook's shop, with its dingy boxes and coarse service, were to a great extent superseded by spacious and convenient dining-rooms and cafés, where agreeable articles of food and either tea, coffee, or the lighter continental wines could be procured. The conclusion of the commercial treaty with France by increasing the consumption of the light clarets and Burgundies gave a fresh impetus to the business of the restaurant in London, and it was noticeable that light bitter ales were also superseding the heavier beers as light wines had displaced port and sherry, while the consumption of tea, coffee, and chocolate vastly increased.

Among the most attractive resorts in London, the Surrey Zoological Gardens in Walworth had held a conspicuous place as the resort of middle-class families. The grounds were extensive and picturesque, there was a very good collection of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, and the grand feature of the place was a broad lake, on the further side of which rose a huge canvas structure like the scene at a theatre, which was painted to represent the latest locality that could be most effectively associated with a great pyrotechnic display. Mount Vesuvius, the Bombardment of Canton, and eventually the taking of Sebastopol, attracted crowds of eager spectators, who, after listening to a good concert by the band interspersed with more or less patriotic songs, witnessed the spectacle which usually began with a balloon ascent and ended with the tremendous discharge of a "set piece" of great brilliancy. The time came, however, when the grounds were to be absorbed into the suburban ring of buildings, and rows of villas took the place formerly devoted to the elephant house, the lions' dens, and the monkeys' cages. The wild animals were removed, and on the space occupied by the orchestra and the grand-stand a large music-hall was erected, composed chiefly of glass and iron. Among the conspicuous features of the time was the engagement of some of the smaller music-halls and minor theatres for Sunday evening religious services, and the Surrey Hall, which would accommodate a very large congregation, was hired by the followers of a preacher who had gained great notoriety for his original manner of address, his marvellously effective delivery, and the religious fervour which gave remarkable force to his appeals, and attracted numbers of people, many of whom travelled a considerable distance to listen to his discourses.

The name of Mr. C. H. Spurgeon has now for nearly a quarter of a century been associated with a religious "revival" which was enduring in its effects, perhaps because it was never associated with the fanatic extravagances which have too often disfigured and ultimately disorganized some more startling efforts to awaken the consciences and influence the lives of the working-classes. Mr. Spurgeon, who was a young student belonging to the Baptist connection, began his work while he was still a boy, and he soon developed rare powers as an open-air preacher in addressing large and casual assemblies. In a short time he was notorious, but he soon afterwards became famous. Possessing a magnificent voice, which could be heard even by a large assembly in a field or any other open space, and a remarkable power of illustrating his meaning by references,—often full of dry peculiar humour,—to the common experiences of his audience, or the ordinary objects and occurrences of everyday life, he rapidly attained great popularity, and at the same time became the mark for much misplaced witticism and a good deal of suspicion. There had been no such sudden success in arresting the attention of the common people since the earlier days of Wesleyan Methodism, and Mr. Spurgeon, keeping to the regular method of ministration observed by the body to which he belonged, did not profess to be a revivalist,

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and used no special means for provoking those strange and grotesque demonstrations of religious fervour which have frequently injured attempts to enlist the enthusiasm of uneducated people. In homely, forcible, and, as some would have it, "vulgar" language he addressed ever-increasing audiences, and as he went on, he appeared to abandon many of his cruder modes of expression, until he attracted people of all degrees in the social scale to hear him. But he never altered the homely vigour of his appeals, the plain Saxon style of his speech, or the quick ready humour which seasoned all that he had to say, and enabled his hearers to remember and to think over it. The charges brought against him were that he adopted the more objectionable phrases that had been attributed to Dr. Rowland Hill or to Huntington—that he associated degrading illustrations with sacred doctrines in a manner that was profane and could not be edifying, but it is certain that many of these alleged sayings were invented by his critics, as they had perhaps been invented for his predecessors; and though he once or twice took an opportunity to deny some of them, he appeared to trouble himself very little about what people thought of him. He went on, as a man who believes he has a great deal of work to do and has but a short time to do it in. His earnestness was undeniable, and it soon became contagious. On one occasion when he was preaching at the Surrey Hall, while the press of people was very great some one raised an alarm of fire, and in the efforts to escape several persons were killed and more were seriously injured. But a large chapel, the "Tabernacle," near the Elephant and Castle at Newington Butts, was soon in course of construction. It was designed to hold 6500 persons; the foundation stone was laid by Sir S. Morton Peto, and at a public meeting held afterwards, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, 5000 persons who were present were admitted by tickets. It was then announced that a gentleman at Bristol had sent a cheque for £3000 towards the building fund, with a promise of £2000 more if twenty other gentlemen would provide an equal sum by subscribing £100 each, or forty subscribing £50 each, within the following three months. The money was obtained, and funds for the building quickly came in. Mr. Spurgeon then became the pastor of a great but yet a compact congregation, chiefly composed of the middle and lower middle class of the community, but containing several persons of large means. There was apparently no intention on his part to become the head of a revivalist movement, he had as much to do as he could hope to accomplish, and his sincerity was proved by the fact that while he refused repeated offers of considerable sums of money for his own use, he was constantly receiving very large contributions which he devoted to the establishment of an orphanage, almshouses, and other benevolent institutions, associated with his congregation, but the benefits of which were not confined to members of the particular sect to which he belonged.

There was at the time of which we are speaking, a notable assimilation of opinion between the evangelicals or "Low-Church" people—as they were sometimes called—and some of the leading Dissenting preachers, and their ideas of the value and efficacy of religious revivals had in some instances met as it were half-way. The religious periodicals, chiefly addressed to Nonconformists, were largely read and frequently approved by those who belonged to the communion of the Church of England. The work of Mr. Spurgeon and even of the Plymouth Brethren was widely recognized by many families who were professedly of the "Low Church." On the other hand there might have been discerned the beginning of what afterwards became a decided division between high-church observances and those of the Ritualists. The distinction was not, and has not always since been, very clear to a large body of Dissenters, but it has often become obvious enough. At all events, in 1859 and for two or three years afterwards, though the difference was perhaps not readily marked, the endeavours to introduce "ritualistic practices" were not to be confounded with the holding of what had long been known as "High-Church" doctrines, such doctrines having been often unaccompanied by any very remarkable ceremonial

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and almost entirely independent of external or symbolical modes of expression.

As long before as 1851, in a letter to Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, which in the following year was printed by desire of the Scottish bishops, Mr. Gladstone, discussing "the functions of laymen in the church," had said:—

"I shall venture two remarks upon ritual changes generally, in which I am bold enough to anticipate extensive agreement. The first is, that as ceremonial is but the dress of devotion, it ought to follow upon rather than precede spiritual growth, of which it must become the consequence before it can become the cause; and, except as to the removal of palpable indecency and scandal, it should be left for its increase to such spontaneous demand as may arise out of our gradual return to that temper of elevated and concentrated devotion, which has unhappily become rare among us. The second is, that many of the points which have given rise to dissension are in themselves really but secondary, and have derived their importance from prepossessions conventionally rather than essentially connected with them. Now both of these remarks point to one and the same conclusion; namely, that diversities and changes of ritual, so far as they are open questions at all, are a matter to which the people ought to have something to say. If ceremonial be in general not so much a means of awakening as an instrument of edification for those already awakened, then the expediency of ritual restrictions must, it is evident, vary greatly with the religious temper of each congregation. If, again, its details are, as it were, prejudged by prepossessions for or against them, then manifestly there is a tender and irritable state of mind to deal with, which will become hopeless under anything like an exasperating treatment. The way to conquer men's prejudices is to appeal freely to their good sense, and allow some reasonable scope to their free-will and choice. Such appeal involves, or at the very least harmonizes with the idea of giving them a share of discretion in determining the points at issue. Nothing can be more painful or disgraceful than to see questions of divine service settled, as they were some years ago settled in Exeter, by riot and uproar. . . . But we probably never should have witnessed them, had it not been for the anarchical state into which congregational organization has there been allowed to lapse. Besides the things in themselves, nay, besides the prejudices attaching to them, there was, I believe, at the root of all a sentiment in the people that they were over-ridden, which generated, as it were in self-defence, a strong and unmanageable reaction. Had there been in those cases a regularly constituted congregation, or, to borrow a phrase from our Presbyterian friends, a roll of communicants, and had these had the means of making known their sentiments, and of acting by their duly chosen officers, the clergy would have derived from them the most valuable aid at the outset, instead of being left to work out their way, as it were, blindfold; a general harmony would have been secured between the forms of divine service, and the tone of feeling in the congregation, to which, as we have seen, they ought to bear a close regard, and authority, too weak already, would have been spared some heavy blows."

These words, addressed though they were to the Scotch episcopacy, might have been profitably studied in England, and a due regard for them would perhaps have prevented the scandals which have followed the practice of the adoption of strange ritualistic observances by "priests" newly appointed to churches where the congregations were averse to practices against which they were allowed no immediately effectual protest. The result of "Ritualism" has often been that the clergy, while defying alike the bishop's commands and the provisions of the civil law, have virtually evicted the first congregation who had contributed to the establishment and maintained the structure of the building in which they met to worship, and have left them to wander where they chose, another, and perhaps non-resident, congregation filling their places. Doubtless the arrogant assumptions of many of the priests who introduced their own ritual, combined with the deep disappointment of the congregations whom they had disregarded, had the effect of hastening

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the abolition of church-rates, since the excluded members of a church where the clergy were indifferent to their sentiments were ready to join the large body of Nonconformists in their opposition to the compulsory support of observances to which they had a strong antipathy. The same causes appear to be operating both for the disendowment and disestablishment of the English Church altogether, as the only means of settling the question between clergy who will neither obey their ecclesiastical superiors nor the civil law, and congregations who have been obliged either to leave the church where they are entitled to worship, or to submit to practices for which they entertain an unalterable repugnance.

There had, as we have seen, been repeated attempts to introduce measures into parliament for the abolition of church-rates, but they had not been successful. The manner of collecting the tax had ceased to be so conspicuous as it formerly was, and in many cases it was not enforced. A general impression existed that the entire remission of the rates would soon be accomplished. There was no agitation outside parliament sufficiently powerful to carry a bill against the majority who voted against Mr. Walpole's bill in 1859, but Sir John Trelawney's bill of January, 1860, passed the second reading by a majority of 263 to 234 votes, and was read a third time, to be thrown out by the Lords on a second reading by a majority of 128 to 31. This roused an active agitation on both sides. The representatives of the Dissenting denominations convened a great meeting at Freemasons' Hall, for the purpose of securing the passing of the bill which Sir John was to bring in the next session. Several hundreds of well-known leaders of dissent were present, most of the chief towns and many rural parishes of the kingdom being represented. It was determined to raise £3000 for carrying on the agitation, and half that sum was obtained in a few minutes. It was decided that direct and persevering action should be adopted to influence parliament, and that no heed should be taken of any threat of resistance or offer of compromise. But the opponents of the bill were busy too, and they were powerful. An effort must be made to reverse the recent divisions in favour of the abolition of church-rates. As the supporters of Sir John Trelawney's bill had held meetings and signed petitions, the same means were adopted by its opponents, and clergymen were everywhere exhorted to enlist their parishioners against the measure. Mr. Disraeli took the lead in the opposition movement. At a meeting of the clergy and laity of the rural deanery of Amersham in Buckinghamshire, he declared that the question of church-rates necessarily involved the existence of a national church. "The clergy must make members of parliament understand, that though this was not a party question it was a political one, and a political question on which in their minds there ought not to be, and there could not be any mistake." He could assure them, from his own knowledge, that there were many members of parliament who on this question gave careless votes, and thought by so doing they were giving some vague liberal satisfaction without preparing any future inconvenience for themselves. "Let their clerical friends, Whig or Tory, Conservative or Liberal, make these gentlemen understand that, in their opinion, on the union of church and state depend, in a large measure, the happiness, the greatness, and the liberty of England."

There were, however, eminent persons who were in favour of a compromise, which would perhaps have satisfied the main body of the Dissenters. Mr. Hubbard, who had become an authority on the subject of finance in the House of Commons, and was known to be deeply interested in church matters, had already endeavoured to bring in a bill, the main principle of which was that those who dissented from the Church of England by a simple declaration should be exempted from the payment of church-rates. The Bishop of Exeter, in reply to an appeal for a declaration of his opinion, issued a very conciliatory letter, in which he intimated that common prudence and the manifest interests of peace demanded the substitution of temporal for ecclesiastical courts on occasions of church-rate litigation. He considered that weight should be given

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to the conscientious objections of those who, in refusing to pay church-rates, refused to support a system of doctrine and worship to which they were opposed. He did not go quite so far as to acknowledge that such objections were reasonable, but he thought that at all events they should be rendered inapplicable. Clergymen should, he thought, no longer contend for all that was desirable, nor even for all that might be reasonable. They must make concessions, and could do so with very little damage to their cause. In conclusion he suggested that church-rates should only be so far retained as to furnish, in some shape or other, funds for maintaining the structure of the churches, and the proper keeping of churchyards; but that all beyond that should be provided by voluntary contributions. The charges for the various accessories of worship should be defrayed by the actual worshippers and not by those who could not enjoy the use of the service.

When Sir John Trelawney returned to the charge, and brought in his bill in 1861 (the second reading came on the 27th of February), there was a multitude of petitions and strong opposition, but little display of genuine interest in the house. An amendment was proposed by Sir W. Heathcote, the colleague of Mr. Gladstone as representative of the University of Oxford. He was in favour of a policy of conciliation, and denied that concessions made in order to get rid of difficulties and animosities could be held to be a surrender of principle. He put it to the government whether a time had not arrived most favourable to a conciliatory arrangement of the question, and moved that the second reading of the bill be deferred for six months. Sir W. Heathcote was quite the right sort of man to make this proposal, though he was not distinguished as a speaker. He was a man of social position and of high character, representing the university where he was educated, and where, in 1821, he had taken a first-class in classics, in 1824 had graduated B.C.L., and in 1830 D.C.L. Further, he was an eminent magistrate, a devout churchman, a good landlord. As a genuine country gentleman, he lived on his estate at Hursley Park in Hampshire, formerly the property of Richard Cromwell, who inherited it from his father-in-law, Mr. Mayor. Close to the Park a new and extremely beautiful Gothic church had been built, and the rector was Mr. Keble, whose *Christian Year* was then, as it has been since, a volume beloved of pious souls. It was said that the church had been paid for out of the profits of the book; but whether this was so or not, it was the parish church, and Sir William Heathcote was a regular attendant, he and his family occupying a seat amidst the rest of the congregation. The worthy knight was therefore the proper man to propose conciliation, and he was soon followed by Mr. Gladstone, who said that he remained of the opinion that he had always held, and should refuse to vote for the second reading of the bill. To get at the merits of the Church-rate Bill it must be divided into two questions, as respected two portions of the country. In populous parishes it might be in practice bad, and he would abandon the principle of the rate there; but in rural parishes, where the rate was paid with as much satisfaction as any other public charge, why was this ancient law to be abolished? Dissenters were in the main congregated in the populous parishes; and the offer was made to them to exempt themselves from the rate if they pleased, but they did not please. If church-rates were in fact the cause of providing religious worship for the great majority of the poor, were they to be abolished for the sake of a minority who declared they had a grievance from which they would not accept exemption? He was not willing to intrust to mere speculative support the venerable fabric of the parish churches. He suggested that an arrangement might be made to accept the power of the majority of a parish to reject or agree to church-rates as a right, at the same time allowing a parish also to tax itself by the will of the majority.

Mr. Bright was utterly opposed to this view. It had, he said, all the faults of all the plans of compromise of the question, and in fact it amounted to what was already the law, namely, that where you could not get church-rates you were to let them alone, and where a majority was in favour of them they were to prevail.

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In the debate in the previous year on the bill that was thrown out by the Lords, Mr. Bright had said, "There are many who have aspired to legislate upon this subject, but have failed in these attempts at conciliation, and I think we must all feel conscious that we must either remain as we are or adopt the bill which is now before us. I confess that I am altogether against any kind of dodge by which this matter may be even temporarily settled. I think that if this church be a national establishment, you cannot by law insist that its support shall be drawn from only a portion of the population. I agree with you altogether in that. If I were a churchman I would never consent to it, and, not being a churchman, I wholly repudiate it. The dissensions to which I have referred have prevailed, prevail still, and cannot terminate as long as this impost exists. What is its natural and inevitable result? It must be to create and stimulate the pride of supremacy in the dominant church, and at the same time produce what I shall call the irritation of subjugation and injustice on the part of that great portion of the people who support their own ministers and places of worship, and who think that they ought not to be called upon to support those of any other sect or church. Now, is it necessary that this should continue? I often have occasion in this house to give hope to honourable gentlemen opposite. They are probably the most despairing political party that any country ever had within its borders. They despair of almost everything. They despaired of agriculture. Agriculture triumphs. They despair of their church, yet wherever that church has been left to its own resources and to the zeal of its members, its triumph has been manifest to the country and to the world. Are you made of different material from the five millions of people who go to the Dissenting chapels of England and Wales? You have your churches—I speak of the old ones, and not of those recently erected by means of voluntary contributions — you have your churches, which you call national, and you have them for nothing. You have your ministers paid out of property anciently bequeathed or intrusted to the state for their use. In that respect you stand in a far better position for undertaking what, if church-rates are abolished, you must undertake, than do the great body of your Dissenting brethren. Have you less zeal, have you less liberality than they have? Do not you continually boast in this house that you are the owners of the great bulk of the landed property of the country? Are you not the depositaries of political power, and do you not tell us that when a Dissenter becomes rich he always walks away from the chapel into your church? If this be so, am I appealing in vain to you, or reasoning in vain with you, when I try to encourage you to believe that if there were no church-rates the members of your church and your congregations would be greatly improved, and that, as has taken place in the parish in which I live, your churches would be better supported by your own voluntary and liberal contributions than they can ever be by the penny per pound issuing from the pockets of men who do not attend your church, and who are rendered ten times more hostile to it by the very effort to make them contribute to its support." Then referring to the successful efforts of the Wesleyan Methodists, Mr. Bright spoke of their doing marvels "in erecting chapels, paying ministers, establishing schools —raising the dead, if you like—for men who were dead to religion have been made Christians; and they have preached the gospel in every county, I might almost say in every parish, in the kingdom."

Mr. Bright also asked what would be the condition of the population, the religious establishments, the education throughout England and Wales, but for the liberality of the sects who were not members of the Church of England; and having referred to former experiences of the Irish tithe and to the condition of the Welsh Dissenters, he said: "But go a little further north, to a land where men are not supposed to misunderstand their own interests; I refer to the country on the other side of the Tweed. You have an established church there. Many years ago you had two considerable secessions from its pale which became powerful sects. They have since united themselves, and their power has proportion-

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... he recol-
... use— for it
... was another
... men fancied
... Church of
... offering, I
... of zeal and
... witnessed in
... of the present
... while in Scotland,
... Free Church, which
... more than one-third
... pay any attention to
... voluntarily, during
... the inquiry, a larger
... annual emoluments of the
... Scotland. It has built,
... seven hundred churches
... of the kingdom, and as
... dwellings for its ministers.
... schools in almost every
... the house with the utmost
... I believe I never questioned
... Scotland as to the effect of the
... did not admit that, painful as
... as he and many others
... opposed it, still it has been full of
... people of that country."

... having been the expressions of Mr.
... opinions in 1860, it was not to be won-
... that he should have supported Sir
... Trelawney's renewed attempt in 1861.
... the Dissenters felt in this question, he
... that it was "a struggle for supremacy,
... a question of twopence in the pound—
... on the part of a great establish-
... which was as much political as religious."
... Disraeli said that if the bill were carried
... effect would be to deprive parishes of
... power of self legislation, a step which ought
... be favoured by the professors of popular
... The law as it stood was founded
... principle of affording facility for reli-
... worship to the people of this country;
... it was declared to be a grievance to the
... Now a Dissenter was not an alien,
... Englishman with all his feelings and
... and it was his duty to yield to that
... which it was a part of our consti-
... was his right to

take advantage of that majority when he belonged to it.

Lord J. Russell said the question was not one of abstract right, but of the advantage of the church. He did not think that the exemption of Dissenters would be a settlement of this question. By assenting to that plan you parted with the principle of a national church; while the difficulty of carrying it into operation would be insuperable. He argued that it would be possible to keep up the fabric of the churches by voluntary contributions, and that if you took away £250,000 a year the churches would not fall into decay. Those who were attached to the Church would do well to allow this cause of difference between Churchmen and Dissenters to be removed. If that were done, no step against the Church would be taken for years; but if this bill were rejected the result would be a continued agitation, and that a Dissenting agitation—and he knew how powerful and well organized that was—which would continue till church-rates were finally abolished.

The second reading of the bill was carried by 281 to 266, a majority which showed such a falling off from that of the previous one that the opponents of the measure redoubled their exertions, and on the third reading the numbers were equal and the speaker decided against the bill by his casting-vote, on the ground that such an equality demanded an opportunity for further discussion.

In the following year (1862), on the 14th of May, the question was again brought before the house, but was lost by 287 votes to 286, an amendment proposed by Mr. Estcourt being carried, to the effect that it would be unjust and inexpedient to abolish the ancient customary right exercised from time immemorial by the ratepayers of every parish in England, to raise by rate amongst themselves the sums required for the repair of their church, until some other provision should have been made by parliament for the discharge of those obligations to which, by custom or statute, the churchwardens on the part of the parish were liable.

While on the subject of the church and

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church-rates we may refer for a moment to an occurrence which afforded a significant illustration of the question of ritualistic practices, and also of the importance of the views expressed in Mr. Gladstone's letter to the Scottish bishops. During the autumn of the year 1859 the church of Saint George in the East, London, had become notorious, for the remarkable observances of an elaborate ritual which were carried on there under the direction of the rector, the Rev. Bryan King, who had gone so far as to refuse to allow time for the afternoon lecture by the Rev. Hugh Allen, an evangelical clergyman well known for his labours in the poor neighbourhood of Whitechapel. The innovations on the usual mode of conducting the service, and the introduction of vestments and ceremonies which the common people pronounced to be "popish," gave great offence to a large part of the congregation, and were resented by a still larger number who did not belong to that or any other congregation, but who took this opportunity to manifest their opinions by creating a riot in the church every Sunday. The Bishop of London unsuccessfully endeavoured to arbitrate in the case. The scenes which were enacted were a public scandal: the services were interrupted by the hooting and yelling of the mob, which fought to gain possession of the seats: the police, even when they endeavoured to interfere, were powerless to prevent the profanity and violence of the struggling crowd within the building, and the tumult was increased by the barking and howling of dogs introduced for the purpose of being set on the officiating priests and choristers. The bishop at length, assuming an authority which he did not legally possess, ordered the church to be closed for a time; but on its being reopened the rioting was at once resumed, even though the vestments and ceremonies which were the alleged cause of them were discarded, and it continued until the rector was exchanged to another parish.

Any mention of the relation of religion to social progress at this time should remind us that the name of a man who had once held a distinguished position in the English Church was again heard of from quite a different quarter.

Henry Edward Manning, formerly Archdeacon of Chichester, had now been nominated as the Roman Catholic provost of Westminster. Those who had known most of his opinions were probably not surprised at his secession from the Church of England; those who were acquainted with the power of his personal influence and his intellectual attainments, may reasonably have expected that he would be appointed to fulfil an important office in the Church of Rome.

The youngest of four sons of Mr. William Manning, a London merchant, who was for many years M.P. for Lymington and governor of the Bank of England, Henry Edward Manning had been educated at Harrow and at Baliol College, Oxford, where he obtained the highest classical honours. Soon afterwards he was elected to a fellowship of Merton College, which he vacated on his marriage with a daughter of the Rev. John Sargent, rector of Lavington and Graffham in Sussex. To this living Mr. Manning succeeded on the death of his father-in-law, and there he published treatises on *The Unity of the Church* and *The Rule of Faith*, both in accordance with the views which he had long professed. For he had been one of the most active among the leaders of the "Anglo-Catholic" or Tractarian movement which originated at Oxford in 1833, and had so greatly attracted the regard of all those with whom he came in contact that, in some respects, he occupied as influential a position as that of Newman or Pusey. In 1840 he was appointed Archdeacon of Chichester, to the surprise of those who knew that the bishop from whose hands he received the nomination held opinions entirely at variance with his own. If the appointment was intended to keep him within the pale of the Anglican Church, it failed. Unlike some of those who have since brought dissension and reproach into their communions, he had "the courage of his convictions," as Newman has had. The Gorham controversy of 1850 is understood to have been the immediate occasion of his secession. His last public act as a minister of the English Church was his

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appearance at a large meeting held to protest against the decision of the privy-council in that case. He afterwards, in conjunction with Archdeacon Wilberforce of Yorkshire and Dr. Mill of Cambridge, drew up and published a formal protest, and at about the same time relinquished his preferments.

Mr. Manning had long been a widower without children, and on his secession he spent the winter of 1850–1851 in retirement, after which he was admitted to the Roman Catholic communion by the Rev. Mr. Brownbill at Farm Street Chapel near Berkeley Square. Soon afterwards he was made a member of the priesthood, entered upon a course of studies in the Collegio Pio at Rome, and on leaving, received the cap of Doctor of Divinity from Pope Pius.

He became noted as a preacher in Rome, but on his return to England undertook no public charge beyond occupying a confessional in the church of the Jesuits in Farm Street and frequent occasional preaching, until he was appointed to the direction of a new mission served by the members of the congregation of St. Charles, in the poorest part of Westminster, and subsequently to the mission of the church of St. Helen, afterwards "St. Mary of the Angels," Bayswater. He again visited Rome in the winter of 1856, and on his return in the following year, was nominated by the pope to the provostship of Westminster, of which he became Roman Catholic Cardinal Archbishop after the death of Dr. Wiseman, in February, 1865. The consecration took place in the Roman Catholic Chapel, Moorfields. There was little external resemblance between the somewhat reserved, thin, and ascetic-looking Cardinal Manning and his portly, rubicund predecessor, about whom something has been said in a previous page. The peculiar social influence which Dr. Manning had displayed at Oxford, however, was still there, and though able to maintain his hold on the people over whom he was officially appointed to the spiritual control, he has been able to meet the promoters of social progress and public beneficence on common ground, and to be one of the foremost advocates of that true Christian unity which consists in working together for the purpose of advancing temperance, morality, and charitable effort.

Perhaps in relation to some of the extravagances of the period now under review, we should not pass altogether unnoticed the introduction of what was called "Spiritualism," but which has since been more correctly designated "Spiritism," an importation from America, which had in it very little that was really new, and probably not much that could be altogether dissociated from what was delusion on the one hand and imposture on the other. The claim of certain persons who called themselves "mediums" to obtain for a company assembled in a dark room, and sitting with their hands on a table, communications from departed spirits, had a certain resemblance to the ancient Greek or Roman divination of the tripod; and a large number of persons were to be found ready not only to become the dupes of designing "mediums" of "spiritualistic" manifestations, but to join in dark séances and adopt the extraordinary pretensions by which they fell into a condition of spasmodic or even of chronic delusion.

This is not the place to discuss the possibility of remarkable physical impressions resulting from little known, nervous, or mental conditions, or the peculiar influence of animal magnetism about which we have yet so much to learn: but it may be stated that self-styled spiritualistic "phenomena" were placed outside scientific investigation by the professors of the "new manifestation" themselves, while repeated impostures, the evident weakness of the victims, and the irreverent absurdity of the demonstrations were sufficiently apparent to men accustomed to deal with evidence, to prevent the claims of the spiritists being generally accepted. At the same time there were so many persons of distinction and of social importance who took up the craze that the mental balance of the country seemed to be disturbed, and religion itself was likely to suffer because of the degrading superstitions and the obvious deceptions which were associated with the thoughts of immortality. Many of the advocates of Spiritism claimed for it, that it supported a belief in a

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future state, without reflecting that numbers of its most trusted exponents had been detected in scandalous impostures, and that the manifestations attributed to the spirits, even of the great and good, were so trivial, and often so repulsive, that had they been true they could scarcely be regarded otherwise than as evidences of an immortal imbecility.

The arch-medium of the period was one Home or Hume, who came, it was believed, from America, and perhaps the attitude of the more sensible portion of the community may be illustrated by the reply of Professor Faraday to Sir Emerson Tennant when he was invited to take part in one of Home's *séances*. Faraday had already turned his keen attention to the claims of the spiritists, and now said:—

"I do not wish to give offence to anyone, or to meddle with this subject again. I lost much time about it formerly in the hope of developing some new force of power, but found nothing worthy of attention. I can only look at it now as a natural philosopher: and because of the respect due to myself I will not enter upon any further attention or investigation, unless those who profess to have a hold upon the effects agree to aid to the uttermost. To this purpose they must consent (and desire) to be as critical upon the matter, and full of test investigation in regard to the subject, as any natural philosopher is in respect of the germs of his discoveries. How could electricity, that universal spirit of matter, ever have been developed in its relation to chemical action, to magnetic action, to its application in the explosion of mines, the weaving of silk, the extension of printing, the electro-telegraph, the illumination of light-houses, &c., except by rigid investigation grounded on the strictest critical reasoning, and the most exact and open experiment? And if these so called occult manifestations are not utterly worthless, they must and will pass through a like ordeal." It must be remembered that Faraday was no sceptic in religion. He was a devout member of a very small and simple sect of Christians who professed to found their belief on the doctrines of the New Testament; it is not surprising, therefore, that he could not accept the unexplained but none the less insignificant vagaries exhibited by the mediums as communications from the noble spirits of the just in the world beyond the grave. Some exposures which were subsequently made in a trial where Mr. Home or Hume was the defendant, as well as the detection of several impositions, served to discredit the spiritist professors, but for a long time the craze maintained a sinister influence and was the cause of much domestic calamity and social mischief.

The quotation which we have made from Faraday's letter indicates the enormous rapidity with which the application of electricity to industrial operations had spread. We have already glanced at some of the prominent inventions and improvements which marked the advances of scientific discovery: but any comprehensive record, however brief, of the progress made in almost every department of engineering and manufacturing skill would extend these pages beyond their proper limits. The invention of Mr. Henry Bessemer in 1855–6, for producing a special kind of steel by passing cold air through liquid iron, had been of great importance in our engineering works, and the adoption of iron-plated ships had necessitated the production in our arsenals and shipyards, of engines and tools of enormous power, by which the metal could be treated as though it were wood—and planed, drilled, and pressed into shape with marvellous rapidity and precision. In the domestic ranks of life, improvements in the sewing-machine, which had first been introduced in America by Howe, soon resulted in a complete revolution of the business of the cheap tailor and the seamstress. Washing-machines, and various ingenious appliances of domestic conveniences, many of them of American invention, came into use; and no such rapid development had taken place in the larger operations of mechanical industry since the invention of the steam-hammer by Nasmyth, and its introduction in 1842.

In other countries the progress of great enterprises was also remarkable, and it may be remembered that, in 1861, the tunnel through Mont Cenis, which had previously been car-

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ried for some distance by manual labour, was continued by means of powerful drilling-machines. In England the activity of invention and application appeared to be universal and to affect every department of social life. Mr. Bessemer had beside his invention for producing a peculiar kind of steel, given much attention to the construction of river steamers. Marine engineering advanced greatly, and in the department of river and ocean-going vessels the improvements were of the utmost importance. Indeed the great increase of our shipping, and consequently the position which we held as carriers for the world, was associated in its advantages with the augmentation of our imports and exports already noticed.

The total tonnage entered and cleared at ports in the foreign trade in 1850 was 14,000,000 tons, and in 1860 this had increased to 24,000,000 tons. The English tonnage engaged in vessels with cargoes in 1850 was 9,000,000 tons, in 1860 it had increased to 14,000,000 tons. The development of the steam marine was one of the great causes of this remarkable growth of commercial enterprise, but this again greatly depended upon the development of international commerce and the enterprise of exploration and discovery, which opened up new channels for trade and promoted the national interests. There were several exploring expeditions set on foot during this time, and still more endeavours were made to open up new commercial relations.

The expedition of the *Fox* steamer, fitted out by Lady Franklin in 1857 and commanded by Captain M'Clintock, had brought home tidings of the lost Franklin expedition, of the abandonment of the *Erebus* and *Terror* in the ice, the departure of the 105 survivors under the command of Captain Crozier towards the Great Fish River, and the death of Sir John Franklin on the 11th of June, 1847. Many relics of the lost crews had been recovered. On the 28th of May, 1860, the gold medal of the Geographical Society was presented to Lady Franklin and to the commander, —then Sir Leopold M'Clintock,—and Lady Franklin claimed for her husband the crowning discovery of the north-west passage, which cost himself and his companions their lives. At anyrate the north-west passage had been made in 1851 by Captain Maclure in the *Investigator*.

In Australia explorations of the interior had not had any very important result since the tracing of the rivers Murray, Darling, and Murrumbidgee by Major Mitchell in 1836; but the discoveries were, at all events, sufficient to prove that there was no open tract where water could be procured, or the needs of a large exploring party adequately provided for.

The trade with Japan was opened up by English enterprise, and the Japanese government, after some difficulties, subsequently became exceedingly friendly; but it was in Africa that the most important discoveries took place. In 1857 Captain Burton and Captain Speke, starting from Zanzibar, had reached a great lake connected with the Nile, which was named the Victoria Nyanza, and much later, in 1864, another large lake was discovered by Samuel, afterwards Sir Samuel, Baker, who named it the Albert Nyanza; but long before this the achievements of Livingstone had become known in England. This famous missionary, who, as a youth, had followed the veteran Moffat to the land of the Bechuanas in 1840, had just completed fresh enterprises at Tette on the east coast of Africa, to be followed by an expedition to the Zambesi, provided for by the government. With this, accompanied by Dr. Kirk and several scientific observers, he set out in March, 1858, after a stay of two years in England, from which he had been previously absent for seventeen years during his long missionary wanderings in "the Dark Continent."

David Livingstone was one of those rare beings—a practical enthusiast. Having quite early in life made up his mind to a career, he began at once to take the means which lay nearest to him for preparing for the work, and whatever he did or learned, he had the end he had proposed to himself distinctly in view. His father was employed in the linen factories of Blantyre, near Glasgow, where David himself wrought first as a piecer-boy

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and afterwards as a spinner; but like many another Scotch lad he worked hard at his calling during the summer and in winter attended the college classes. Young Livingstone was as assiduous at Anderson's College, Glasgow, as he was industrious at the Blantyre mills. By the time he was sixteen years old he had a good knowledge of Horace and Virgil, and had read with avidity such books as Dr. Dick's *Philosophy of Religion* and *Philosophy of a Future State*, besides dipping pretty intelligently into scientific works, and indeed any other books he could get hold of except novels, with which he had no concern. He had probably even then some idea of being a missionary, for soon afterwards he distinctly desired to prepare himself for becoming a pioneer of Christianity in China; with the hope that by teaching the true religion to the inhabitants of the far East he might lead to the material benefit of some portions of that great empire. As one step towards the fulfilment of his wish he commenced studying medicine, in which he ultimately attained some proficiency and passed the necessary examinations. At the same time, taking Patrick's *Plants of Lanarkshire* as a manual, he made some progress in botany, and explored both the botany and the geology of the district. At the age of nineteen he was attending the medical and the Greek winter classes in Glasgow, and the divinity lectures of Dr. Wardlaw in the summer; but he was still at work at the factory, where he placed his book on the "spinning-jenny" so that he could catch sentence after sentence while he went on with his labour, and keep up constant study undisturbed by the roar of machinery. In 1838 he offered his services to the London Missionary Society, on account, he said, of the unsectarian character of that institution, which "sends out neither Episcopacy nor Presbyteranism, but the gospel of God to the heathen." This early expression was perhaps as illustrative of the broad, simple character of Livingstone's religion as the remarkable reference which he long afterwards made to the deserted and ruined convents at Loanda, when he spoke of them as "decayed missionary establishments;" and they had justified the title, for he mentions it was "not an uncommon sight to see a black sitting in the evening, with his fire stick in one hand and a pen in the other, writing in a beautiful hand a petition to a commandant." Having been accepted as a candidate for missionary work he was summoned to London to undergo the usual examinations before the directors of the society, and was then sent with other probationers to a training establishment at Chipping Ongar, in Essex, where he pursued his studies in languages, for which he showed remarkable aptitude. It was a simple life that he led during his probation before being ordained to the work that lay before him, and "the pale, thin, modest, retiring young man, with a peculiar Scotch accent," as one of his companions described him to be—was ready not only to learn but to labour, for we find him grinding the corn to make the brown-bread for the household, chopping the wood for the fires, and either alone or in company with one of his fellow probationers taking long walks of sixteen or eighteen miles. When once his natural reserve yielded to friendly advances he was found to be peculiarly frank, kindly, and helpful, and the variety of his early studies gave him many opportunities of showing practical fitness for the work of the pioneer, while his healthy religious freedom was equally in favour of his ability to carry the gospel to those who had never heard its message of liberty and peace. It was no longer to China that he directed his attention. "The opium war" and other occurrences had for a time interfered with missionary work in that country, and he had been already looking toward Africa, when, in 1840, just as he had passed into manhood, he was appointed to a South African station. For eight or nine years he laboured zealously at Kolobeng in the interior beyond the Orange River, while Robert Moffat was pursuing his arduous duty in the same region at Kuruman, then the most distant outpost of Christianity till Livingstone pushed onward two hundred miles further north. It was no wonder that these two men became cordially united in the work which they had so earnestly undertaken, and their friendship was consolidated by the marriage of the young missionary with Moffat's daughter,

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who, with three native teachers, formed his sole staff from 1845 to 1849, when he united the work of the explorer to that of the teacher, and started in search of Lake Ngami, to which, in company of his wife, he made his "great journey" in 1852. In the ten years previous to 1855 he had led some independent expeditions into the interior of Southern Africa, and had become acquainted with the languages, habits, and religious notions of several savage tribes at that time unknown to Englishmen. He had twice crossed the African Continent a little south of the tropic of Capricorn, from the shores of the Indian Ocean to those of the Atlantic. In 1855 the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society was awarded to him for his services to science. There is no space in these pages to follow the details of his discoveries—nor is it necessary, since he published a full account of his travels in books which have been widely circulated and are still read with deep interest. Before his return to England in 1856 it was calculated that Livingstone must have passed over no less than 11,000 miles of land, for the most part untrodden by any European, and up to that time believed to be inaccessible. He returned, as his friend and admirer, Sir Roderick Murchison, said, "as the pioneer of sound knowledge who, by his astronomical observations, had determined the sites of various places, hills, rivers, and lakes, hitherto nearly unknown, while he had seized upon every opportunity of describing the physical features, climatology, and even geological structure of the countries which he had explored, and pointed out many new sources of commerce as yet unknown to the scope and enterprise of the British merchant." Lord Ellesmere too spoke of the scientific precision with which the unarmed and unassisted English missionary had left his mark upon so many important stations in regions hitherto blank upon our maps. In a letter to the *Times* Livingstone strongly recommended the encouragement of the growth of cotton in the interior of Africa, as one of the means of opening up commercial intercourse between this country and the tribes of Central and Southern Africa, and of gradually but certainly and finally suppressing the slave-trade and advancing human progress and civilization.

But Livingstone was preparing for further researches. Supported by encouragement and practical aid both from our own and from the Portuguese government, with personal expressions of sincere interest from the queen and Prince Albert, and after the public recognition of his services at a banquet at the London Tavern, and the subscription of a Livingstone testimonial fund by the leading merchants, bankers, and citizens of London, he set out with the other members of his expedition to the eastern coast of Africa, where the Zambesi falls into the ocean. Here two small steamers were placed at their disposal and they ascended the river to the interior. The results of the explorations were the discovery of the minor lakes, Nyassa and Shirwa, and after traversing a great extent of country 300 miles to the north-west of Nyassa, the finding of the mouths of the Zambesi, and exploring the immense surrounding territory. The premature attempt of the mission afterwards sent out, chiefly by Oxford and Cambridge, to establish a station on the banks of the river, failed; first, by the death of Bishop Mackenzie, who fell a victim to the climate, and afterwards by the hopelessness of the endeavour and the necessity for its abandonment by Mackenzie's successor—Bishop Tozer—but the discoveries were made, and the country is no longer a terra incognita. The reader who would learn the particulars of Livingstone's researches on this expedition may find them in the explorer's own "narrative" of the discovery of a large tract of fertile soil, rich in cotton, tobacco, and timber, though subject to periodical drought; and of the establishment of an excellent port, the capacities of which had been overlooked by previous travellers. Some of his conclusions have been disputed by other writers, but the enormous value of his discoveries could not be denied. In this expedition, which had been prepared by members of the Geographical Society, and in which he was assisted by the advice of Captain Washington, hydrographer to the admiralty, Commander Bedingsfield, R.N., Dr. Kirk of Edinburgh, Mr. Baines the African

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DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

THE AFRICAN MISSIONARY AND TRAVELLER

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and Australian traveller, and by his ever-faithful friend and companion, his devoted wife, he was enabled, to use the expression of Sir R. Murchison, "to reach the high watersheds that lie between his own Nyassa and the Tanganyika of Burton and Speke, and to establish the fact that those lakes did not communicate with each other; and that, if so, then there was, to say the least, a high probability that the Tanganyika, if it did not empty itself to the west, through the region of Congo, must find an exit for its waters northwards by way of the Nile."

Many of the particulars of this slight sketch of Livingstone's explorations appeared in the *Times* of January 28th, 1874, in a sad obituary notice. But to the shadowed page recording his death we may again have to turn. It is sufficient here to state that, in 1865, he left England for the third and last of his journeys to Central Africa; where, under the auspices of the Geographical Society, he was to seek a solution of the old mystery—the real sources of the Nile. It will not be out of place to recall two or three simple incidents among the honours and congratulations that welcomed the missionary explorer during his stay in England in 1857–58.

The city of Glasgow made him free of its time-honoured guild; the burghers of Hamilton, his birthplace, were proud to present to him the freedom of their busy town; and the manager and people of the Blantyre works, where he wrought as a piecer-boy, were only too happy to meet and entertain him. Congratulatory addresses poured in upon him from all quarters, and he received invitations out of number to attend public meetings, to be got up especially to honour him; but none of these attentions were so affecting and significant as the spontaneous offering of the boys of the Stockport Ragged School, and the manner in which it was received and responded to. Here are the letters which explain the simple occurrence.

Wycliffe Villa,
Stockport, January, 1857.

My dear Sir,—I think it will give you pleasure to receive the inclosed thirty postage stamps. Mr. Jackson, the master of our Stockport Ragged Industrial, told his pupils of your journeys and adventures, and the motives by which you were actuated. One of the lads said, "Let's give him some money!" and with one consent they resolved to do so, and immediately commenced a subscription. Some gave all their money, and others, who had no penny, sold their marbles to obtain it. If you could see the lads, and knew who and what they are, you would be as much astonished as myself, and you would admit the offering is not only spontaneous, but as munificent as the one presented you at the Mansion House.—Rejoicing in your honours as homage done to the cause of the Saviour, I am, dear sir, yours very respectfully,

Rev. Dr. Livingstone. JOHN THORNTON.

Mission House, Bloomfield Street,
London, 23d January, 1857.

My dear Sir,—I beg you will assure the boys, who so generously expressed their approbation of my labours in Africa, that nothing has delighted me more since my return to England than their honest, spontaneous deed. I give them all my warmest thanks, from a heart overflowing with emotion, and wishing that God may abundantly bless them with His favour and love. I have very little time to write to any one, as I am engaged in the preparation of a narrative of my late explorations, and must keep my word with one hundred and ten poor native Africans, who accompanied me from the centre of the country to the east coast, and now await the fulfilment of my promise at Tette. I ought to be back to them in April, but I fear, after all I can do, I must be about two months later than my appointed time in April. Were it not for this, I should try and visit the boys and speak with them; but as this can scarcely be, I would just commend them all to the care of our blessed Lord Jesus, and ask them to try Him as their friend and guide through life. They may make Him their confidant, for He listens to every prayer wafted to Him from the lowliest bosom. "In Him we live, and move, and have our being;" and He is as tender and compassionate to every one of them, and knows all their cases and cares, as if they

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were the only persons in the world. And then, if they are like Him, they will all show love to every one about them, and to everything beautiful, and good, and true.

"He prayeth best who loveth best,
All things, both great and small;
For the dear Lord to whom we pray,
He made and loveth all."

Thanking you and them again for your most friendly feelings, and hoping that they may not again deprive themselves of any comfort, I am, dear sir, yours most truly,

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Mr. John Thornton, Stockport.

While on the subject of Africa we may glance at a singular controversy which was revived in 1859, the associations of which are more important than the discussion itself. As early as 1847 several rumours had reached England of the discovery in Central Africa of an enormous ape, the conformation of which was said to approach so nearly to that of man that it might be regarded as the link between the human being and the brute creation. This creature, it was said, frequently walked upright; was of such enormous strength that it was scarcely afraid of the lion; could climb trees, from which it would reach down its long arm, clutch a passing native by the throat, and strangle him in its powerful grasp. It had been known to arm itself with an enormous bludgeon, and to lie upon a branch waiting to stun other animals as they passed beneath, or even furtively to attack the elephant. Its muscular force was prodigious, its fierceness terrible, and though it showed little intelligence, and was called by the negroes "the stupid old man," it was supposed to possess a kind of malicious and self-protecting craft. Only some part of the skeletons and the crania of the animals were first sent here, but in 1859 a young specimen was captured and forwarded to Europe. Professor Owen lectured upon the formation of the "gorilla," as it was called, and pointed out the differences between its structure and that of the lowest order of negro. The newspapers were full of it, and serious orthodox people felt some alarm lest the confirmation, or supposed confirmation, of these reports should do injury to religious belief, while others were rather disgusted at being suspected of having had so repulsive an ancestor.

At the end of the year 1859, however, the "missing link" had become a byword because of the agitation caused by Dr. Darwin's theory of "the origin of species" by natural selection, which very few people had given themselves the trouble to examine or to understand, but about which there was an almost universal outcry of praise, ridicule, fear, or condemnation. A very large number of those who are sometimes spoken of as "the religious world" were at once in violent hostility to the theory, which, without hesitation, was declared to be opposed to revealed truth, and to be destructive of the very foundations of faith. It did not seem to occur to these reasoners that their own faith could have little foundation if it could be upset by a mere scientific speculation, and the more thoughtful minds were not indisposed to wait for further explanations of what the eminent naturalist meant, before pronouncing that either revelation or belief was endangered by his theorizing. There were, on the other hand, people who repelled the notion of the development of species, because it was, they thought, opposed to the true dignity of man as an intelligent, emotional, and reflecting being, with a spiritual nature. Men like Kingsley, and of course a great many of less calibre, were at first vehemently against it. While they treated such speculations with serious rebuke and sarcasm, the wits and humorists, whether they accepted the theory or not, found in it an endless theme for jests and comic illustrations. The rash critics who, like Kingsley, knew enough of natural history to give the subject some subsequent examinations, afterwards mitigated and many of them tacitly revoked their former conclusions. On strict examination the theory—and it was only put forward as a theory—became much less dangerous to sacred beliefs and the truths of revelation than had been supposed. Those who had already necessarily accepted the scientific conclusions from geological discoveries had to reflect that an absolutely literal interpretation of our version of the first book of the

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Scriptures need not be insisted on as a test of orthodoxy, and numbers of men of science known to be devout and pious Christians were ready to give their admiration, if not their immediate adhesion, to the extensive generalization which had resulted in speculations so wide and yet so inclusive as those of Darwin. The theory of natural selection, that is, of the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for existence, represented that during a long course of descent, species of plants and animals are modified by the selective preservation of slightly varied forms, adapted somewhat better than their fellows to the circumstances in which they are placed. The modification of species was not an absolutely new doctrine, and even Darwin, who carried it out to what he believed to be legitimate conclusions, did not confidently assert how far it would extend. He did not assert, he merely indicated by expressing his own convictions. He had put forth a suggestion, and though his own observations had led him to regard it as a conclusive discovery, he left it to be verified by others as he thought he had verified it to himself. "I cannot doubt," he said, "that the theory of descent, with modification, embraces all the members of the same class. I believe that animals have descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number." But speculatively he went farther. "Analogy would lead me one step farther," he said, "namely, to the belief that all animals and plants have descended from some one prototype; but this inference is chiefly grounded on analogy, and it is immaterial whether or not it be accepted. The case is different with the members of each great class, as the Vertebrata, the Articulata, &c.; for here we have distinct evidence that all have descended from a single parent."

This of course is not the place to discuss the probable truth or error of such conclusions; we have only to concern ourselves for the moment with their historical relations, and to note that the opinions of the greater number of Darwin's opponents were soon afterwards modified or retracted. In less than ten years Professor Huxley (who was one of the earliest and most ardent advocates of the same theory) could say in a lecture at the Royal Institution, that so rapidly had these conclusions been accepted and established that he began to think they would shortly require for their welfare a little healthful opposition. This of course was a somewhat humorous way of putting it; but it is a very striking fact that a statement which, when first definitely put forth in November, 1859, was received with a storm of ridicule, indignation, and even execration, soon came to be regarded with quiet attention, and though it continued to be opposed on scientific as well as on religious grounds, gained considerably by the reaction which succeeded its first reception. Educated and even half educated people who had been among those who raised the outcry against the propounder of the theory and had loaded him with epithets, began to be a little ashamed of having so treated a man who was known to be a devout believer in religion, and who concluded his treatise by saying: "From the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that whilst this planet has gone cycling on, according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved."

Charles Darwin may be said to have been a born scientific investigator. His father was Dr. R. W. Darwin, F.R.S., his grandfather the famous Dr. Erasmus Darwin, author of the *Botanic Garden* and *Zoonomia*. From Shrewsbury grammar-school he went to Edinburgh University for two years, and thence to Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1831, when he was twenty-two years old. In the same year, having heard that Captain Fitzroy, who was about to sail on a voyage of circumnavigation in her majesty's ship *Beagle*, had offered to share his cabin with any competent naturalist, Darwin applied for the appointment. His "Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the

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Various Countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. *Beagle* round the world" is the delightful record of this journey, and shows how ardently the young naturalist had pursued his studies in zoology and geology, and how widely they had reached in various areas of inquiry, though botany was the favourite pursuit. This voyage vastly increased the scientific knowledge of the young inquirer, but it permanently injured his health, and sowed the seeds of weakness of the chest and heart, the disease of which he died. But Darwin, though he was frequently an invalid, performed an amazing amount of work requiring great patience and arduous attention, and he lived to be seventy-three, having read two papers before the Linnæan Society only a year before his death, at about the time of the publication of a remarkable work on earthworms, respecting which his investigations had shown the enormous importance of the part they play in the world, by gradually covering the surface of the earth with a layer of mould.

Darwin received the gold medal of the Royal Society in 1853, and the Wollaston Palladian medal of the Geological Society in 1859. In 1875 the University of Leyden conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.D., and in 1877 the University of Cambridge made him a Doctor of Laws. He married in 1839 the granddaughter of Josiah Wedgwood, F.R.S., the well-known manufacturer of artistic earthenware. We have noted that his work on the *Origin of Species* had, even at the period which we are now considering, begun to find acceptance with many, and was no longer mentioned with such detestation as it had met with on its first appearance. Of that book he afterwards said: "It seemed to me sufficient to indicate that by this work 'light would be thrown on the origin of man and his history,'" for this implied that man "must be included with other organic beings in any general conclusion respecting his manner of appearance on this earth." These words occur in a more recent and even more startling book, the *Descent of Man*, in which Darwin dealt at length, and boldly, with that subject on which he had hitherto deemed it well to be reticent, and presented man as descending from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, and probably a climber of trees, and traced back the chain of descent until he found as the progenitor of all the vertebrate animals, some aquatic creature with brain, heart, and other organs imperfectly developed. This book gave another shock to those (a great majority of course) who had not accepted the conclusions of the former one; but it is to be noted that it was received with very different demonstrations as a theoretical contribution to science, by a man, who had already implied that he would not stop short in tracing the development of the higher organizations from the extremest point of animal life, and who saw in this theory a nobler conception of Divine creative power than in that usually received and adopted.

Whatever opinions may be held on the subject, it cannot be doubted that the minute investigations and avowed conclusions of Dr. Darwin and of Mr. Huxley—who may rather be regarded as his independent colleague and supporter than as his follower—have done much to change the scope and method of scientific inquiry and experiment, in relation to the remoter forms of animal and vegetable life and organization.

We must now return to glance at what was going on in parliament, and that reminds us that we have not quite done with the financial statement of 1860, and with all that was involved by the adoption of the terms of the commercial treaty with France. We have already seen that some agitation had been made at various periods for the abolition of the taxes on paper. On the 2d of February, 1859, a demonstration against the retention of excise or any other duties on paper had been made at Exeter Hall. Mr. Milner Gibson presided, and was supported by a number of influential gentlemen. Mr. William Chambers of Edinburgh made a telling speech, and was followed by Dr. Watts, who represented that the paper-duty was a tax on literature, an obstruction to education, an impediment to commerce, and a hindrance to production; that it interfered with the process of manufacture,

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repressed industry, and injured the public revenue. The meeting called upon Mr. Gibson still further to press the House of Commons on the subject of the abolition of the duties, so that in the ensuing session arrangements might be made to dispense with the tax. A petition to the House of Commons was then unanimously adopted.

The abolition of these taxes came not unnaturally into the scheme of the commercial treaty, and the provisions of the budget of 1860 included the remission not only of the excise duty on paper, but of the import duty on paper coming from abroad.

That duty had been three-halfpence a pound, and some of the principal paper-makers in the country represented that it was no more than sufficient to enable them to hold their own against foreign competition. The reply to this was that the abolition of the excise duty not only required, but, by the terms of the commercial treaty, demanded, the remission of the import duty on paper coming from France. One of the clauses of that treaty provided that we should have the right of placing an import duty on French goods of sufficient amount to counterbalance any excise duty which might be laid on the same class of goods in England, and it was argued that this should be honourably interpreted to mean that the abolition of the excise duty on an article required the free admission of the same kind of article from France. This was regarded as rather a strained interpretation of the provision of the treaty, but the paper-makers had another argument in the fact that while it was proposed to remit the import duty on French paper, the French would maintain such a large export duty on their rags (the raw material of paper), that they could not be obtained in the English market except at a price which placed our manufacturers under a considerable disadvantage. Hitherto there had been a prohibition of the export of rags from France, and though an export duty was to be adopted instead of absolute prohibition, the abandonment of the duty on foreign paper coming to this country while the supply of foreign rags to English paper-makers was saddled with a duty which greatly enhanced their cost, was a distinct injustice. The controversy on this question was long and sometimes violent, and it was admitted at the time that there was inequality of interests from which English paper-makers would suffer, but on the other hand it was argued that the general benefits to be derived from the treaty could not be rejected, much less could the avowed principles of free-trade be disavowed for the sake of maintaining the balance of advantage for one particular industry. Looking at the question from the point of view of the consumer it was asked why the benefits of our free-trade policy should be restricted because of the remaining "protective" legislation of the French government, and why an import duty should be maintained on French paper for the purpose of making paper in England dearer than it otherwise would be. The opponents of the Paper Duties Bill, which formed, as it were, a separate part of the general financial measure, were active and were able to secure the support of influential friends, so that although the second reading was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 53, that majority was reduced to 9 on the third reading. This result encouraged an effort to oppose the bill in the House of Lords, and the effort was for a time successful. Lord Monteagle (formerly Mr. Spring Rice and Whig chancellor of the exchequer) gave notice of a motion to reject the bill, and Lord Derby and Lord Chelmsford agreed to support him.

A crisis was imminent, because, if the Lords claimed the power to reject this portion of the financial scheme of the chancellor of the exchequer, they thereby demanded the authority to interfere with, or reimpose, the taxation of the country in opposition to the Commons. There were those, and among them the aged Lord Lyndhurst, who argued that, though the Peers had not exerted authority to alter a money bill, they had a right to refuse their assent to a repeal of taxation, and that this was an instance in which the exercise of that right would be justified. Lord Cranworth, the lord chancellor, on the other hand, urged that the proposed course, if not strictly speaking an unconstitutional proceeding, was so thinly separated from it that the distinction

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would be imperceptible to ordinary minds. But the House of Lords had been apparently well canvassed. As was afterwards the case in the Church Rate Bill, the majority in favour of the repeal of the paper duty had dwindled in the House of Commons. A considerable number of the members of the Upper House went down to have their fling at the chancellor of the exchequer and the free-traders. When the Paper Duties Bill was brought up it was rejected on the second reading by a majority of eighty-nine, and the Lords had assumed a right, which it was afterwards averred they had been distinctly prohibited from claiming by repeated decisions entered upon parliamentary records, to the effect that the whole provision for supply and for the taxation, or the remission of the taxation of the country, rested with the Commons alone. To say the least of it, this action of the Lords was a very serious challenge to the Lower House, and a direct claim of power to annul its financial plans. It was expected that a collision between the two houses must follow, and there was some surprise, if not actual disappointment, when it was found that Lord Palmerston was quite unlikely to accept the decision against the paper duties as a reason for a ministerial crisis. Probably he cared almost as little about the remission of the duties, or the free importation of foreign paper, as the majority of the opponents of the measure; but he cared a great deal about not being exposed to the necessity for resignation or for the dissolution of parliament, or even for raising a whirlwind of defiance of the Lords. He was growing old; he was in power, and was likely to remain so for some time longer. He had no desire to initiate or to champion further political reforms, and the free-trade movement had gone rather beyond the tether which he had regarded as the extent of its operations. His policy was to quiet both houses, if possible to induce the Lords to recede by making the way to back out easy for them, and to avoid the break up of the government, which might follow the persistent rejection of the scheme of the chancellor of the exchequer, on whose financial achievements he afterwards had to rely in order to support the claims of the ministry against an attack upon its general policy. Instead of assailing the House of Lords, the prime minister gave notice that he should move for a select committee to examine the journals of the House of Lords for precedents for the course which had been adopted in that house with regard to the bill for the repeal of the paper duties, and disclaimed any intention on the part of the government of taking steps which might bring the two houses into collision. The committee was appointed. It was little more than a formality; but it served to delay agitation, and delay to popular agitation usually means its prevention. As a matter of fact, however, though there was a good deal of apparent excitement, which was kept up by the popular cheap newspapers and by those who felt in its full force the antagonism of the Lords, the public took the matter almost as coolly as Lord Palmerston did. Not because they were altogether indifferent to the question in its relation to free-trade, nor because they did not understand the danger of the precedent which the House of Lords sought to establish; but for the reason that they refused to believe in the probability of the House of Commons ultimately giving way. On this occasion, as on many others, Palmerston had pretty accurately noted the temper of the country. He thought he saw a possible way out of the difficulty by giving time for the antagonists of the Paper Duties Bill to reflect. The committee took two months to consider what they should say. What the majority agreed to say was in effect, that they could hardly decide that the privileges of the House of Commons made it actually unconstitutional for the House of Lords to reject a bill imposing a particular tax. Mr. Bright, who was on the committee, was in the minority, and drew up a statement contending, and giving weighty reasons for the contention, that the power to refuse the repeal of a tax, when that repeal had been voted by the House of Commons, was equivalent to depriving the latter of its absolute control over the taxation of the country. There can be little doubt that this view was sound, or the principle of taxation and representation going together would have to be

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abandoned. However, when the discussion came on (on the 5th of July), numbers of petitions were presented, praying the house to maintain its right of dealing with all measures for taxation.

It may be assumed that there were special reasons for Lord Palmerston's reluctance to injure the susceptibility of the Lords, or to provoke the opposition by violently resenting the rejection of the Paper Duties Bill. It is possible that he may have recognized among the leaders of the Conservative party an inclination to give his government a general support on certain conditions. That this inclination existed soon afterwards we learn from a passage in *The Life of the Prince Consort*, which mentions that on the return of the court to Windsor on the 12th of January, 1861, among the visitors was Lord Palmerston, with whom arrangements were then made for the dowry and annuity to be asked for from parliament upon the marriage of the Princess Alice, who was betrothed to Prince Louis of Hesse.

"One of the visitors who followed Lord Palmerston was Mr. Disraeli, from whom the prince gathered the general views of the Conservative opposition as to their policy in the approaching session. Their strength was considerable, composed, as they were, of a compact body of three hundred members; but they had no wish for the return of their leaders to office, and, indeed, were anxious to strengthen the hands of the government in a bold national policy. A movement for a reduction of the expenses of our armaments, which had been initiated by Mr. Cobden and his friends, and had taken the shape of a letter to Lord Palmerston, signed by about sixty members of parliament, calling for such a reduction, had shown the existence of a considerable division in the ranks of the usual ministerial supporters. Many of the latter had, however, declined to sanction this appeal, believing, to use the expression of one of their number, General de Lacy Evans, 'that it was neither safe nor expedient to disarm the country.' But the working majority of the government was not so large as to make the defection, on questions of finance, of so large a section of their party otherwise than embarrassing. The Conservative party, Mr. Disraeli said, were in no way inclined to take advantage of this state of things. On the contrary, they were prepared to support the government; all they required from them in return being that they should state explicitly the principles of their policy, and not enter into a line of what he termed 'democratic finance.' These remarks were made without reserve, and in communicating their tenor to Lord Palmerston (24th January) the prince added:—'Mr. Disraeli said no minister since Mr. Pitt had been so powerful as you might be. The Conservative party was ready not only to give general support to a steady and patriotic policy, but even to help the minister out of scrapes if he got into any.'"

The increased armaments had, in fact, been suggested by Prince Albert himself after he had noticed the Cherbourg defences and the augmentation of the French navy; but Lord Palmerston showed himself willing to take up the scheme of providing for the "national defences" with remarkable celerity. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, was opposed to the expenditure, for such a purpose, of the revenues which had been secured by the operation of "democratic finance" so far as it had gone, and he was committed not only to a free-trade budget, but to upholding that portion of it which was included in the Paper Duties Bill against the interference of the House of Lords, which he designated "the most gigantic and dangerous invasion of the rights of the Commons which has occurred in modern times."

But to return to the meeting of parliament on the 5th of July, 1860. Lord Palmerston's pacific attitude towards the House of Lords was then made manifest. The house was crowded: the gravity of the situation had produced considerable excitement. Notices had been given of strongly expressed resolutions on the question of privilege. They gave way to Lord Palmerston's intimation that he had resolutions to bring before the house. Those resolutions were:—

1. "That the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons

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alone, as an essential part of their constitution; and the limitation of all such grants, as to matter, manner, measure, and time, is only in them.

2. "That although the Lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relating to taxation by negativing the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent, and is justly regarded by this house with peculiar jealousy as affecting the rights of the Commons to grant the supplies, and to provide the ways and means for the service of the year.

3. "That to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this house has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes and to frame bills of supply that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time may be maintained inviolate."

These resolutions were carried, but they were not received with any great satisfaction. It was felt by the Liberals that they evaded that vindication of the rights of the House of Commons which might have been demanded, and that the House of Lords was treated with a studied forbearance which was too much like deference. Palmerston himself felt that this was the conclusion which might be drawn from his resolutions, and commended them to parliament with the rather dubious explanation that as the House of Lords had been encouraged by the diminished majority in the Lower House on the third reading of the proposed bill, it would be better to be satisfied with a mere declaration of constitutional privileges.

There was something of Palmerston's usual adroitness in these resolutions. His biographer[1] has told us that while he wished to build a bridge for the retreat of the Lords, he had two colleagues in his cabinet who were committed far too deeply by their expressions of wrath at what they termed an outrageous invasion of the liberties of the people, to permit them passing the matter over in silence.

The resolutions were accepted, but neither Milner Gibson nor Gladstone were likely to regard them with complacency; and though the latter said that they had done all that language could do, to defend the honour of the house, he was prepared to go further and to reserve to himself the right of acting. The precedents quoted, he said, had not touched in the slightest degree the case under consideration. There was a great difference between the House of Lords advising an alteration in a money-bill and rejecting the repeal of a tax. The House of Commons had declared that they could spare from the revenue of the country £1,125,000 of the taxation, and having an option between the tea and the paper duties as to which they should remit, they chose that which they believed would prove more beneficial to the country, though, perhaps, not the most popular. The result had been that the House of Lords had chosen to assume to themselves the power of dictating to the House of Commons, and of saying that the country could not spare such a remission of taxation. Mr. Gladstone maintained that the house had the undoubted right to select the manner in which the people should be taxed, and they were bound to preserve intact that precious deposit. He reserved to himself the privilege of submitting such practical measures as would give effect to the resolutions.

Those practical measures were that the remission of the paper duties was brought forward again in a house where five hundred members, including the speaker, were present, a very unusual number in a house near the end of the session, but they come in response to urgent appeals. Mr. Gladstone represented that the question involved great commercial principles and obligations of honour and policy in relation to a contract with France. For the sake of the paper-makers themselves it would be desirable at once to settle the question. In the opinion of the law officers of the crown the obligation of the treaty was undoubted, and the legal authorities of France concurred in this opinion. The question was also one of policy, and this last article which claimed protection was the touchstone to be applied to old and to new friends of free-trade.

[1] The Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

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His proposition was to remove so much of the customs duty on foreign paper as exceeded the amount of the excise duty on that at home, and it was carried by a majority of thirty-three. The announcement was received with a burst of cheering from the Liberal benches which lasted for some minutes, even after the chancellor of the exchequer rose to propose that the remission of the paper duties should be extended to other countries beside France, which was also agreed to.

The question of total abolition of the duties was deferred till the following session, and during the interval was widely discussed throughout the country. What will the Lords do? and what will Gladstone do? were the two questions that were asked when the house met in 1861 and everybody was anxiously awaiting the statements of the budget. If the budget of 1860 had aroused intense interest in the country, that of 1861 was still more exciting. Every avenue to the house was crowded by persons hoping for a chance to gain admission, while within the walls every seat was appropriated. The winter of 1860 had been terribly severe, and there was much suffering in many parts of the country, especially in Lancashire. There had been a deficient harvest, and in some respects the revenue had been overestimated. How would he provide for a probable deficiency? Would "the financial freaks of the chancellor of the exchequer," as Lord Derby at the beginning of the session called the financial policy of the government, avail to enable him to maintain his position in remitting the paper duty?

He was able to do that and more. The audience which sat almost breathless to listen to the masterly scheme which he propounded were once more constrained to admire the clear explanations, the telling emphasis, the complete acquaintance with every detail, displayed in a speech which added the charm of a clear musical voice of sustained power and tone to an unhesitating delivery, and was eminently successful in enforcing comprehensive statements of facts and figures by the appeals and the illustrations that belong to oratory. "In the beautiful tragedy of Schiller," he said, "Mary Queen of Scots is made to say of herself, 'I have been much hated, but I have also been much beloved,' and I think I may say with equal truth that the financial legislation of last year, while I do not mean to contend that it was not unacceptable to many, met, as a whole, with signal support from a great body of public opinion in this country." The past year, he reminded his hearers, had been signalized by the commercial treaty with France, by the removal of great national burdens, and by the abolition of the last protective duty from our system, but it was a year of the largest expenditure that had occurred in time of peace, and it was characterized by an unparalleled severity of the seasons. Apart from the consideration of two millions voted for the fortifications at the close of the year the estimated expenditure had been £73,664,000, while the actual expenditure was only £72,842,000, leaving a balance of £822,000. But while the revenue in 1859 had been £71,089,000, it was only £70,283,000 in 1860, making a decrease of £800,000, so that while in 1859 there was a favourable balance of £1,200,000 there was in 1860 an apparent deficiency of £2,559,000, which, with certain deductions, would actually stand at £221,000, the difference being partly accounted for by the fact that the preceding year was leap-year, and that Good Friday and the day following had been reckoned in the one year and not in the other. The revenue from customs had somewhat exceeded the estimate, and that from excise had fallen rather below it, according to the rule that in a bad year what was lost by excise would be gained by customs. The loss on articles on which duties had been reduced fell below the estimate, that on wine being only £493,000 instead of £830,000, which was the amount calculated. There had been a considerable increase in the importation of French wines, but it was necessary for the public taste to undergo some change before the full effect of the reduction of duty would be experienced.

The deficiency in the excise arose on three articles, hops, malt, and spirits. With regard to the question of trade as affected by the French treaty: had there been a want of em-

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ployment among the people of this country, or had other circumstances been such as to diminish the revenue below an adequate amount, the provisions made by the previous year's provident legislation would have been seen to have had a still more marked effect in preventing what would have been a very unsatisfactory condition of affairs.

He emphatically told the house that looking at the whole course of proceedings, from first to last, no one could conceive a more loyal, thorough, intelligent, unflinching determination than had been exhibited by the ministers of France, under the animating spirit and guidance of the emperor, to give full effect alike to the terms and to the principles and spirit of the treaty, not for the sake of British interests, nor with any mere wish of conciliating England, but for the sake of the interests of France. With regard to the effect of the measures of 1860, the export trade of the previous year was £136,000,000 of declared value (as against £130,000,000 in 1859), and this was the largest ever known. There had been an increase in several imported articles: butter, cheese, eggs, and rice gave an increase of £7,000,000 in 1860, as compared with £4,000,000 in 1859; and these were articles on which small customs duties had been abolished. The importation of corn had risen from some £17,000,000 in 1859 to £38,154,000 in 1860, a fearful proof of the failure of production in this country, but an equally cogent proof of the value of that legislation which had removed all obstruction to the importation of that article of necessity. Articles of import on which the duties still remained had been about the same. The articles on which there had been a reduction of duty in the previous year were in value, in 1859, £11,346,000, and in 1860 £13,323,000, while those on which the duty had been abolished in the previous year were in 1859, in value, £15,735,000, and in 1860 £22,630,000, an increase of nearly six millions and a half.

The estimated expenditure for the coming year was £69,900,000, and the estimated revenue £71,823,000. It was therefore proposed to remit the additional penny which had been imposed on the income-tax in 1860, which would cause a loss to the current financial year of £850,000, and to repeal the duty on paper on the first of the following October, by which the revenue would lose about £665,000. It had been pressed upon the government that there should be a remission of the duties on tea and sugar; but these it had been decided to continue in favour of the greater benefits to be derived from taking the penny from the income-tax and abolishing the paper duties.

In considering the financial condition of the country, it had been necessary to advert to the growing expenditure. In 1858 the sum voted was under £64,000,000, while in 1861 it was nearly £74,000,000—an increase of £10,000,000 in three years; £9,000,000 of taxes being imposed to meet those requirements, while of temporary resources only £2,700,000 had been called in aid for that purpose. The balances in the exchequer in March, 1861, were £6,522,000. As regarded the national debt, £1,000,000 of exchequer bonds had been paid off, but replaced by a new set to the same amount. The addition to the debt, exclusive of money for fortifications, was £460,000. As compared with 1853 there had been large remissions of taxation and unfavourable seasons; but although 1860 was far worse in this latter respect, it would be found that the immediate and palpable effect of remissions of taxation presented a remarkable contrast. In 1853 there were remitted £1,500,000 of customs duties, which loss was made up, and more, by the end of that year. The gain on the year in excise duties was £900,000. In 1860 the excise ought to have produced a gain of £1,945,000, but it had only produced a gain of £265,000. But the expenditure of 1854 was, of imperial expenditure, £56,000,000; and local expenditure, £16,000,000: total, £72,000,000. In 1860 the imperial expenditure was £73,000,000, the local charge £18,000,000: total, £91,000,000, or an increase of nearly £20,000,000 in seven years.

In reference to this enormous augmentation of expenditure Mr. Gladstone concluded his financial statement by saying:—

"We have seen this country during the last

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few years without European war, but under a burden of taxation such as, out of a European war, it never was called upon to bear; we have also seen it last year under the pressure of a season of blight, such as hardly any living man can recollect; yet, on looking abroad over the face of England, no one is sensible of any signs of decay, least of all can such an apprehension be felt with regard to those attributes which are perhaps the highest of all, and on which most of all depends our national existence—the spirit and courage of the country. It is needless to say that neither the sovereign on the throne, nor the nobles and the gentry that fill the place of the gallant chieftains of the middle age, nor the citizens who represent the invincible soldiery of Cromwell, nor the peasantry who are the children of those sturdy archers that drew the crossbows of England on the fields of France; that none of these betray either inclination or tendency to depart from the traditions of their forefathers. If there be any danger which has recently in an especial manner beset us, I confess that, though it may be owing to some peculiarity in my position, or some weakness in my vision, it has seemed to me to be during recent years chiefly, in our proneness to constant, and apparently almost boundless, augmentations of expenditure, and in the consequences that are associated with them. I do not refer to this or that particular change or scheme. Of course I do not refer to the estimates of the year, which are, in our judgment, required by the circumstances taken as a whole in which we stand. But I think that when, in an extended retrospect, we take notice of the rate at which we have been advancing for a certain number of years, we must see that there has been a tendency to break down all barriers and all limits which restrain the amount of public charges. For my own part, I am deeply convinced that all excess in the public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a pecuniary waste—for that, although an important, is yet a comparatively trifling matter—but a great political, and above all, a great moral evil. It is a characteristic of the mischiefs which arise from financial prodigality that they creep onwards with a noiseless and a stealthy step; that they commonly remain unseen and unfelt until they have reached a magnitude absolutely overwhelming; and then at length we see them, such and so great as they now appear to exist in one, at least, among the great European states—I mean the Empire of Austria; so fearful and menacing in their aspect, and so large in their dimensions, that they seem to threaten the very foundations of national existence. I do trust that the day has come when a check has begun to be put to the movement in this direction; and I think, as far as I have been able to trace the sentiments of the house, and the indications of general opinion during the present session, that the tendency to which I have adverted is, at least partially, on the decline. I trust it will altogether subside and disappear. It is indeed true—at least I should be among the first to uphold the soundness of the assertion—that sweeping and violent changes of expenditure are to be deprecated almost as much as excess and prodigality. But, at the same time, there are many who share that sentiment, and yet who still feel that it is demanded by high public expediency and by national duty that we should recur—I do not say to the charges—for national wants, with the nation's ever-increasing growth, will vary and will grow—but to the spirit, the temper, and the rules with which, no long time ago, we were all wont to apply ourselves to the subject of public expenditure. I trust that such a wish may be realized; and if only it be so, then, for my part, I say, that if there be difficulties in the work of government, they are not, so far as regards the department with which I have the honour to be connected, difficulties which any man of ordinary courage need for a moment, under whatever contingencies, hesitate to face. The spirit of the people is excellent. There never was a nation in the whole history of the world more willing to bear the heavy burdens under which it lies—more generously disposed to overlook the errors of those who have the direction of its affairs. For my own part, I hold that, if this country can steadily and constantly remain as wise in the use of her treasure as she is

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unrivalled in its production, and as moderate in the exercise of her strength as she is rich in its possession; then we may well cherish the hope that there is yet reserved for England a great work to do on her own part and on the part of others, and that for many a generation yet to come she will continue to hold a foremost place among the nations of the world."

This, then, was the scheme, and these were the sentiments by which it was enforced; but the opposition was strenuous, and great efforts were made to frustrate the intentions of the government. These efforts were directed to promote an agitation in favour of a remission of the duty on tea; and they might have been successful had it not been apparent that there was an intention on the part of the late majority in the House of Lords to persist in their opposition to the Paper Duties Bill, and so to confirm their claim to cancel the privilege claimed by the Commons. To frustrate this design a counter agitation had been carried on in favour of the repeal of the paper duties, and eventually Mr. Gladstone, in accordance with his former declaration that he reserved the right of action, announced, with the support of the government, that he intended to include all his chief financial propositions in one measure, instead of dividing them into several bills. It had been decided that constitutionally the Lords had not the power to reject a "Money Bill," and they were thenceforward placed in such a position that, while they could not reject the whole financial scheme, they were deprived of the power—which they had previously exercised—of altering its details. Such a change was not to be effected without a serious conflict, and all the influence of the Upper House, together with that of a large number of members of the Commons who had a direct interest in the peerage, and of Conservatives who were ready to uphold the privileges claimed by the Lords, was brought to bear upon the decision. Among those who, it was believed, were disaffected towards the government were some of the Irish members. Lord Derby, when in office, had obtained a grant for a mail packet service between Galway and the United States, and this grant had been withdrawn at the time that it was believed the concession would have increased the trade of Galway, and improved the condition of the people in that part of Ireland. There had, therefore, been defection among the Irish Liberals, who had on more than one occasion joined the opponents of the government for the purpose of defeating it before the time had gone by for the complete expiration of the grant. A priest named Daly, who had been deputed to make those representations which had obtained the concession, now came over armed with credentials from men of all political parties in Ireland, and began an active canvass for the purpose of engaging the Irish Liberal members to unite against the government, and to support the opposition, for the purpose of bringing about a dissolution of parliament.

The debate in the House of Commons was prolonged and acrimonious. Mr. Bentinck, who was among those who took the opportunity of personally attacking the chancellor of the exchequer, was one of the first assailants. Lord Robert Montague was another. Mr. Gladstone's argument in reply to the contention of Sir Stafford Northcote,—who raised numerous objections to the whole scheme, and urged that this was not a time to propose the surrender of a large amount of revenue,—was, that the estimates were based upon the expectation of an ordinary season and ordinary circumstances, and he never had a stronger conviction than that there was likely to be an excess over the estimated revenue. As to the disposal of the surplus, he balanced the claims of tea and sugar on the one hand and paper on the other. The reduction of the duties upon articles of popular consumption was not the first object kept in view by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, but the liberation and extension of trade; this principle lay at the root of our reformed financial policy, and had governed almost every budget. He demanded that the opinion of the house should be taken by a division instead of being deferred by long and useless debates. Mr. Disraeli announced that in committee he should take the sense of the house on the question whether a remission of indirect taxation should not be

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made with respect to the duties on tea. Mr. Horsfall proposed an amendment that the tea duty should be reduced to a shilling a pound, and it was supported by Mr. Disraeli and Sir Stafford Northcote, but was lost on a division.

Lord Robert Cecil[1] made a speech which was listened to with some impatience because of its personal animosity. He denounced the budget as a personal budget—they had no guarantee for it but the promises of the chancellor of the exchequer, and experience had taught them that he was not a financier who was always to be relied on. On a former occasion he had described the policy of the government as one only worthy of a country attorney; but he was now bound to say that he had done injustice to the attorneys. The attorneys were very humble men, but he believed they would have scorned such a course as that of her majesty's ministers, which was one distinguished by all the ingenuity of legal chicane. In any other place it would be called a "dodge."

Americanized finance, he declared, was to be a consequence of Americanized institutions. He thought the House of Commons ought to mark its peculiar indignation at the way in which it had been treated by the chancellor of the exchequer. So long as he held the seals of office there was neither regularity in the House of Commons nor confidence in the country.

No reply was made to these observations. They were not believed to require any. Some days later, however, Mr. Gladstone took up what had been called the constitutional question, and adduced numerous precedents to show that the power to combine different provisions in the same financial measure had been exercised by the House of Commons to a wider extent than in the present bill, and observing that the practice was not only justified by precedent, but by reason and convenience, the several matters in the bill, essentially homogeneous, being items of one and the same account. It was the doctrine of the constitution that to originate matters of finance was the exclusive right and duty and burden of the House of Commons, and to divide this function between two distinct and independent bodies would lead to utter confusion. Referring to Mr. Horsman's objection that the budget gave a mortal stab to the constitution, he said, "I want to know what constitution it gives a mortal stab to. In my opinion it gives no stab at all; but, as far as it alters, it alters so as to revive and restore the good old constitution which took its root in Saxon times, which groaned under the Plantagenets, which endured the hard rule of the Tudors, which resisted the Stuarts, and which has now come to maturity under the House of Brunswick. I think that constitution will be all the better for the operation. As to the constitution laid down by my right honourable friend, under which there is to be a division of function and office between the House of Commons and the House of Lords—with regard to fixing the income and charge of the country from year to year, both of them being equally responsible for it, which means that neither would be responsible—as far as that constitution is concerned I cannot help saying, that in my humble opinion the sooner it receives a mortal stab the better."

Sir James Graham, suffering severely from a disease of which he died less than six months afterwards, went down to the house and delivered a powerful defence of the government; and Lord John Russell, Cobden, and other eminent speakers took an earnest part in the debate. It was significant that Sir William Heathcote, Mr. Gladstone's colleague in the representation of Oxford, and Mr. Walpole, chairman of the committee of precedents in the preceding year, declared the course taken to be constitutional. This was awkward for the opposition. There was no division on the second reading after all, and the budget of which Mr. Disraeli had said that ministers had created an artificial surplus in order that they might perpetrate a financial caprice, eventually passed by a majority of 15, 296 voting for it and 281 against it. When it was sent up to the Lords the Duke of Rutland moved its rejection, but Lord Derby advised the withdrawal of the amendment, taking the

[1] Now the Marquis of Salisbury.

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opportunity to censure Mr. Gladstone, and it was adopted.

Some real advances had been made towards further measures of reform in parliament, though no general scheme in the shape of a Reform Bill was accepted. We have already noticed that there had been persistent endeavours to supersede, or to omit, that part of the oath of allegiance which prevented the admission of a Jew to parliament, and these efforts had now been successful after a quarter of a century, during which the question had been over and over again debated. Mr. Disraeli had spoken with eloquence and written with force on the subject of the claims of the Jews to all the rights of citizenship. It need scarcely be pointed out that his novels contain references to the virtues and the nobility of the Jewish race which many people still consider extravagant. In his *Memoir of Lord George Bentinck* the whole question of the claims of the Jews to a great place in the history of the world, and as the depositaries of a religion of which Christianity is the consummation, is set forth with serious and significant dignity. It was therefore a happy coincidence that the removal of Jewish disabilities to sit in parliament should have been effected while he was the leader of the House of Commons. The time had passed when it was necessary for a Conservative holding that position, to resign it in consequence of voting for such a measure, as Disraeli's former chief —Lord George Bentinck—had done. There was complete unanimity of opinion on the subject between Lord John Russell—who had espoused the cause of Jewish emancipation—and the Conservative leader; but the matter was not settled till 1858, eleven years after Baron Lionel de Rothschild had been elected as one of the members for the city of London. A bill was passed in the House of Commons to admit Jews to sit, but it was thrown out by the Lords, and Baron Rothschild resigned his seat, stood again, and was again elected. In 1850 he presented himself and offered to take the oaths after having for four sessions occupied a seat under the gallery of the house, where strangers as well as members were accustomed to sit. He now demanded to be sworn, and took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy on the Old Testament. The oath of abjuration followed, and he omitted from it the words "on the true faith of a Christian." If he had chosen to commit what to him would have been a great impiety, and made use of words which some notorious unbelievers had repeated without apparent shame or scruple, he might possibly have taken his seat unchallenged. As it was he was excluded from either sitting or voting, and returned to his old place, where he might listen to, and perhaps by his presence make a silent protest against the decision of the house.

But several other Jews had presented themselves for election, and among them was Sir David Salomons, a baronet and alderman of the city of London, and a gentleman highly respected for his attainments and for his conduct as a magistrate. In 1851 he was proposed as a candidate for the representation of Greenwich, was elected, and on going up to take the oath omitted the words "on the true faith of a Christian," as Baron Rothschild had done, and with the same result.

When the government was asked whether they would sue him according to an act of parliament if he persisted in taking his seat, the answer of Lord John Russell was that they had no such intention. He therefore took his place amongst the members, one half of the house shouting to him to withdraw, and the other encouraging him to remain. He did remain, and what was more, took part in the debate on a resolution that he should be ordered to withdraw, and himself voted in some of the divisions for an adjournment. He spoke calmly and was listened to with attention. He was actuated by no desire to presume on, or to disregard, the dignity of the house; but by the belief that having been lawfully elected he was justified in asserting his rights and those of his constituents. The resolution for his withdrawal was carried. The speaker requested him to leave, but he remained until the sergeant-at-arms was ordered to remove him; that functionary then touched him on the shoulder and he quietly retired. He had asserted his right, had spoken and voted as a member, and he awaited further proceed-

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ings. Two actions were brought against him to recover penalties, but neither of them was by the government. One was withdrawn, as they both had the same object. To obtain a legal settlement of the question the trial came on as a special case in 1852, and the issue sought was whether the words which the defendant had omitted formed an essential part of the oath inserted for the purpose of obtaining a profession of the Christian faith; or were only a part of the form of an affirmation adopted to secure a solemn declaration in accordance with the views of the majority of those to be sworn, but liable to be omitted or altered in particular instances? Three judges out of four decided that it was a necessary part of the oath, and the only thing that remained was to alter the form of affirmation; but though the House of Commons passed measures for that purpose they were repeatedly thrown out by the House of Lords, until in 1858 Lord John Russell prepared a bill in which the form of oath was somewhat altered, and a clause was introduced providing that where the oath had to be administered to a Jew the words "on the true faith of a Christian" might be omitted. The House of Lords, however, struck out this clause, and so made the bill useless for the purpose for which it was specially intended. The Commons refused to accept the alteration, and referred it to a committee to draw up a statement of their reasons, Baron Rothschild being actually nominated as a member of that committee on the motion of Mr. Duncombe. Ungracefully ready to yield rather than provoke an actual collision, the Lords assented to a compromise suggested by Lord Lucan, and inserted a clause enabling either house to modify the form of the oath in such a way as to admit a Jew, but at the same time reserving the power to alter the mode of affirmation at pleasure. This was such a manifestly weak and uncertain expedient that, though it was rapidly passed through both houses, it was soon after superseded by another measure which consolidated the acts referring to oaths, allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and enabled Jews to omit the words which had previously prevented them from taking a seat in the legislature, though they could fulfil other high and important offices—Sir David Salomons himself having served the office of Lord-mayor of London in 1855 with great dignity and success.

It may be mentioned that three or four days before the bill with the compromise passed in 1858, another measure introduced by Mr. Locke King for the abolition of the demand for a property qualification for members of parliament received the royal assent. Up to this time nobody could sit in parliament without giving proof that he possessed landed property up to a certain value, and, as was pointed out by Mr. Locke King, this obsolete custom had ceased to have any beneficial effect, since any man with sufficient influence to obtain a seat could arrange with some friend or supporter to make to him a merely formal conveyance of a piece of land of sufficient value to cover the legal requirement.

These were among the amendments of parliamentary representation which were made during the period from 1855 to 1865, but there appeared to be little popular excitement on behalf of a general measure of wide reform. Within the walls of the House of Commons, only a few ardent supporters of an extension of the franchise were eager to bring in a bill that would increase the number of voters, and though a redistribution of seats in accordance with the growing importance of some of the places insufficiently represented, was more widely demanded, so little general enthusiasm was manifested outside parliament that there was no encouragement for reformers to risk defeat by a strong opposition and an indifferent government. Lord Palmerston himself was among the most indifferent, and it was pretty well understood that he had an actual aversion to the introduction of anything that, in his opinion, would unnecessarily disturb the ministry or promote political demonstrations in the country. The country, however, was in no mood for political manifestations, and when, on the 1st of March, 1860, Lord John Russell introduced his "Representation of the People Bill," in the belief that the time had come for making further advances in the system of parliamentary legislation, he was

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listened to with an ominous calm, which bespoke the neglect that afterwards frustrated his efforts to carry it through either house. It is true that there was nothing startling about the proposed changes. There was to be a £10 occupation franchise for the counties, and the borough franchise was to be reduced to £6. The payment of poor-rates was to be a qualification for a vote. Twenty-five boroughs returning two members each were to be left with one; twelve counties or county divisions were to have one member; the West Riding two additional seats and the southern division of Lancashire two; Kensington and Chelsea were to form a borough with two members; Birkenhead, Stalybridge, and Barnsley were to have one each; and Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds each an additional member. The University of London was also to be represented by a member. In places where three members were returned the third was to represent the minority. The bill appeared to be unacceptable to both sides. It was too much for those who deprecated disturbance, and not enough for the promoters of political progress in the direction of a largely increased representation of the body of the people. It was said that the opposition were so sure of Lord Palmerston's hostility to the scheme, that Lord Derby had broadly hinted to him that if he could remove Gladstone, Russell, and Milner Gibson from the ministry the Conservatives would support the government. If this had really been suggested, it betrayed a singular misunderstanding of Palmerston's character. He may have cordially disliked the proposed Reform Bill, but he would certainly not betray his colleagues. However, he probably knew that there was little occasion for him to be troubled about Lord Russell's measures. Proposals were made for its adjournment till the following year, when the census was to be taken, and it was so evident that by the delay of a prolonged debate the opponents of the bill might be able to defeat it, that, with manifest grief and disappointment, Lord Russell announced its withdrawal.

In the following year he had evidently abandoned all intention of moving any further in the direction of a similar bill, and indeed, in the royal speech, no mention was made of parliamentary reform. The question was subsequently raised by Mr. Locke King, who proposed to lower the county qualification to £10, and by Mr. Baines, who brought forward a motion for reducing the borough franchise to £6, but both suggestions were rejected.

Reference has been made to the ages of Lord Palmerston, Lord Lyndhurst, and Lord Brougham, and to the failing health of Sir James Graham. These were instances of some of the losses which might naturally be expected to befall the nation at no remote period. Already several of those who had been the contemporaries of Mr. Gladstone during the early part of his career were seen no more in their accustomed places, and he had referred in words of solemn pathos to the fact that the time had arrived when, in looking round him, he missed the once familiar forms and faces, and felt their loss by that sense of solitariness which even the necessity for making new associations will not for a time overcome.

In the ranks of literature as well as in the world of politics and statesmanship, well known names had fallen out of the lists of the living. Douglas Jerrold the satirist, whose brilliant wit and caustic subtle humour had sparkled both in the drama and in the pages of *Punch* and other periodicals, had died in 1857, just as the tidings of the Indian mutiny had reached England. Hallam the historian—long bereft of the son whose early death was mourned by Tennyson and by Gladstone—lived on and worked on until January, 1859, when he died at the age of eighty-one. Leigh Hunt, the charming poet and essayist, who had outlived the dreary days of his imprisonment for libelling George the Fourth, was seventy-five years old when his death took place at Putney in August, 1859. In November of the same year intelligence came from Bonn of the death of the Chevalier Bunsen, who, when he was Prussian ambassador in London, had been the delightful companion and warm friend of distinguished men of letters in this country, and was himself the author of many books of deep interest to students of ecclesiastical lore, and of one by which he has been better known,

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entitled *Egypt's Place in History*. He had been recalled to Prussia or had resigned because of his opinions on the policy of the king in relation to the Russian war, but he was greatly esteemed by men of all parties in England.

But a larger gap than either of these was left in the public and literary ranks in England by the sudden death of Lord Macaulay on the 28th of December, 1859. This loss, which was felt throughout the country, may be said to have cast a shadow on the closing days of the year, for his books, and especially his *History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, was known and read all over England, and some of his poems had been listened to with delight when they were recited before large audiences. His prodigious memory and his philosophical mode of thought were allied to a strong imagination and to the power of striking poetical expression. Few men have united so much of the genius of the poet to the plodding industry and research of the antiquarian. The latter quality enabled him to seek the material for his vivid pages in musty parliamentary records—long closed correspondence—time-worn ballad-sheets, and even stained and frayed broadsheets relating to events that might otherwise have been forgotten, since they were never popularly depicted until he drew them with a vigorous hand. It has been contended that Macaulay only wrote history from the Whig side; and it can scarcely be denied that while he draws the misdeeds of the other party in strong dark outlines, he sublimates some of the faults of his political predecessors and somewhat idealizes their professed principles. Yet his remarkable power of illustration and the charming lucidity which characterizes his style will always cause his history to hold a high place among all classes of readers. It was not, however, as an author alone that Macaulay was sorely missed. The place he had occupied in parliament and in the arena of politics could not easily be filled. Failing health had compelled him to resign the representation of Edinburgh and to abandon public speaking; but his superb achievements as a speaker, both in and out of the House of Commons, were not forgotten when he had retired to the seclusion of the home, where his presence was ever welcome and where his tender and affectionate nature found fitting companionship in his sister's family. He had been eminently successful, and his great ability and indefatigable energy had enabled him to achieve high distinction in whatever he attempted. Probably it would not have added to his fame if he had lived to carry his voice to the House of Peers, which would, however, have been graced by his intellect; and though it is to be deplored that his history remained uncompleted, it is not a mere fragment, but a shapely and finished production, a monument of his genius. Macaulay was never married, and the wealth which he had acquired went to his relatives; but during his life he was one of the most generous of men, and few distressed representatives of the literary craft applied to him in vain for assistance. It is certain, on the contrary, that because of the natural goodness of heart which could spare some pity for their distresses, he consciously helped some who were incompetent, and should never have taken upon themselves the profession of letters.

We have already seen something of the early correspondence between Mr. Gladstone and the brilliant reviewer in their early days, and we may therefore fitly refer here to a few of the words used by the former when, in 1876, in a review of *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by his nephew George Otto Trevelyan, M.P., he has to speak of the man whose own achievements had by that time almost become historical. Mr. Gladstone says:

"Lord Macaulay lived a life of no more than fifty-nine years and three months. But it was an extraordinarily full life, of sustained exertion; a high table-land, without depressions. If in its outer aspect there be anything wearisome, it is only the wearisomeness of reiterated splendours, and of success so uniform as to be almost monotonous. He speaks of himself as idle; but his idleness was more active, and carried with it hour by hour a greater expenditure of brain-power, than what most men regard as their serious employments. He might

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well have been in his mental career the spoiled child of fortune; for all he tried succeeded, all he touched turned into gems and gold. In a happy childhood he evinced extreme precocity. His academical career gave sufficient, though not redundant, promise of after celebrity. The new golden age he imparted to the *Edinburgh Review*, and his first and most important, if not best, parliamentary speeches in the grand crisis of the first Reform Bill, achieved for him, years before he had reached the middle point of life, what may justly be termed 'an immense distinction.

"For a century and more, perhaps no man in this country, with the exceptions of Mr. Pitt and of Lord Byron, had attained at thirty-two the fame of Macaulay. His parliamentary success and his literary eminence were each of them enough, as they stood at this date, to intoxicate any brain and heart of a meaner order. But to these was added, in his case, an amount and quality of social attentions such as invariably partake of adulation and idolatry, and as, perhaps, the high circles of London never before or since have lavished on a man whose claims lay only in himself, and not in his descent, his rank, or his possessions. Perhaps it was good for his mental and moral health that the enervating action of this process was suspended for four years. Although after his return from India in 1839 it could not but revive, he was of an age to bear it with less peril to his manhood. He seems at all times to have held his head high above the stir and the fascination which excite and enslave the weak. His masculine intelligence, and his ardent and single-minded devotion to literature, probably derived in this respect essential aid from that depth and warmth of domestic affections which lay nearer yet to the centre of his being. . . . He was, indeed, prosperous and brilliant; a prodigy, a meteor, almost a portent, in literary history. But his course was laborious, truthful, simple, independent, noble; and all these in an eminent degree. Of the inward battle of life he seems to have known nothing: his mind was, so to speak, self-contained, coherent, and harmonious. His experience of the outward battle, which had reference to money, was not inconsiderable, but it was confined to his earlier manhood. The general outline of his career has long been familiar, and offers neither need nor scope for detail. After four years of high parliamentary distinction, and his first assumption of office, he accepted a lucrative appointment in India, with a wise view to his own pecuniary independence, and a generous regard to what might be, as they had been, the demands of his nearest relations upon his affectionate bounty. Another term of four years brought him back, the least Indian, despite of his active labours upon the legislative code, of all the civilians who had ever served the Company. He soon re-entered parliament; but his zest for the political arena seems never to have regained the temperature of his virgin love at the time of the Reform Bill. He had offered his resignation of office during the debates on the Emancipation Act, at a time when salary was of the utmost importance to him, and for a cause which was far more his father's than his own. This he did with a promptitude and a manly unconsciousness of effect or merit in the act which were truly noble. Similar was his dignified attitude when his constituents of Edinburgh committed their first and last fault in rejecting him on account of his vote for Maynooth. This was in 1847. At the general election in 1852 they were again at his feet, as though the final cause of the indignity had been only to enhance the triumph of his re-election. Twice at least in the House of Commons he arrested the successful progress of legislative measures, and slew them at a moment's notice and by his single arm. The first of these occasions was the Copyright Bill of Serjeant Talfourd in 1841; the second, the bill of 1853 for excluding the Master of the Rolls from the House of Commons. But, whenever he rose to speak, it was a summons like a trumpet-call to fill the benches. He retired from the House of Commons in 1856. At length, when in 1857 he was elevated by Lord Palmerston to the peerage, all the world of letters felt honoured in his person. The claims of that, which he felt to be indeed his profession, acquired an increasing command on him as the interests of political action grew less and less.

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Neither was social life allowed greatly to interfere with literary work, although here, too, his triumphs were almost unrivalled. Only one other attraction had power over him, and it was a life-long power—the love of his sisters; which about the mid-point of life came to mean his sister Lady Trevelyan.

"As there is nothing equally touching, so there is really nothing more wonderful in the memoirs, than the large the immeasurable abundance of this gushing stream. It is not surprising that the full reservoir overflowed upon her children. Indeed he seems to have had a store of this love that could not be exhausted, for little children generally; his simplicity and tenderness vying all along in graceful rivalry with the manly qualities, which in no one were more pronounced. After some forewarnings, a period of palpable decline, which was brief as well as tranquil, brought him to his end.

"To the literary success of Macaulay it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of recent authorship. For this and probably all future centuries we are to regard the public as the patron of literary men, and as a patron abler than any that went before to heap both fame and fortune on its favourites. Setting aside works of which the primary purpose was entertainment, Tennyson alone among the writers of our age, in point of public favour, and of emolument following upon it, comes near to Macaulay. But Tennyson was laboriously cultivating his gifts for many years before he acquired a position in the eye of the nation. Macaulay, fresh from college in 1825, astonished the world by his brilliant and imposing essay on Milton. Full-orbed he was seen above the horizon; and full-orbed, after thirty-five years of constantly-emitted splendour, he sank beneath it.

"His gains from literature were extraordinary. The cheque for £20,000 is known to all. But his accumulation was reduced by his bounty; and his profits would, it is evident, have been far larger still had he dealt with the products of his mind on the principles of economic science (which, however, he heartily professed), and sold his wares in the dearest market, as he undoubtedly acquired them in the cheapest. No one can measure the elevation of Macaulay's character above the mercenary level without bearing in mind that for ten years after 1825 he was a poor and contented man, though ministering to the wants of a father and a family reduced in circumstances; though in the blaze of literary and political success; and though he must have been conscious from the first of a gift which, by a less congenial and less compulsory use, would have rapidly led him to opulence. Yet of the comforts and advantages, both social and physical, from which he thus forebore, it is so plain that he at all times formed no misanthropic or ascetic, but on the contrary a very liberal and genial, estimate. It is truly touching to find that never, except as a minister, until 1851, when he had already lived fifty years of his fifty-nine, did this favourite of fortune, this idol of society, allow himself the luxury of a carriage.

"It has been observed, that neither in art nor letters did Macaulay display that faculty of the higher criticism which depends upon certain refined perceptions and the power of subtle analysis. His analysis was always rough, hasty, and sweeping, and his perceptions robust. By these properties it was that he was so eminently φορτικός, not in the vulgar sense of an appeal to spurious sentiment, but as one bearing his reader along by violence, as the river Scamander tried to bear Achilles. Yet he was never pretentious; and he said frankly of himself that a criticism like that of Lessing in his Laocöon, or of Goethe on Hamlet, filled him with wonder and despair."

In the first days of January, 1861, intelligence arrived of the death of the King of Prussia, whose illness, accompanied by mental disorder, had long precluded him from taking any part in the government of the country. His brother, who had been appointed prince-regent, came to the throne with the title of King William I., and our princess royal thereupon became Crown-princess of Prussia, —and afterwards, of Germany.

The relations between our own royal family and that of Prussia naturally increased the serious feelings with which the death of King

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Frederick William was regarded by the Queen and Prince Albert, especially at a time when they were mourning the sickness or the loss of some of those eminent servants of the state on whose loyalty and ability they had so frequently been able to rely.

Sir James Graham was dead. On the 14th of December the Earl of Aberdeen, who had been so intimately associated with the royal family, had passed away. Sir Sidney Herbert, who had been raised to the House of Lords with the title of Lord Herbert of Leigh, had been for some time suffering from the same illness of which he died in the following August. As the year went on the other names were absent from the earthly roll-call of those who were loved, respected, or admired. On the 6th of June Cavour, suffering from typhoid fever, had been bled to death by Italian doctors, who could not depart from their old traditions, and the news telegraphed from Turin sent a shock through Europe; for the affairs of Italy had reached a crisis, in which it was believed only his strong guiding hand and inimitable statecraft could be of immediate avail. We shall have to return to the events which had produced that impression, and had caused Prince Albert, on receiving the intelligence of the death of the minister, to write in his diary the words, "Ein ungeheurer Verlust für Italien" (an immeasurable loss for Italy).

There were other losses nearer to the royal domestic circle in England. Dr. Baly, the trusted physician to the prince and the royal family, was killed in a railway accident between London and Wimbledon on the 29th of January. He was the only person seriously injured. Soon afterwards, died Sir George Couper, physician to the Duchess of Kent. These losses occurred during the sorrow experienced by the royal household for the death in April, 1860, of Prince Ernest of Hohenlohe Langenburg, husband of the queen's sister, and president of the upper chamber of Wirtemberg.

Not only were public affairs full of exciting interest during the latter half of 1860 in consequence of the Franco-Italian alliance, the schemes of Napoleon III., and other foreign complications of which we shall presently have to take note; but the royal family was to some extent separated, and amidst many domestic claims and an unflagging attention to public business the health of Prince Albert became precarious, and he frequently suffered from attacks of illness, against which he bore up with patient courage, but which were sufficient to cause great uneasiness to the queen and to others who anxiously watched his unremitting labours.

In March, 1860, arrangements were made for the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, in fulfilment of a promise made to a deputation which came here during the Crimean war asking the queen to visit her American possessions. Her majesty could not accede to a request which would involve so long a voyage, and it was then proposed that one of the princes should become governor-general. They were both too young for such a proposition to be entertained; but it was agreed that as soon as the Prince of Wales was old enough, he should visit the Dominion. This intention was about to be carried out in the autumn, when the visit would be signalized by his royal highness laying the foundation-stone of the new Canadian parliament-house at Ottawa, and opening the great railway bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal.

When it was known in America that the heir to the English throne was about to visit Canada, the president, Mr. Buchanan, addressed a letter to the queen, offering a cordial welcome at Washington to the prince if he should extend his visit to the United States, and assuring her majesty that he would be everywhere greeted by the American people in a manner which could not fail to prove gratifying to her majesty. This request was answered in the same cordial spirit, and Mr. Buchanan was informed by the queen that the prince proposed to return from Canada through the United States, and that it would give him great pleasure to have an opportunity of testifying to the president in person that the feelings which had dictated the president's letter were fully reciprocated on this side of the Atlantic. At the same time the municipality of New York sent a message through the American minister, Mr. Dallas, expressing

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a strong desire that the prince should visit that city. This visit, also, was included in the programme of the prince's journey, which was, however, to be only that of a private gentleman, and in no sense an affair of state. The prince was to travel as Lord Renfrew, and was to be accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the colonies.

Prince Alfred also started on a long voyage to another colony, the Cape of Good Hope, by way of Rio Janeiro. He left England in the spring of 1860, and was expected to reach Capetown, and there to lay the first stone of the breakwater in the harbour at about the same time that his brother was performing similar duty in Canada.

Among the numerous questions in which the prince and the queen were concerned at this time, was the institution of a proposed new order or decoration for distinguished service in India. Not only was it exceedingly difficult to decide on a design and motto, of which the prince sketched several, but there was still more difficulty in adopting a *name* for the decoration, though several were proposed. It was agreed that the order should be a star, but the question was *what* star? To illustrate the important critical nature of the discussion, we may quote a letter from Lord Canning, urging that the title "Eastern Star," which was most liked, could not be adopted.

"The Hindustani for the 'Eastern Star,'" he wrote, "is '*Poorbeah Sittara.*' '*Poorbeah*' has, as you probably know, become a sort of generic name given to our Sepoys, from their being mostly men from Behar and Oudh—Eastern provinces; and during the mutinies it grew to be used somewhat as '*Pandy*' was used, as a familiar name for the mutineers. This, however, is not the point. That association is already passing away. But '*Poorbeah*,' for the very reason that it means 'Eastern,' and that in India the further any person or thing comes from the East, the less is the respect shown to either, has been a term of disparagement time out of mind. Long before mutinous Sepoys were heard of, an Indian resented being called a '*Poorbeah.*' The term was, and—as Frere assures me—still is eagerly repudiated by every one who comes from far enough west to be able to do so. He speaks with knowledge, for his time has been passed chiefly amongst the Mahrattas and Rajpoots, who are the best and proudest blood in India. I asked him if there was anything insulting in the word. He said, Not quite that; but that it implied the same sort of contemptuous superiority on the part of one Indian who used it towards another, as would be implied by an Englishman who should call an Irishman a 'Paddy,' or address a Scotchman as 'Sawney.'"

The prince, referring to the obstacles to the adoption of every name proposed, humorously wrote to Sir Charles Wood:—

"It is unfortunate that we get no further with the appellation of the order than from one difficulty into another, and I might be inclined to give it the sign and name of a house at Töplitz—the sign being gilt figures of men rowing against a rock, with the title of 'The Golden Impossibility.'" Not till some time afterwards was the difficulty solved, and on the 23rd of February, 1861, the institution of "The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India," set the question at rest.

It may be mentioned in connection with military affairs, that early in May, 1860, it was decided by a resolution of the cabinet to discontinue supporting a separate European army for India, and that instead of two forces there should be only one imperial army, taking its turn of duty throughout the British Empire, in all its home provinces and foreign dependencies, including India. This resolution was afterwards strenuously opposed in parliament, but was passed in the autumn session.

The winter of 1859 had been wet, cold, and unhealthy, but on the return of spring the weather was more cheering. There were 18,000 men at Aldershot, where the queen and the prince were frequent visitors, and held a review in the first week of May. But of more significance still was the rapid growth of the Volunteer force, which consisted at that time of 124,000 men, already well drilled, and a large number of them possessing such remarkable skill with the rifle that it recalled the ancient fame of the English bowmen.

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The prince was engaged daily in fulfilling a multitude of claims on his strength and leisure. Writing from Osborne to the princess royal he speaks of the delightful air and rural aspects of the place, to which one might abandon one's self, but that "one's feelings remain under the influence of the treadmill of never-ending business. The donkey in Carisbrook, which you will remember, is my true counterpart. He, too, would rather munch thistles in the castle moat, than turn round in the wheel at the castle well; and small are the thanks he gets for his labour.

"I am tortured, too, by the prospect of two public dinners at which I am, or rather shall be, in the chair. The one gives me seven, the other ten toasts and speeches, appropriate to the occasion, and distracting to myself. Then I have to resign at Oxford the Presidency of the British Association, and later in the season to open the Statistical Congress of all nations. Between these come the laying the foundation-stone of the Dramatic College, the distribution of the prizes at Wellington College, &c. &c.; and this, with the sittings of my different commissions, and Ascot races the delectable, and the balls and concerts of the season all crowded into the month of June, over and above the customary business, which a distracted state of affairs in Europe and a stormy Parliament . . . make still more burdensome and disagreeable than usual."

This letter does not exhaust the special engagements which awaited the prince on his return to Windsor Castle. He had, as a domestic as well as a public duty, to settle all the details of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, and to draw up memoranda of the tone to be taken in replying to addresses, according to the conditions and circumstances of the different places where they were likely to be presented. Then there were meetings and correspondence with the promoters of the forthcoming International Exhibition of 1862, and there were the duties of hospitality to observe amidst a numerous assembly of guests, including the King of the Belgians and his second son, and the young Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt and his brother.

Before the end of June, however, there was one great public demonstration in which both the queen and the prince necessarily took the leading part. On the 23d of that month the first great Volunteer review was held in Hyde Park. Her majesty and the royal party arrived on the ground at four o'clock, the queen entering the park in an open carriage with the King of the Belgians, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur, Prince Albert riding by the side of the carriage and followed by a brilliant *cortège*. Her majesty drove along to the extreme left of the line of volunteers on the Bayswater Road, and thence along the whole front to the extreme right at Albert Gate. The royal stand was about the centre of Park Lane, and in front of this the whole 21,000 men marched past in companies, taking two hours to pass. The various corps then took up their original positions, and the line advanced in battalion columns with salvoes of cheering for her majesty as they moved onward. Of the vast force assembled, 15,000 belonged to London and 6000 to the provinces, the City of London sending 1800 men, and Manchester about 2000. By eight o'clock the whole body of volunteers had got entirely clear of the park without accident, and after admirably executing the few movements which could alone be effected by so large a number within the allotted space.

At the Trinity House dinner, where he presided the same evening, the prince said:—

"We have witnessed this day a scene which will never fade from the memory of those who had the good fortune to be present—the representatives of the independence, education, and industry of this country, in arms, to testify their devotion to their country, and their readiness to lay down their lives in its defence. The Volunteer force exceeds already 130,000 men; and to what extent this country is capable of exerting itself in real danger is shown by the number of volunteers, which in 1804 reached the extraordinary figure of 479,000! We are apt to forget, however, that, in contrast with every other country of the world, all our services are composed exclusively of volunteers: the navy, coast-guard, coast volunteers, army, militia, yeomanry, constabulary. May the noble and patriotic spirit

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which such a fact reveals remain ever unimpaired! And may God's blessing, of which this nation has seen such unmistakable evidence, continue to rest upon these voluntary services!"

Congratulatory references were everywhere heard, and the Volunteer force was soon afterwards almost likely to be impaired by the manifestations of popularity which it enjoyed. On the 2d of July the first meeting of the National Rifle Association was held at Wimbledon. The weather was brilliant, which, after such a dreary season, was a delightful change, and a brilliant assembly had gathered to witness the proceedings.

The first shot at the targets was fired by the queen; and Mr. Whitworth had so adjusted one of his rifles as to secure a good score for her majesty at the 400 yards range. An address was presented to the queen on her arrival at the camp by Mr. Sidney Herbert as president of the association, after which her majesty, accompanied by the prince, advanced to a tent, in which the rifle had been fixed which was to open the competition. A touch of the trigger was followed by the flutter of the red and white flag before the target, an intimation that the "bull's-eye" had been hit, and that her majesty, in accordance with the rules of the association, had scored three points.

For six successive days the competition for the prizes for the best shooting continued. The number of volunteers who entered for the regulated prizes was 292, while 494 competed for those open to all comers. The first queen's prize of £250 with the gold medal of the association was won by Mr. Ross of the 7th York, who, in the determining contest, made eight points at 800, seven at 900, and nine at 1000 yards. About £2000 was taken for admission to the camp.

At the beginning of August, the court moved to Balmoral, taking Edinburgh in the way for the purpose of holding a review of the Scottish volunteers.

The scene of the review (on the 7th of August) was Holyrood Park, a long level space stretching eastward from Holyrood Palace at the base of the steep ascent which is crowned by Arthur's Seat, and also commanded by the great breadth of slope westwards which terminates in the picturesque ridge of Salisbury Crags. "A nobler arena for such a display could not be imagined," says one account of the scene; "and the enthusiasm of the multitudes, which covered every inch of ground on slope, and peak, and crag, from which it could be seen, made even more exciting a spectacle that abounded in features peculiarly fitted to satisfy the eye and to quicken the imagination. Of all the cities of Europe none presents so many points as Edinburgh for giving effect to holiday movement and display. The spot, moreover, on which the review took place was not merely dear to Scotchmen from the associations of history and romance, but it has in itself more features of mingled beauty and grandeur than any other in the 'gray metropolis of the North.'

"The gathering was a truly national one. From all parts of the country vast multitudes flocked to Edinburgh to testify their loyalty to the queen, and the hold which the Volunteer movement had upon their hearts. As the English counties had sent the flower of their local corps to the review in Hyde Park in June, so now came a goodly array of the best blood and bone and sinew from nearly every county in Scotland to swell the general muster. From the Orkneys, 'placed far amid the melancholy main,' from Caithness, from Inverness, from Aberdeen, from the hills of Argyleshire, from the banks of Loch Tay, from the straths and upland pastures of the valley of the Tay, from Forfarshire, Fifeshire, and Stirlingshire came the picked men of each district. Nithsdale, Annandale, Galloway, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire sent their contingents from the south, swelled by troops from Tynemouth, Alnwick, Sunderland, and Whitehaven; while Glasgow and the West of Scotland furnished about one-third of the entire force of at least 22,000 men, of whom 18,000 or more were Scottish corps, who came together on that day to salute their sovereign under the windows of the ancient palace of Holyrood."

In the morning the queen and prince had visited the Duchess of Kent, who was staying at Cramond House, a small cheerful house look-

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ing across the Firth of Forth, and her royal highness was present at the review.

"Mama arrived," says her majesty's diary, "about a quarter to three, and waited with us, looking at the splendid scene—Arthur's Seat covered with human beings, and the volunteers with bands marching in from every direction on to the ground close in front of the palace. We waited long, watching everything from the window." Soon after half-past three the queen came upon the ground in an open carriage and four, in which were seated with her the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. The Princess Helena, Princess Louise, and Prince Leopold followed in the next carriage. The Prince Consort rode on the right side of the queen's carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, as lord-lieutenant of the county and captain of the Royal Body-guard of Scottish Archers, on the left. As her majesty passed along the lines of the volunteers, who stood at the salute, the whole assembled multitudes that crowned the slopes of the great natural amphitheatre of the adjoining hills broke into acclamations. "The effect," wrote a spectator, "of the cheering on the hill-side was not less than sublime. Peal after peal broke forth in thunder, carried away by the strong wind, to be again and again renewed."

The marching past lasted an hour and ten minutes, and the men then advanced in line cheering.

"We came home," the queen writes, "at near six, so delighted that dear Mama could be present on this memorable and never-to-be-forgotten occasion. She had not witnessed anything of the kind for long (the distribution of the Crimean medals in 1854, and of the Victoria Cross in 1857, excepted), and had not driven with me on any similar occasion for above twenty-six years!"

Alas! The shadow of sorrow followed by its deep reality was soon to fall within the royal circle by the sickness and death of that mother so revered and well beloved. There was much to do even during the holiday at Balmoral, and we find the prince writing to Lord Palmerston on the subject of the coast volunteers and the naval reserve, which had just previously been formed, and for which the prince strongly advised that boys should be trained:

"What I have never understood is, that the admiralty does not try to raise and train for the service more boys, who are most easily got, cheap to keep, and make much better sailors for the royal navy when grown up than men entered in the ports, and who have been brought up in the merchant service, and may have contracted every vice of indiscipline. We actually require on an average 4000 boys a year, and we have only 1880 in our school ships (this number including even the novices!). If we had a reserve of 5000 boys these would almost supply the navy in peace time. And if an equal number of men who have served in the navy were placed in the naval reserve, when these boys grow up and take their places, we should soon have an efficient reserve force, not requiring any further training, and most valuable to the merchant service from the previous training received in the royal navy."

The court was back at Osborne in September, and the queen, the prince, and the Princess Alice prepared for a long-contemplated journey to Coburg. The voyage from Gravesend to Antwerp was made in the royal yacht. They had scarcely entered the railway carriage at Antwerp when a telegram from Prince Ernest (Prince Albert's brother) announced the serious illness of the dowager Duchess of Coburg, who had been joyfully anticipating their coming. The visit could not be put off, and at Verviers another telegram gave intelligence of her death. The journey was naturally a sad one, since, though the health of the duchess had been so feeble that she was not expected to live long, her death was sudden and unexpected. There were, however, so many dear associations at Coburg, and the presence there of Prince Ernest and of the princess royal, with her husband Prince Frederick William and their boy, the queen's first grandchild, now seen for the first time, made the reception deeply affecting. The space in these pages will not suffice for dwelling upon the incidents of that visit to the scenes of the prince's early days; nor need we

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describe them at length, for the narrative has been written in simple, touching, but graphic language by the queen herself in her journal, from which it has been partly transcribed into the *Life of the Prince Consort.*

Prince Albert had had a narrow escape at Coburg in consequence of the horses of a carriage in which he was being driven alone taking fright and dashing onward to a spot where a bar had been placed across the road to divide it from the railway line. The prince leaped out only just in time, and though shaken and sustaining some grazes and contusions, was not seriously hurt, and at once endeavoured to assist the driver, who had been badly injured by the collision. Two of the four horses broke away and galloped towards Coburg, where they were seen by Colonel Ponsonby, the prince's equerry, who immediately obtained a carriage, and with Dr. Baly and another doctor drove along the road to the scene of the disaster.

During the latter part of the visit, and on the homeward journey, the queen suffered greatly from illness, brought on by a severe cold, and aggravated by the inclement weather which prevailed for a great portion of the time of their stay. To mark her sense of gratitude to Almighty God for the escape of the prince from imminent peril her majesty afterwards established a trust called the Victoria Foundation by investing 12,000 florins (a little over £1000) in the names of the burgomaster and chief clergyman of Coburg as trustees for the distribution of the interest of the fund on the 1st of October in each year among a certain number of young men and women of exemplary character belonging to the humbler ranks, the money being intended to apprentice or otherwise to assist the young men to pursue some industrial occupation, or to assist the young women either by enabling them to earn their livelihood or to furnish a marriage dowry.

The two princes had been expected back in England by the end of October, but adverse winds were blowing, and Prince Alfred did not arrive in Portsmouth till the 9th of November, the birth-day of the Prince of Wales, who was still absent. Prince Alfred, who had gone out in the *Euryalus*, and while on board served strictly as a midshipman, had been received at Cape Town with much enthusiasm, and had re-embarked in company with the governor, Sir George Grey, on his tour through the colony, where he everywhere experienced the loyalty and hearty good-will of the people. The Prince of Wales, who arrived at Plymouth on the 15th on board H.M.S. *Hero*, had reached Canada amidst great popular rejoicings and an enthusiastic welcome, which was in no way diminished when he left the British possessions and continued his journey, as Lord Renfrew, in the United States of America. Nothing could have exceeded the enthusiastic hospitality of the American people and their demonstrative pleasure at the presence of the heir to the British crown in the cities of the great republic from Chicago to Cincinnati, Washington, New York, and Boston. Everywhere arrangements were made for his reception, but at first there was an observance of the fact that the queen had represented the visit to be a private one. In Chicago and Cincinnati the streets were filled with enormous crowds, whose demonstrations were quiet and respectful; and the municipal and other authorities exhibited genuine and courteous hospitality. At Washington the prince accompanied the president to the home and the burial-place of Washington at Mount Vernon, and the prince planted a chestnut by the side of the tomb. In New York the reception had broken out of the bounds of a general, but at the same time not an officially national, welcome; and Boston, the city of intellectual culture, was almost as demonstrative. Mr. Charles Sumner, writing from the latter city to Mr. Evelyn Denison, speaker of the House of Commons, said:—

"You will have heard something of the uprising of the people to welcome the prince. But I doubt if any description can give you an adequate idea of its extent and earnestness. At every station on the railway there was an immense crowd, headed by the local authorities, while our national flags were blended together. I remarked to Dr. Acland that it 'seemed as if a young heir long absent was returning to take possession.' 'It is more

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than that,' said he, affected almost to tears. For the Duke of Newcastle, who had so grave a responsibility in the whole visit, it is a great triumph. I took the liberty of remarking to him that he was carrying home an unwritten treaty of amity and alliance between two great nations."

President Buchanan wrote to the queen on the 6th of October:—

"When I had the honour of addressing your majesty in June last, I confidently predicted a cordial welcome for the Prince of Wales throughout this country, should he pay us a visit on his return from Canada to England. What was then prophecy has now become history. He has been everywhere received with enthusiasm; and this is attributable not only to the very high regard entertained for your majesty, but also to his own noble and manly bearing. He has passed through a long ordeal for a person of his years, and his conduct throughout has been such as became his age and station. Dignified, frank, and affable, he has conciliated, wherever he has been, the kindness and respect of a sensitive and discriminating people. His visit thus far has been all your majesty would have desired; and I have no doubt it will so continue until the end.

"The prince left us for Richmond this morning with the Duke of Newcastle and the other members of his wisely selected suite. I should gladly have prolonged his visit had this been possible consistently with previous arrangements. In our domestic circle he won all hearts. His free and ingenuous intercourse with myself evinced both a kind heart and a good understanding. I shall ever cherish the warmest wishes for his welfare.

"The visit of the prince to the tomb of Washington, and the simple but solemn ceremonies at this consecrated spot, will become an historical event, and cannot fail to exert a happy influence on the kindred people of the two countries."

This letter was received with great satisfaction. In returning it to the queen, Lord Palmerston wrote of it as doing "equal honour to the good feelings and just appreciations of the person who wrote it, and to the royal prince to whom it relates." In reply her majesty wrote:—

"Your letter has afforded me the greatest pleasure, containing as it does such kind expressions with regard to my son, and assuring me that the character and object of his visit to you and to the United States have been fully appreciated, and that his demeanour and the feelings evinced by him have secured to him your esteem and the general good-will of your countrymen.

"I purposely delayed the answer to your letter until I should be able to couple with it the announcement of the Prince of Wales's safe return to his home. Contrary winds and stress of weather have much retarded his arrival, but we have been fully compensated for the anxiety which this long delay has naturally caused us, by finding him in such excellent health and spirits, and so delighted with all he has seen and experienced in his travels. He cannot sufficiently praise the great cordiality with which he has been everywhere greeted in your country, and the friendly manner in which you have received him; and whilst as a mother I am most grateful for the kindness shown him, I feel impelled to express at the same time how deeply I have been touched by the many demonstrations of affection towards myself personally, which his presence has called forth.

"I fully reciprocate towards your nation the feelings thus made apparent, and look upon them as forming an important link to connect two nations of kindred origin and character, whose mutual esteem and friendship must always have so material an influence upon their respective development and prosperity.

"The interesting and touching scene at the grave of General Washington, to which you allude, may be fitly taken as the type of our present feeling, and I trust of our future relations."

The Prince of Wales was to go to Cambridge for a year, Prince Alfred was to start in January on a voyage to Jamaica, but the betrothal of the Princess Alice to Prince Louis of Hesse on the 30th of November was the next important event in the royal household.

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At this time Prince Albert was suffering from another attack of illness which caused frequent uneasiness, though he rallied and returned to his arduous engagements, usually commencing work as early as half-past seven, even in winter.

The opening of the new year was, as we have seen, somewhat clouded by the death of the King of Prussia, and the remote political horizon was dim with rumours of serious differences which had arisen between the States of America; the Italian question and the probable action of France were, however, more immediate troubles.

Sunday the 10th of February, 1861, was the twenty-first anniversary of the royal marriage. Prince Albert wrote to the Duchess of Kent at Frogmore:—

"I cannot let this day go by without writing to you, even if I had not to thank you for your kind wishes and the charming photographs. Twenty-one years make a good long while, and to-day our marriage 'comes of age, according to law.' We have faithfully kept our pledge for better and for worse, and have only to thank God that he has vouchsafed so much happiness to us. May he have us in his keeping for the days to come! You have, I trust, found good and loving children in us, and we have experienced nothing but love and kindness from you.

"In the hope that your pains and aches will now leave you soon, I remain, as ever, your affectionate son, ALBERT."

Two days later the queen, writing to King Leopold, said:—

"On Sunday we celebrated with feelings of deep gratitude and love the twenty-first anniversary of our blessed marriage, a day which has brought to us, and, I may say, to the world at large, such incalculable blessings! Very few can say with me, that their husband at the end of twenty-one years is not only full of the friendship, kindness, and affection which a truly happy marriage brings with it, but of the same tender love as in the very first days of our marriage! We missed dear Mama and three of our children, but had six dear ones round us, and assembled in the evening those of our household still remaining, who were with us then."

The temporary parting between the queen and her beloved mother was to be followed by a longer one. In the beginning of March the duchess underwent a surgical operation in the arm to relieve the pain from an abscess, which itself was a symptom of serious disorder of the health.

On the 15th of the month her majesty received a favourable report of her mother's condition, and went with the prince-consort to inspect the new gardens of the Royal Horticultural Society at South Kensington, then approaching completion, from which the queen returned alone, leaving the prince to transact business with the committee of the society. While there he was suddenly summoned to Buckingham Palace by Sir Jas. Clark, who had come up from Frogmore with the intelligence that the Duchess of Kent had been seized with a shivering fit, which he regarded as a very serious symptom. The queen, who had only a short time before received a letter from Lady Augusta Bruce, the duchess's lady-in-waiting, reporting that the duchess had passed a good night, and seemed altogether better, describes herself in her diary as "resting quite happy in her arm-chair," having finished her work for the day, when, soon after six o'clock, the prince came in with the tidings which Sir James Clark had brought, and said they ought to go to Frogmore. Without loss of time the queen, with the prince, and also the Princess Alice, went by train to Windsor. "The way seemed so long," is the entry in her majesty's diary, "but by eight we were at Frogmore. Here Lord James Murray and the ladies received us, and, alas! said it was just the same, but still I did not then realize what it really was. Albert went up, and when he returned with tears in his eyes I saw what awaited me. . . . With a trembling heart I went up the staircase and entered the bed-room, and here, on a sofa, supported by cushions, the room much darkened, sat, leaning back, my beloved mama, breathing rather heavily, in her silk dressing-gown, with her cap on, looking quite herself. . . .

"Seeing that our presence did not disturb her I knelt before her, kissed her dear hand, and placed it next my cheek; but though she

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opened her eyes, she did not, I think, know me. She brushed my hand off,' and the dreadful reality was before me that for the first time she did not know the child she had ever received with such tender smiles! I went out to sob. . . . I asked the doctors if there was no hope. They said, they feared, none whatever, for consciousness had left her. . . . It was suffusion of water on the chest which had come on. . . ."

"As the night wore on into the morning," again to quote her majesty's diary, "I lay down on the sofa at the foot of my bed, where at least I could lie still. I heard each hour strike, the cock crow, the dogs barking at a distance. Every sound seemed to strike into one's inmost soul. What would dearest Mama have thought of our passing a night under her roof, and she not to know it! At four I went down again. All still—nothing to be heard but the heavy breathing, and the striking, at every quarter, of the old repeater, a large watch in a tortoise-shell case, which had belonged to my poor father, the sound of which brought back all the recollections of my childhood, for I always used to hear it at night, but had not heard it for now twenty-three years! I remained kneeling and standing by that beloved parent, whom it seemed too awful to see hopelessly leaving me, till half-past four, when, feeling faint and exhausted, I went upstairs again and lay down in silent misery, during which I went through in thought past times, and the fearful coming ones, with the awful blank which would make such an inroad into our happy family life."

About half-hast seven the queen returned to the duchess's room, where the end was now visibly approaching. There was no return of consciousness. About eight o'clock, again to quote the queen's diary, "Albert took me out of the room for a short while, but I could not remain. When I returned the window was wide open and both doors. I sat on a footstool, holding her dear hand. . . . Meantime the dear face grew paler (though, in truth, her cheeks had that pretty fresh colour they always had, up to within half-an-hour of the last), the features longer, sharper. The breathing became easier. I fell on my knees, holding the beloved hand, which was still warm and soft, though heavier, in both of mine. I felt the end was fast approaching, as Clark went out to call Albert and Alice, I only left gazing on that beloved face, and feeling as if my heart would break. . . . It was a solemn, sacred, never-to-be-forgotten scene.

"Fainter and fainter grew the breathing. At last it ceased; but there was no change of countenance, nothing; the eyes closed, as they had been for the last half-hour. . . . The clock struck half-past nine at the very moment. Convulsed with sobs, I fell upon the hand, and covered it with kisses. Albert lifted me up and took me into the next room, himself entirely melted into tears, which is unusual for him, deep as his feelings are, and clasped me in his arms. I asked if all was over; he said, 'Yes!'

"I went into the room again after a few minutes, and gave one look. My darling mother was sitting as she had done before, but was already white! O God! How awful! How mysterious! But what a blessed end! Her gentle spirit at rest, her sufferings over! But I,—I, wretched child!—who had lost the mother I so tenderly loved, from whom for these forty-one years I had never been parted except for a few weeks, what was my case? My childhood—everything seemed to crowd upon me at once. I seemed to have lived through a life, to have become old! What I had dreaded, and fought off the idea of for years, had come, and must be borne. The blessed future meeting, and *her* peace and rest, must henceforward be my comfort."

If anything could soothe the feelings of her child at such an hour, it would have been to see how loved and how mourned the Duchess of Kent was by every member of her household, from the highest to the lowest. Some of them had been in her service for more than thirty years, and there was not one but felt that in her a dear friend had been lost. When, as evening drew on, the hour came for the queen and prince to leave the house, endeared to them by so many associations, and go to Windsor Castle, they left it through a crowd of familiar faces bathed in tears, every one of whom had some special link of association

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with her, whom they were to see no more. "It was," as the record already quoted notes, "a fearful moment. All lit up, as when we had arrived the night before. I clung to the dear room, to the house, to all,—and the arriving at Windsor Castle was dreadful."[1]

The princess royal set out from Berlin as soon as the sad intelligence reached her, and her presence and the faithful affection of the prince consort, helped to comfort the heart of the queen. It is a merciful condition of our present existence that we cannot foresee the trials which we are to meet, or the advancing shadows of that fatal year would have overwhelmed the royal wife and mother.

The Prince Consort had long been in poor health. He suffered from imperfect digestion, from weakness, from rheumatic pains, from sleeplessness. He had never allowed himself enough of actual repose. Even his recreations appear to have been taken with a kind of methodical determination to make use of them as another kind of duty. He seems to have perpetually saddled himself with official harness. In the latter days of his life the training of his old tutor Baron Stockmar began to show its weak side. Stockmar had a notion that he could settle and define the political positions and proper methods of government of all the countries of Europe if the rulers and the people would but listen to his philosophic interference. Prince Albert was too wise to be a meddler, but he was always anxious to be doing something to help on the government of the country, and his sagacity was really often of so much importance both to the queen and to the ministry, while his tact in avoiding the assumption of authority was so good, that he was prone to undertake an amount of public business which his physical powers were unable to sustain. Unhappily he continued to work in spite of symptoms which should have sent him at once to rest and to careful nursing. His was not a physique to bear pain or to recover quickly from the weakness caused by want of sleep and want of digestive power, but he had the courage to act as though he was comparatively free from suffering. An entry now and then in his diary attested that he felt ill—wretched—depressed. The queen was anxious, and those immediately associated with the royal family feared that his condition was such as to render him liable to more serious illness should he be exposed to any exciting cause of disease. The prince never seemed to have what one may call a grip on life. His physical vitality was low. People of great physical vitality may work on through pain and sickness and temporary feebleness by sheer force of will and recuperative power; on the other hand people of low vitality may, by moral courage, refuse to notice the weakness that is creeping on them and will work on in spite of it. In these respects the same apparent results may be attained by self-assertion and by self-suppression. Prince Albert was well aware of his own constitutional tendency. "I do not cling to life. You do; but I set no store by it," he had said to the queen in the course of a conversation not very long before his fatal illness. "If I knew that those I love were well cared for, I should be quite ready to die to-morrow. . . . I am sure if I had a severe illness I should give up at once, I should not struggle for life. I have no tenacity of life."

Whether he had already become affected by low or gastric fever when he went, weak and "out of sorts," to Sandhurst on the 27th of November, 1861, to inspect the buildings for the Staff College and Royal Military Academy then in progress, could not be positively declared. It was, however, to that journey, made while he was in a condition to receive injury from fatigue or exposure or other deleterious influences, that the subsequent character of the illness was attributed. It was but three or four hours' drive from Windsor to Sandhurst and back, but the weather was tempestuous with incessant rain. Still there seemed to be little to apprehend, and though his sleeplessness continued, and he felt tired and uncomfortable, he went out shooting with Prince Ernest of Leiningen the next day. On the Sunday his discomfort and feeling of illness continued, but on the Monday he visited the Prince of Wales at Cambridge, returning on the following day. The weather was still

[1] *The Queen's Diary; Life of the Prince Consort.*

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very stormy, and on his again arriving at Windsor he was much prostrated. He would not treat himself as an invalid, however, and as at that time there was much excitement because of the serious dispute with America about the seizure of Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell on board the *Trent* (a matter to which we shall presently have to refer) he was almost constantly occupied in conference or correspondence with members of the government. The last thing ever written by the prince were alterations and amendments which he proposed should be made in the despatch sent from the government to Lord Lyons as our representative at Washington, and it was to the impression caused by his representations that the success of the despatch was largely attributed.

The illness of the prince increased, and though he appeared amidst the guests at Windsor Castle, among whom were Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, the Duc de Nemours and Lord Carlisle, he suffered much from weakness and depression. He slept little, felt chilly and wretched, and could take very little food. Still he observed his usual habits of industry, and the morning after the arrival of the proposed despatches to Lord Lyons at Washington, rose at seven o'clock to write the memorandum containing the amendments which he submitted to the queen.

By the time that a letter reached him from the ministers, speaking in high terms of the draft containing these amendments, he was worse. On the morning of the 2d of December Dr. Jenner was sent for, and was followed by Sir James Clark. The prince was unable to appear at dinner, and Lord Palmerston, who with the Duke of Newcastle and Sir Allan M'Nab from Canada had arrived as guests, was much distressed, and urged that a third physician should be sent for. This was not thought to be necessary, and for two or three days afterwards there was much hope that the disorder might take a favourable turn without the development of fever, of which the prince himself had a peculiar dread. Unhappily these hopes were frustrated. Day after day, though there were many symptoms that appeared to be not unfavourable to his recovery, the fluctuations of the disorder gave rise to serious apprehensions. Dr. Watson and Sir Henry Holland were called in. All that medical skill could accomplish was doubtless secured, but the depressed condition of the prince, his inability to take food, his prostration from want of sleep, and that want of vital force were against him. Lord Palmerston, and indeed every member of the government, nay, all to whom the intelligence of the patient's condition was conveyed, felt the greatest grief and anxiety.

It may be imagined what days of sorrow those must have been to the queen herself, who, with the Princess Alice, was there to watch and soothe and read to him while he could bear it; and who, when the last sad hours came, would only leave his bedside for the adjoining room. We can do no more than record the great and solemn grief of the tender devoted wife, and the sorrow of the loving daughter. In the simple words of her own diary her majesty afterwards wrote of those parting hours, and they are the words of a heart-stricken woman, who yet, with the self-control that is one of her queenly virtues, gave way to outbursts of sorrow only in private, and sat outwardly calm and ready for whispered word or sign, with the beloved head leaning upon her shoulder, the hand clasped in her own.

Early on the morning of Saturday the 14th of December the prince's appearance had indicated some rallying of his powers, and physicians and attendants were striving to hope that the crisis might pass favourably, but during the day the symptoms became unmistakable. As the evening advanced her majesty retired to give way to her grief in the adjoining room. She had not long been gone when a rapid change set in, and the Princess Alice was requested by Sir James Clark to ask her majesty to return. The import of the summons was too plain. When the queen entered she took the prince's left hand, "which was already cold, though the breathing was quite gentle," and knelt down by his side. On the other side of the bed was the Princess Alice, while at its foot knelt the Prince of Wales (who had been summoned from Cam-

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bridge the previous evening) and the Princess Helena. Not far from the foot of the bed were Prince Ernest Leiningen, the physicians, and the prince's valet Löhlein. General the Hon. Robert Bruce knelt opposite to the queen, and the Dean of Windsor, Sir Charles Phipps, and General Grey, were also in the room.

"In the solemn hush of that mournful chamber there was such grief as has rarely hallowed any death-bed. A great light, which had blessed the world, and which the mourners had but yesterday hoped might long bless it, was waning fast away. A husband, a father, a friend, a master, endeared by every quality by which man in such relations can win the love of his fellow-man, was passing into the Silent Land, and his loving glance, his wise counsels, his firm manly thought should be known among them no more. The castle clock chimed the third quarter after ten. Calm and peaceful grew the beloved form; the features settled into the beauty of a perfectly serene repose; two or three long, but gentle, breaths were drawn; and that great soul had fled, to seek a nobler scope for its aspirations in the world within the veil, for which it had often yearned, where there is rest for the weary, and where 'the spirits of the just are made perfect.'"[1]

These words, quoted from the closing chapter of the record which the queen herself directed and approved, need no eulogistic addition here. When the great bell of St. Paul's tolled for the death of the prince who had outlived false reproach and lived down all but the basest suspicion, it struck its deep note to every heart that heard it, and its solemn echo sounded through the empire. The queen did not mourn alone. The whole nation sorrowed with her. Men went about speaking low, women wept, and even children looked with wistful faces and felt the shadow of a great grief when they heard that "Prince Albert," whose portrait they had seen in almost every street, whose name had been associated with nearly all that had been told of new parks, and schools, orphanages, and asylums, of open spaces and exhibitions, of better means of learning, and working, and playing in large towns, had left the queen a widow and the young princes and princesses fatherless.

Before the words of the poet-laureate gave the emphasis of noble words to the message that had already gone out from the hearts of the people in signs and sounds of grief, the name "Albert the Good" had been accepted in its significance and made enduring in the public memory.

Realizing what manner of man Prince Albert was, and truly estimating the work of his that should live after him, and the memory of him that would be most likely to endure, there could scarcely have been a better or more just and appropriate tribute to his memory than that delivered by Mr. Gladstone in his address before the Association of Lancashire and Cheshire Mechanics' Institutes at Manchester, on the 23d of April, 1862, and therefore shortly after the death of the prince and during the pressure of the cotton famine. The occasion, the audience, the circumstances, were such as would well serve to turn men's thoughts to the bereavement which the country had so recently sustained. We may at least see in the words themselves some reflection of what was felt and of what even now continues to be felt in relation to a loss which was a national calamity. Mr. Gladstone said:—

"In many a humble cottage, darkened by the calamity of the past winter, the mourning inhabitants may have checked their own impatience by reflecting that, in the ancient palace of our kings, a woman's heart lay bleeding; and that to the supreme place in birth, in station, in splendour, and in power, was now added another and sadder title of pre-eminence in grief.

"For perhaps no sharper stroke ever cut human lives asunder than that which in December last parted, so far as this world of sense is concerned, the lives of the Queen of England and of her chosen consort. It had been obvious to us all, though necessarily in different degrees, that they were blest with the possession of the secret of reconciling the

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Sir Theodore Martin.

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discharge of incessant and wearing public duty with the cultivation of the inner and domestic life. The attachment that binds together wife and husband was known to be in their case, and to have been from the first, of an unusual force. Through more than twenty years, which flowed past like one long unclouded summer day, that attachment was cherished, exercised, and strengthened by all the forms of family interest, by all the associated pursuits of highly cultivated minds, by all the cares and responsibilities which surround the throne, and which the prince was called, in his own sphere, both to alleviate and to share. On the one side, such love is rare, even in the annals of the love of woman; on the other, such service can hardly find a parallel, for it is hard to know how a husband could render it to a wife, unless that wife were also queen.

"So, then, she whom you have seen in your streets a source of joy to you all, and herself drinking in with cordial warmth the sights and the sounds of your enthusiastic loyalty, is now to be thought of as the first of English widows, lonely in proportion to her elevation and her cares. . . . .

"If the mourning of the nation for the Prince Consort's death was universal, yet within certain precincts it was also special. . . . .

"In his well-ordered life there seemed to be room for all things—for every manly exercise, for the study and practice of art, for the exacting cares of a splendid court, for minute attention to every domestic and paternal duty, for advice and aid towards the discharge of public business in its innumerable forms, and for meeting the voluntary calls of an active philanthropy: one day in considering the best form for the dwellings of the people; another day in bringing his just and gentle influence to bear on the relations of master and domestic servant; another in suggesting and supplying the means of culture for the most numerous classes; another in some good work of almsgiving or religion. Nor was it a merely external activity which he displayed. His mind, it is evident, was too deeply earnest to be satisfied in anything, smaller or greater, with resting on the surface. With a strong grasp on practical life in all its forms, he united a habit of thought eminently philosophic; ever referring facts to their causes, and pursuing action to its consequences.

"Gone though he be from among us, he, like other worthies of mankind who have preceded him, is not altogether gone; for, in the words of the poet—

> "'Your heads must come
> To the cold tomb;
> Only the actions of the just,
> Smell sweet and blossom in their dust.'

"So he has left for all men, in all classes, many a useful lesson to be learnt from the record of his life and character. For example, it would, I believe, be difficult to find anywhere a model of a life more highly organized, more thoroughly and compactly ordered. Here in Manchester, if anywhere in the world, you know what order is and what a power it holds. Here we see at work the vast systems of machinery, where ten thousand instruments are ever labouring, each in its own proper place, each with its own proper duty, but all obedient to one law, and all co-operating for one end. Scarcely in one of these your own great establishments are the principles of order and its power more vividly exemplified, than they were in the mind and life of the Prince Consort. Now this way of excelling is one that we all may follow. There is not one among us all, here gathered, who may not, if he will, especially if he be still young, by the simple specific of giving method to his life, greatly increase its power and efficacy for good.

"But he would be a sorry imitator of the prince who should suppose that this process could be satisfactorily performed as a mechanical process, in a presumptuous or in a servile spirit, and with a view to selfish or to worldly ends. A life that is to be like his, ought to find refreshment even in the midst of labours; nay, to draw refreshment from them. But this it cannot do, unless men can take up the varied employments of the world with something of a childlike freshness. Few are they who carry on with them that childlike freshness of the earliest years into after life. It is that especial light of Heaven, described

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by Wordsworth in his immortal *Ode on the Recollections of Childhood;* that light—

> 'Which lies about us in our infancy,'

which attends even the youth upon his way; but at length—

> 'The man perceives it die away,
> And fade into the light of common day.'

Its radiance still plays about a favoured few: they are those few who, like the prince, strive earnestly to keep themselves unspotted from the world, and are victors in the strife.

"In beseeching, especially the young, to study the application to their daily life of that principle of order which engenders both diligence and strength of will, and likewise so greatly multiplies their power, I am well assured that they will find this to be not only an intellectual but a moral exercise. Every real and searching effort at self-improvement is of itself a lesson of profound humility. For we cannot move a step without learning and feeling the waywardness, the weakness, the vacillation of our movements, or without desiring to be set up upon the Rock that is higher than ourselves. Nor, again, is it likely that the self-denial and self-discipline which these efforts undoubtedly involve, will often be cordially undergone, except by those who elevate and extend their vision beyond the narrow scope of the years—be they what we admit to be few, or what we think to be many—that are prescribed for our career on earth. An untiring sense of duty, an active consciousness of the perpetual presence of Him who is its author and its law, and a lofty aim beyond the grave—these are the best and most efficient parts, in every sense, of that apparatus wherewith we should be armed, when with full purpose of heart we address ourselves to the life-long work of self-improvement. And I believe that the lesson which I have thus, perhaps at once too boldly and too feebly, presumed to convey to you in words, is the very lesson which was taught us for twenty years, and has been bequeathed to us for lasting memory by the Prince Consort, in the nobler form of action, in the silent witness of an earnest, manful and devoted life."

These words of Mr. Gladstone may be said to have permanently recorded feelings which had been expressed not only by his colleagues in the government and by leading speakers in parliament, but by ministers of religion in places of worship and by means of addresses of condolence forwarded to her majesty from all parts of the kingdom. To the people of this country and to a large number of persons abroad the death of Prince Albert was little less than a personal bereavement and had an individual influence. The grief was intimate and sincere; the mourning was truly national. The sermon preached by Dean Milman at St. Paul's Cathedral on the first Sunday after the news of the Prince Consort's death contained a passage which well expressed the common sentiment of the country: "From the highest to the lowest it is felt that a great example has been removed from among us—an example of the highest and the humblest duties equally fulfilled—of the household and everyday virtues of the husband and father, practised in a quiet and unostentatious way, without effort or aid: as it were by the spontaneous workings of a true and generous nature. To be not only blameless but more than blameless in those relations is not too common in such high positions; but his duties to the queen's subjects as well as to the queen, his duties to the great English family dispersed throughout all the world as well as to the young family within the chambers of the palace, were discharged with calm thought and silent assiduity. No waste of time in frivolous amusement, in vain pomp and glory, but usefulness in its highest sense: schemes of benevolence promoted; plans for the education of the people suggested and fostered with prudent and far-seeing counsel, and with profound personal interest; great movements for the improvement of all branches of national industry, if not set on foot, maintained with a steady and persevering impulse; in short, notwithstanding foreign birth and education, a full and perfect identification of himself with English interests, English character, English social advancement. All these things have sunk gradually, if not slowly, into the national mind. He was ours, not merely by

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adoption, but, as it were, by a second nature."

After the death of the Prince Consort the Queen, who had been during that sorrowful time aided by the calm devotion of the Princess Alice, called her children around her, and, though borne down with grief, exhorted them to assist her in doing her duty by them and by the country. The funeral of the prince took place at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 23d of December, and, though attended by some of the highest dignitaries of the realm and the royal household, the ceremony was almost private. The coffin was only placed in the entrance of the royal vault and not in the vault itself, as her majesty had determined to have a mausoleum constructed in the gardens at Frogmore, and had already selected the place which was to be occupied by the building. Within a year afterwards this mausoleum was completed, and on the 18th of December, 1862, the remains of the Prince Consort were removed thither from St. George's Chapel, a temporary stone sarcophagus having been provided to receive the coffin, which was not finally placed in the permanent sarcophagus afterwards prepared for it until the 28th of November, 1868.

Although the queen in her deep grief had felt unable to take any public part in affairs of state, and remained in seclusion for a longer period than some of her subjects thought was necessary or desirable, she continued to manifest her genuine interest in all that concerned the happiness and welfare of the people. At about the time when a year of mourning had expired a great calamity affecting a number of the humbler class of the population called forth her ready sympathy and aroused a feeling of pity throughout the country. The accident at the *Hartley Colliery*, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, probably excited more consternation than any tragical event since the wreck of the *Royal Charter* in October, 1859. The *Royal Charter*, a homeward bound steamer from Australia, carrying a large number of passengers and their possessions, including a considerable quantity of gold, was wrecked in Redwharf Bay, Anglesea, during a fearful storm in which she kept near a lee shore in the hope of meeting with a pilot for Liverpool. The gale was so violent that, though the two anchors were let go and the engines were worked at full speed to lessen the strain, the chain cables parted and she was driven on shore and struck on the rocks astern. The passengers, among whom were a large number of women and children, had been unaware of any serious cause for alarm when the vessel began to beat upon the sharp pointed rocks. The masts and rigging were cut away without avail, and she was thrown broadside on and perfectly upright on the shelving stony beach, from which a rock projected not more than twenty yards from her head. One of the crew, a Portuguese named Joseph Rogers, bravely volunteered to carry a rope on shore, and succeeded in struggling with it through the heavy surf. A hawser was then hauled out and fastened on shore and a "boatswain's chair" rigged to it, but the fury of the wind and sea prevented much use being made of it. In the saloon the terror-stricken passengers had assembled and a clergyman, Mr. Hodge, attempted to hold a religious service; but the waves were already pouring through, and even while Captain Taylor and another officer were endeavouring to allay the fears of those around them a succession of tremendous shocks broke the vessel amidships and she soon began to break up. A few of the crew contrived to reach the shore by the hawser, some persons were flung bruised and almost senseless on the rocks by the force of the waves, but of those on board 459 perished, Captain Taylor having been the last seen alive on board, where he had lashed himself to a spar, but did not succeed in his attempt to escape. All the officers were lost. Few storms have left such strange evidences of their violence. The iron safe containing the ship's treasure was afterwards discovered to have been broken up into shapeless masses, and in the crushed fragments of smaller iron boxes, sovereigns and nuggets of gold were found imbedded as though they formed part of the substance of the metal.

The appalling circumstances of this wreck had made it historical. In the records of such

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calamities the wreck of the *Royal Charter* stood forth with terrible distinctness. The story of the recovery of the bodies, of the awful solemn scene of the funeral in that remote Welsh burial-ground at Llanalgo near Moelfra on the coast, and of the anxious inquirers who journeyed thither to look upon the faces of the dead, was still remembered when, more than two years afterwards, on the 16th of January, 1862, tidings came of another dreadful accident, not upon the sea, but amidst all the busy life and activity of a coal-pit, where a hundred and ninety-nine men and boys were working "underground."

The main features of the calamity at Hartley Colliery may be soon indicated. Closely adjoining the shaft of the mine on the east side, was a substantial stone structure containing the machinery employed for keeping the pit clear of water. The pumping-engine was one of the largest to be met with in the coal trade, with a power equal to 400 horses.

The accident occurred about half-past ten in the morning. The greater body of the miners in the pit had gone in at one o'clock in the morning, and were just about being relieved to come to bank by the back shift, which went in at nine o'clock. In fact, two sets of men of the first shift had got to bank, and the third shift was "riding" or coming up the shaft in the cage, and had got hauled halfway up when the beam of the pumping-engine overhanging the shaft at the bank suddenly and without any warning snapped in two, the projecting outer half, weighing upwards of twenty tons, falling with a tremendous crash right down the centre of the shaft. It struck the top of the brattice and carried the woodwork and timber, which extended from the top to the bottom of the shaft, with it down the shaft. It encountered the ascending cage, bringing up eight miners, halfway. The survivors of the party stated that they first observed something shoot past them with the velocity of a thunderbolt, and presently found themselves overwhelmed by a perfect hail of broken beams and planks. The iron cage in which they were ascending was shattered to pieces by the shock, and two of the unfortunate men were killed on the spot, and carried far down among the ruins. Of the remaining six three survived for some time, and the others were ultimately rescued.

Of course as soon as the accident was known help arrived from the neighbouring collieries, and every effort was made to reach the number of men and boys imprisoned below; but only two men at a time could work at removing the obstruction, and they had to be slung by ropes in the narrow space. Meanwhile the scene around the pit's mouth and in the neighbourhood was sad and touching. The police had some difficulty in keeping the space about the bank top sufficiently clear for the work to be carried on. Crowds of people came from the adjoining mining villages, and even from distant places. Numbers of women remained all day in sad foreboding groups, after having stood near the mine in the chill air of the November night. The wives and families of the men who were imprisoned below passed hither and thither with sorrow-stricken faces. There were plenty of experienced men, with brave hearts and strong hands, but the work could only be effected slowly; and though it was said that at one time on the Saturday (the third day of their imprisonment) the men for whom they were labouring were heard working and signalling in the shaft, the obstructions had been found to be more solid and closely wedged together as the explorers worked to the lower part of the shaft. Signals were made and not answered, and the sounds which had been heard ceased. It was supposed that the men had retired more into the workings. The managers of the pit felt confident that there was not the least cause for alarm, unless the men should suffer from the effects of foul air; and this apprehension, as the event proved, was unhappily too well founded. The work of clearing away the obstructions in the shaft was continued night and day with unremitting vigour; but the men engaged in this praiseworthy, but difficult and dangerous, task felt the effects of the gases which had been generated below, and were compelled to suspend operations till a ventilating apparatus, composed of cloth, and called a cloth bratticing,

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could be arranged. This was completed on Wednesday afternoon; and the shaft being cleared, to some extent, of gas, the terrible tragedy was revealed in all its horrors. Three pitmen (volunteers) went down, penetrated the obstruction, got into the yard seam by the engine-drift, and found men lying dead at the furnace. They pushed their way through. The air was bad. Within the door they found a large body of men sleeping the sleep of death. They retreated and came to bank with the appalling intelligence.

Those who went all through the works found no living man, but a hecatomb of dead bodies. The bulk of the bodies were lying in the gallery near the shaft. Families were lying in groups; children in the arms of their fathers; brothers with brothers. Most of them looked placid as if asleep, but higher up, near the furnace, some tall stout men seemed to have died hard. The corn-bins were all cleared. Some few of the men had a little corn in their pockets. A pony was lying dead among the men, but untouched.

To the usual danger of foul air was added the inroad of water into the workings. The "yard seam," where most of the men had taken refuge, was not reached till the 22d, and those lying there bore the appearance of having been suffocated two or three days before.

Indications of piety and of courage were not wanting from the first. Two of the men who were knocked out of the cage were partly buried in the ruins which choked the shaft. The elder Sharp could be heard praying among the rubbish where he was buried. Thomas Watson, who was hanging by the broken cage, heard the moans and prayers of his unfortunate companion, and though much bruised by the wood that had struck him, he dropped himself down the pump on to the rubbish in which poor Sharp was buried, and prayed with him until he expired, though every moment Watson himself expected to be engulfed where he stood. After Sharp's death Watson scrambled back to the cage, where he hung for many hours, till he and his other two companions were rescued.

Amos, the "overman," and one of his deputies named Tennant, a fine fellow who had been to the Australian gold mines but had returned, would, it was believed, lead the men out of the pit and to a place secure from the water. This they succeeded in doing, and, like true captains of industry, they died at their post. They had struggled up through the furnace drift after the accident, and had hacked and hewn at the obstruction in the shaft until the Sunday afternoon, when a fall of stone took place in the shaft which drove them away, and they were found lying at the post of danger, but the post of duty—the furnace—having died in mortal agony, the men and boys "in by" having subsequently slept quietly away.

The Hartley colliers had the character of being steady and thoughtful men. There was no public-house within a mile of the village; many of the miners were abstainers from intoxicating drinks, and several of them were local preachers and class leaders among the Methodist communities. A number of the dead were lying in rows on each side, all quiet and placid as if in a deep sleep after a heavy day's work. In a book taken from the pocket of the overman was a memorandum dated "Friday afternoon (17th), half-past two o'clock. Edward Armstrong, Thomas Gledson, John Hardie, Thomas Bell, and others, took extremely ill. We had also a prayer-meeting at a quarter to two, when Tibbs, H. Sharp, J. Campbell, H. Gibson, and William Palmer— (here the sentence was incomplete). Tibbs exhorted to us again, and Sharp also."

Messages to families were found scratched on flasks and boxes; there appeared to have been no little calm and peace at meeting death.

The scene as the bodies were slowly rescued and brought to the bank was very painful. About 5000 people had assembled by that time, and the widows and orphans knew the worst. Occasionally a stifled groan or a hysteric cry would be heard from the crowd as some well-known face slowly rose up out of the dark chasm, but for the most part a reverent silence was kept throughout. With the shaft in its present condition it was found impossible to lower a cage of the usual character, and the

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bodies were brought up in slings passed under the armpits. As each came to earth it was unslung, wrapped in a winding-sheet, and placed in a coffin which stood by on a truck. As each was identified his name was chalked on the coffin, and it was wheeled away from the platform and delivered over to the friends who stood waiting outside the barrier. The bodies of those men who lived in the village hard by were carried there at once, and for others who came from a distance there were hearses and carts in waiting. Still, this process was slow, and in leaving the colliery to get to the railway station the path lay through long lines of piled-up coffins, some of which had already received their ghastly burden and others were standing ready for it. The coffins were made in a peculiar fashion, the head part opening out on a hinge, so that it might be readily turned back for the relatives to cast a last look on the features of the dead. Almost every cottage had a coffin, some two, one five, and one poor woman had lost a husband, five sons, and a boy whom they had brought up and educated. Most of the funerals took place on Sunday at Earsdon Church, in a piece of ground given by the Duke of Northumberland. The scene was solemn and deeply touching as the relations followed the coffins to the graves, singing the hymn commencing,

"Oh God, our help in ages past."

Deep sympathy was everywhere manifested on behalf of the bereaved sufferers, and by no one more than by the bereaved queen at Osborne, who directed that intelligence should be constantly conveyed to her, and whose first message said she was "most anxious to hear that there are hopes of saving the poor people in the colliery for whom her heart bleeds."

On the sad Sunday of the funerals a letter, addressed to Mr. Carr, the head viewer of the colliery, by command of her majesty, was read by the incumbent of Earsdon at a large religious meeting held on the pit-head.

"Osborne, Jan. 23, 1862.

"The queen, in the midst of her own overwhelming grief, has taken the deepest interest in the mournful accident at Hartley, and up to the last had hoped that at least a considerable number of the poor people might have been recovered alive. The appalling news since received has afflicted the queen very much. Her majesty commands me to say that her tenderest sympathy is with the poor widows and mothers, and that her own misery only makes her feel the more for them. Her majesty hopes that everything will be done as far as possible to alleviate their distress, and her majesty will have a sad satisfaction in assisting in such a measure."

There were 103 widows and 257 children left destitute, while the number of sisters, parents, and other relatives who had relied for support on those who had perished made the total 407. Her majesty had readily sent £200 towards their relief, and other subscriptions quickly followed. The large sum of £81,000 was ultimately subscribed, a fourth part of which was contributed to a fund opened by the lord-mayor at the Mansion-house. Of course the large coal-owners, many of the mining engineers, the Earl of Durham, the Duke of Northumberland, and others contributed largely; and the London Stock-exchange subscribed nearly £1000 in a single day.

It is necessary for a complete survey of the position occupied by England, and by the government at the period we are now considering, that we should look back for a moment to the early part of the year 1860. Public attention at that time was fixed chiefly on Italy, but we had taken a prominent part in some more distant operations, where the combined action of the French and English forces continued to support an alliance between the two nations. Our difficulties in China had not terminated with the draft of that treaty of Tien-tsin, which, as we have seen, was arranged by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. The treaty itself was to be ratified at Pekin, within a year of the date of its signature, in June, 1858, and Lord Elgin returned to England, and his brother, Mr. Frederick Bruce, went out in March, 1859, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, with

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orders to proceed by way of Peiho to Tien-tsin and thence to Pekin. It was in fact suspected that the Chinese, who had an insurmountable objection to any foreign envoy entering Pekin, would use any excuse for delay or for the actual fulfilment of the treaty in the manner determined on. For this reason Mr. Bruce was authorized to go to the mouth of the Peiho with a naval force, and on board a man-of-war, to Tien-tsin, which itself stands on the Peiho, near the confluence of several streams which flow into it, Pekin being about a hundred miles inland from the mouth of the Peiho, but connected with the river by a canal. The expedition was so ordered that Admiral Hope, who was in command of the British naval force, had sent word to Taku, at the entrance to the Peiho, to say that the English and French envoys were coming. When they reached there with the admiral and a fleet of nineteen vessels, it was found that the suspicions communicated to Mr. Bruce by Lord Malmesbury as the reason for his taking effectual means of reaching Pekin were justified. The river was closed by stakes and obstructions, the Taku forts commanding its entrance were defended by a crowd of armed men, who, in reply to the demand to let the envoys and the naval escort pass, declared that they belonged to a kind of militia, and that they had no orders from the imperial authorities, but that they would send any message from the troops to Tien-tsin and wait for the answer.

On the whole it was pretty evident that Lord Malmesbury's opinions were well founded. The Chinese were repeating their peculiar tactics of hostile demonstrations and foolish prevarication, to be followed by bluster and (after they were defeated) an emphatic denial of intentional provocation. The defences of the river and of the forts at Taku, for the purpose of preventing the passage of the vessels of war and the envoys, were acts of defiance, or were regarded as such, and though it might have been possible to have taken another way to Pekin, there seems little reason to suppose that anything would have been gained by "sheering off" from Taku, either because of these preparations, or of the pretended irresponsibility of the force which had been stationed there. Probably any such course would have been regarded by the foolishly crafty Chinese government as an evidence of actual fear. The Chinese soldiers were not cowards, they seem to have been possessed of a kind of constitutional courage, and, considering their inferiority in physique, in weapons and warlike ability, they fought bravely. They appeared to have an ineradicable impression either that we, like themselves, threatened without the intention or the ability of proceeding to extremities, or that they would be in some occult way able to prevent the incursion of barbarians beyond a certain external point of the Celestial Empire. In endeavouring to estimate the conduct of the Chinese, it is necessary to take particular account of what appears to be a strange, if only a superficial peculiarity;—that of a certain childish, one scarcely likes to say child-like, temper in relation to troubles or calamities, treating even grave misfortunes as temporary difficulties, and evading them by recurring to some possible immediate occupation rather than making them serious turning-points of life. The Chinese character would seem to be alike shallow and simple, with a kind of contented cunning in place of wisdom, and a singular want of ability to estimate the value of a principle of truthfulness and loyalty beyond an immediate and personal loyalty to those who by power or affection can command it. This is not the place to enter into an examination of the superficial but intricate mental characteristics of the Chinaman, which may perhaps be compared to one of those carved ivory balls with which we are familiar, as the result of years of practice in minutely following immediate processes requiring consummate skill of manipulation, but seldom developing much variety in its ingenuity.

At all events both the envoys and the admiral had somewhat underrated the courage or the ability of the force at Taku. When Admiral Hope sent again to demand that the passage of the river should be cleared, the reply was that they had sent a messenger to Tien-tsin, and when an official came from Tien-tsin, after the admiral had found that

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the obstructions and defences had been increased, the only object of this mission seems to have been to obtain further delay. Mr. Bruce and the French envoy concurred in asking the admiral to clear a passage for the vessels, but by that time the forts were well manned. When the gunboats approached the barriers, they were fired upon and four of them were disabled, while the vessels of the fleet got aground. An attempt to storm the forts failed, and of about 1000 English and 100 French assailants, 450 were wounded including the admiral himself and the commander of the French vessel which had joined in the attack. The attempt had to be abandoned.

Affairs had become serious, and it was determined by the governments of France and England that Baron Gros and Lord Elgin should return to carry out the treaty which they had concluded, and with a sufficient force to show that they were not to be trifled with. Sir Hope Grant was in command of the troops sent from England, and General de Montauban, afterwards known as Count Palikao, at the head of the French. There was very little further delay. The Chinese at Taku fought with some obstinacy, but were quickly defeated; the forts were taken, Tien-tsin was occupied, and the allied troops marched on towards Pekin. The Chinese government acted as it usually did, and having been beaten sought for further negotiations for the purpose of keeping the foot of the barbarian out of the capital. As usual, too, no sooner had negotiations been admitted than the Chinese forgot their recent defeat and became insolent. At all events the subordinates did. Lord Elgin had agreed that the Chinese commissioners should meet him and Baron Gros at Tangchow, a town about ten miles from Pekin, and sent thither his secretaries, Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, with some of the staff of Baron Gros and several English officers, to make arrangements for the interview. They were also accompanied by a gentleman named Bowlby, the correspondent of the *Times* newspaper. The commissioners had marked out a large space of ground to be occupied by the French and English force; but the secretaries and their companions on their return from the town found that a large body of Chinese had taken possession of this ground, and that it was necessary to pass through them amidst demonstrations which appeared to be menacing. Unfortunately a squabble arose between a French officer and some of the Tartars in the Chinese ranks, and an attack was made upon the European party. Though they carried a flag of truce and it was known that their mission was to arrange a conference at the request of the Chinese themselves, about thirty of them, French and English, including Mr. Loch, Mr. Parkes, Mr. Bowlby, Mr. de Norman, Captain Brabazon, and Lieutenant Anderson, were seized and dragged off as prisoners towards Pekin. The numbers opposed to them made any attempt at resistance useless. Mr. Bowlby, Lieutenant Anderson, and Mr. de Norman were taken to Pekin and put into tents. They were directly afterwards thrown on the ground, bound hand and foot, and placed in an open courtyard, where they remained exposed to the sun and the cold for three days without food. If they spoke they were kicked or beaten, and dirt was thrust into their mouths. Irons were fastened to their necks, wrists, and ankles, and they were then thrown into rough country carts and taken away in different directions along with several of their companions who had also been captured. Some of them were shut in cages or prisons, and loaded with chains; the wrists of others were tightly bound with cords till the torture became unbearable. Lieutenant Anderson's sufferings were dreadful. He became delirious and died. Mr. de Norman and Mr. Bowlby also succumbed to the barbarous treatment they received. Mr. Loch and Mr. Parkes were bound, their arms behind them, and taken before the Chinese commander-in-chief and other officials, on approaching whom they were thrown down on their knees; they were then taken, half dead with pain, heat, thirst, and fatigue, before a Chinese secretary of state. They were deprived of their papers, letters, and watches, and then they were again roughly forced into a cart and driven to Pekin, a journey which lasted seven hours, during which only a small

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quantity of water was given them. Arriving at nightfall they were taken to a small dimly lighted room in the "hall (or board) of punishment," a room from the walls of which hung chains and implements of torture. Again they were forced on their knees before a mandarin. Mr. Loch, who did not speak Chinese, was cuffed, kicked, and ill treated for not answering questions. Mr. Parkes, who *could* reply, was served in the same manner on the accusation that he gave lying answers. Both gentlemen were then removed to the common jail, a long barn-like building with grated windows, where the prisoners were half naked, filthy, savage-looking wretches, the worst class of criminals loaded with chains. Here they were chained by their necks to a beam over their heads in such a manner that they could just lie down to rest on a hard board. Provided with only a little coarse food they were kept in this condition for several days. They were eventually restored; but of the twenty-four of their companions who were seized, thirteen died of the horrible usage they had received. Those who survived continued to suffer much from the effects of torture and privation, and it is doubtful whether any would have been released had not Lord Elgin refused to negotiate till the prisoners were returned, and if at the same time the allied armies had not been at the very gate of Pekin and ready to storm the city.

Not till the city was surrendered and the French and English flags floated on its walls did the envoys hear of the atrocities by which so many of those who went to prepare pacific negotiations had been killed, and when the truth was discovered, and the suffering survivors brought the evidence of their altered appearance before their countrymen, Lord Elgin could scarcely have allayed the fury of the troops if he had not at once determined as a signal act of punishment to burn and utterly destroy the magnificent Summer Palace of the emperor. Much regret was expressed afterwards by some who regarded the act as an unnecessary piece of vandalism; but it was at anyrate better than the vengeance of indiscriminate slaughter would have been, and probably conveyed a more signal lesson of stern retribution to people who had assumed that the place was in a sense sacred, and who knew that it contained the accumulated treasures of the emperors of China.

The so-called palace was in fact a series of remarkable buildings, occupying a kind of pleasure-park surrounded by beautiful scenery, and with mountains on one side of the inclosure. An eye-witness afterwards declared it would be impossible to convey any adequate idea of the quaint luxury and magnificence of the place. After having traversed the first palace, occupied chiefly by the throne-room, the visitor entered the park, beautifully planted, and containing watercourses, lakes, kiosks, and pagodas in every variety, while no fewer than thirty buildings at some distance from each other formed the suite of palaces, of which the one painted a red or "lake" colour was the actual residence of the emperor, "the brother of the sun and moon." The exterior walls were of this colour, but ornamented with gold and rich fantastic carving. Here had been collected by the "celestial" emperor his treasures of art, suites of porcelain, flowered vases, jars, and ornaments of jadestone, ivory carvings, watches, clocks, gems, gold and silver ingots, necklaces of pearls, and other jewels.

Prince Kung, the brother of the emperor, who was in communication with Lord Elgin, and had shown considerable sagacity in his efforts to prevent further outrages on the prisoners and to renew reasonable negotiations, was informed that no representations would prevent the destruction of this palace as an act of signal retribution. It was understood that it would first be given over to pillage, and the French troops appear to have had the start of our men in this magnificent opportunity for "looting." The treasures acquired by some of them were afterwards referred to as being almost fabulous. Watches, jewels, rare works of art were, it was said, sold for very small sums. It may be remembered that a Captain Negroni, a year or two afterwards, had an exhibition at the Crystal Palace of jadestone vases and other ornaments and valuables which he had acquired from the soldiers after the looting of the Summer Palace, and stories were afterwards told of a magni-

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ficent diamond necklace which found its way through the hands of the French commander to the palace of the Tuileries. It may be mentioned that among the curiosities collected in the building were a presentation watch set with diamonds, several pictures and portraits of the time of Louis XIV., and some pieces of Sevres china. The contents of the Pekin treasury were said to be worth £6,000,000, but this was probably a fancy estimate, and indeed the articles, except actual gems and gold and silver, could scarcely be valued; but it is certain that the French soldiers took possession of considerable treasure, and that our men had some booty though they did not obtain an equal share. So far as the objects of art were concerned it was believed that those which were destroyed were nearly equal in value to the whole of the property that had been pillaged, for the day after the place was sacked a party of soldiers armed with clubs went through the building smashing mirrors, gorgeous screens, painted panels, and everything of a fragile kind that remained. This was in revenge for the treatment experienced by the prisoners. The palace was then burned down, and any remaining portions were levelled to the ground, for it was said to have been within its precincts that some of the captives received the grossest indignities. The sentence was sternly executed, and a monument was set up with an inscription in Chinese saying that this destruction of the imperial palace was the reward of perfidy and cruelty.

Had Lord Elgin demanded the surrender of those concerned in the outrages on the French and English captives any number of victims would doubtless have been handed over to him, consisting of wretches ignorant of the whole transaction and innocent of having taken any part in it. There was no security that the real culprits would be punished, and the satisfaction of vengeance by mere massacre would have been revolting. This was the reason assigned for the destruction of the Summer Palace at Pekin, and it was well founded. The allied troops had entered the capital through the great gate named "Tranquillity," and the place was at their mercy. It was neither so large nor so magnificent a city as had been believed, and though, by the terms of the convention which was promptly concluded, France and England were to have representatives residing there either permanently or occasionally as they might choose, there was little advantage in that arrangement except to show that China would be open to both countries. Tien-tsin was to be open to foreign trade and foreign residents. In addition to a large indemnity, the Chinese agreed to pay compensation to the prisoners who had been maltreated and to the families of those who had died from their injuries.

At the time that the English and French troops were completing the military and diplomatic victory at Pekin, intelligence arrived at London and Paris that some serious outbreaks in Syria demanded immediate intervention. The Druses, a fierce and fanatical sect inhabiting the chain of the Libanus, had for some time previously been harassing the Maronite Christians whose villages occupied the adjacent country, and they had now made a series of attacks ending in the burning of the houses and the massacre of a large number of people accompanied by acts of horrible barbarity. Between these people and the Maronites there had been unceasing disputes, in which the Turkish authorities stationed in the villages or at Beyrout and Damascus seldom interfered and certainly never gave efficient protection to the Christians. It was now declared, and was afterwards pretty well proved, that they encouraged the Druses in their atrocities even if some of the Turkish soldiers did not take part in them. The Druses were, of course, not Christians; but their religion was not accurately known. They were a fierce remorseless tribe under the government of an emir and various chiefs, and occupying a territory as far south as the source of the Jordan, and to the north part of the Libanus and the latitude of Tripoli. They spoke Arabic, and their capital was Deir-el-Kamar in a valley on the west slope of the Libanus. It was supposed that these people were originally followers of Hakem-biamr-Illar, the sixth Fatemite Caliph of Egypt, who, in the eleventh

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century, established a kind of secret sect at Cairo as an offshoot of the great schism of the Ishmaelites, and that the "Assassins" were also derived from the sect established by Hakem. The Druses were said to believe in transmigration, to worship a calf (probably the Egyptian Apis) as some typical expression of a mythical idea; they had a number of convents scattered among the mountains, and also possessed a college for the study of Syriac. All the men were trained to the use of arms, and it was said that the emir could muster 40,000 at a very short notice. They were formidable enough in themselves, but as the Maronites were even more numerous it is doubtful whether the Druses would have gained all the advantage in an open conflict. They had resort to ambuscades, and were joined by other wild tribes, the Kurds, and the Bedouins. Aided by the Mussulman sects and unchecked by the Turkish authorities they had wrought themselves into a frenzy against the Catholic Christians, and the result was that 151 villages were in ruins in little more than a month and above 70,000 inhabitants of the Libanus were reduced to beggary, while about 7000 perished in the massacres, besides those who were killed in attempting an organized defence. The Maronites were doubtless little less fierce and quarrelsome than the Druses, and hostilities between them had been frequent. The Christian villages were numerous, and the Maronite population amounted to above 200,000, amongst whom were many Europeans, beside those connected with the Catholic and Presbyterian missions, while many of the native families had European names, a circumstance attributed to the probability of some of the Franks in the first crusade having established themselves in the territory of the followers of the Latin Church settled in the Lebanon. It is not necessary to investigate the origin of the outrage which resulted in the savage onslaught of the Druses. It was said that some time in the month of May a Maronite monk was found murdered, and that by way of retaliation the Maronites killed several Druses on the first opportunity. At all events at the end of the month the Druses came down in force upon the villages near Beyrout, and then attacked a large town under Mount Hermon. Instead of doing his duty by repelling the aggressors, the Turkish commandant ordered the Maronites to disarm, promising that he would protect them. They obeyed, and when they had given up their weapons he left them to their fate, the Druses rushed into the place and massacred the whole population, the Turkish soldiers making no effort to save them, but in some cases joining the assailants in the work of slaughter. For more than a month the atrocities were continued by the Druses, who, as they detested Europeans even more than they hated the Catholic Maronites, took little trouble to discriminate. Exulting at being able to carry on their ferocious excesses unchecked by the authorities who had been placed there to preserve justice and order, they succeeded in arousing the fanaticism of others, and at the beginning of July a Turkish mob in Damascus attacked and set fire to the Christian quarter of the city. In one day nearly 2000 Christians were massacred, and the French, Russian, Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, and Greek consulates were destroyed. A number of the more important Mussulman residents in Damascus made strenuous efforts to save the Christians, and gave them shelter and protection; but the Turkish governor, who had a military force under his command, remained apparently indifferent, or at least made no earnest effort to interfere, so that the brutal mob and its instigators murdered their victims with a complacency derived from the assumption that they acted under official approval.

Although the affair might have been stopped by the troops before dark on the Monday, after that hour the mob increased in numbers every minute. Late in the evening about 300 soldiers were sent to put a stop to the outrage, but many of them very shortly joined in the plundering; while others used their arms to massacre the Christians. The whole Christian quarter, which included some of the finest palaces to be found in the empire, was soon one mass of flames; and as the inmates tried to escape they were thrust back on the burning piles by the bayonets of the Turkish regular troops. One of the military chiefs who

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commanded in Damascus was Osman Beg, the miscreant who but three weeks previously had delivered up at Hasbeyia upwards of 1500 Christians to be massacred by the Druses.

No fewer than six times did Mr. Brant, the English consul, and the Rev. Mr. Robson, Irish Presbyterian missionary, at the utmost risk of their lives, go together to the Pacha Achmet, and urge him to do something to save the lives of the Christians. No; he said he could, and showed that he would, do nothing, but remained "consulting" in the castle. When the last despatches left Damascus, at 2 p.m. on the 12th of July, the burning, slaughter, murder, pillage, and other atrocities continued, and became worse than ever; for the fanatics of the place had been just then joined by a host of Bedouins, Kurds, Druses, and other scoundrels, who were only too pleased at the chance of pillage.

The hero of the time was the brave and generous chief Abd-el-Kader, who repaid with interest the good-will with which he had been treated by the French after his defeat. In his house and its court-yards in Damascus not only the European consuls but many hundreds of Christians found shelter, and he, with his Algerines, held out against the horde of wretches who sought to destroy the refugees. The English consulate in the Moslem quarter of the town had been respected, and there several hundreds were sheltered, while 3000 were in the castle. It was said that 2000 had been massacred and the Christian quarter of the city was entirely destroyed, the loss of property being £1,200,000 sterling. The Lazarists, the Sisters of Charity, and other women of Damascus were at length enabled to leave for Beyrout under the protection of an escort of the brave followers of Abd-el-Kader, who had at the beginning of the massacre sallied forth with his men and saved the lives of numbers, who were at once taken under his protection and their needs provided for. From first to last the outrages were so horrible that the reports could scarcely be much exaggerated. Lord Dufferin was on his way to Deir-el-Kamar at the time of the massacre when the number of slain was put down at from 1100 to 1200. "I travelled," he writes, "over most of the open country before the war was over, and came to Deir-el-Kamar a few days after the massacre. Almost every house was burned, and the street crowded with dead bodies, most of them stripped and mutilated in every possible way. My road led through some of the streets: my horse could not even pass, for the bodies were literally piled up. Most of those I examined had many wounds, and in each case was the right hand either entirely or nearly cut off; the poor wretch, in default of weapons, having instinctively raised his arm to parry the blow aimed at him. I saw little children of not more than three or four years old stretched on the ground, and old men with gray beards. Beyrout itself was threatened by the infuriated and victorious Druses, and the presence of an English pleasure-yacht in the harbour, with a single gun, was supposed to have had more effect in averting danger than all the troops of the Turkish pacha, who rather connived at the massacre."

If any necessity for intervention in the affairs of Turkey had never before existed it seemed to be justified at this time, and a convention of all the great powers intrusted France and England with the duty of interposing and restoring order. The admirals of the allied force had orders to disembark at Beyrout the soldiers furnished from France, and the disturbances were quickly arrested. On the 16th of July the sultan addressed a letter to the Emperor of the French, saying:—

"I have at heart that your majesty should know with what grief I have learned of the events in Syria. Let your majesty be convinced that I shall employ all my powers for establishing security and order in Syria, and that I shall severely punish the guilty parties, whoever they may be, and render justice to all. In order to leave no doubt whatever of the intentions of my government I have intrusted that important mission to my minister for foreign affairs, with whose principles your majesty is acquainted."

Fuad Pacha, the minister sent by the sultan, was an honest and capable man. He carried retribution among the wretches who had been foremost in the atrocities, and caused more than one of the treacherous Turkish officials

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to be executed and others of them to be degraded. When order was restored it was agreed by the representatives of the great powers meeting at Constantinople that a Christian governor of the Lebanon should be appointed in subordination to the sultan. It was nearly a year before the French troops left Syria; and Lord Palmerston wrote on the 26th of June, 1861, to Sir Henry Bulwer, saying: "I am heartily glad we have got the French out of Syria, and a hard job it was to do so. The arrangement made for the future government of the Libanus will, I dare say, work sufficiently well to prevent the French from having any pretext for returning thither." By that time occurrences of nearer and apparently much greater importance than the intervention in Syria were occupying earnest attention; and the eyes of Europe had, during the whole of the previous year, been fixed on the progress of events in Italy, to which we must now briefly return.

It should be remembered as some key to the operation of the Franco-Italian war and to the events which immediately followed in Italy, that in April, 1856, a note was addressed by Count de Cavour and the Marquis de Villamarina, the Sardinian plenipotentiaries at the Paris conference, to the English and French governments, in which, after stating that they had hoped that the Congress of Paris would not separate without taking into serious consideration the state of Italy, and deliberating on the means to be adopted for the re-establishment of its political equilibrium, disturbed by the occupation of a great part of the country by foreign troops. They said that this hope had been disappointed, in consequence of the persistence of Austria in obliging the conference to be kept within the bounds of the questions marked out for discussion. They next called attention to the system of repression and violent reaction in force since 1848, to the number of political prisoners in the jails, the number of exiles, and the excited and revolutionary condition of the people. They then denounced the action of Austria in repressing the discontent of the subjects of the small Italian states, and to that end occupying the greater part of the valley of the Po and of Central Italy, making the Adriatic an Austrian lake, converting Piacenza into a first-class fortress in contradiction to the Treaty of Vienna, holding a garrison at Parma, and preparing to deploy her forces all along the Sardinian frontier. This appeal by Sardinia against the occupation of Italy by Austrian troops was seriously received by France and England; the former, however, reserving any outspoken expression of principle which would be made to include Rome and the Pontifical States in the remonstrance against foreign occupation, Rome being then protected against insurrection by French troops. A message from the governments was sent to Naples, however, advising against the tyranny exercised over the people there; but the remonstrance was haughtily disregarded, and the result of communications was that both England and France recalled their plenipotentiaries from the Neapolitan court.

The Treaty of Villafranca, by which Austria relinquished Lombardy, and Savoy and Nice were ceded to France, had neither completed the unity of the Italian kingdom nor stayed the progress of those who had set themselves to achieve Italian freedom. The infamous Ferdinand of Naples was dead—men had nicknamed him Bomba because in the earlier struggle for liberty, when the people of Sicily rose against his tyrannies, he gave his command in the one word "Bombadare!" and the town of Messina was bombarded from the citadel, with so much success in the destruction of the people and the suppression of their complaints that he afterwards repeated it in other places. We have already seen with what precise but indignant emphasis Mr. Gladstone had arraigned the government of Naples, and had dragged before the world the story of its treacheries and the secrets of its prison-houses;[1] but neither remonstrances nor warnings changed the brutal indifference of the king to the wrongs inflicted on his subjects. He continued to believe in the policy of bombardment, and should the tortured inhabitants of Naples writhe into rebellion, the guns of

[1] Vol. ii. p. 259.

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the fortress of St. Elmo commanded the whole city and would in a few hours reduce it to a heap of ruins. He was left to his own devices and to the gathering hatred of the people, a tyrant imprisoned as it were amidst the corrupt and cruel instruments of his oppression, unable to go beyond the reach of the guns which he was ready to turn against the subjects who detested him,—abandoned by the representatives of the western powers of Europe, who refused to recognize his right to govern by the rules of barbarism, and left a miserable example of the perverted authority by which a sovereign can undermine a throne for his successor.

The public regard had been somewhat diverted from Italy during the first part of the Crimean war; but Piedmont became one of the allies in that vast campaign, and Sardinia had a voice in the Treaty of Paris in 1856. Three years afterwards France was in the field with Victor Emmanuel against Austria, and after Magenta and Solferino, Victor Emmanuel meant, not Sardinia only, but Italy.

Again, in the front, where danger was to be found and a sword was needed, sounded the name of Garibaldi. When Rome had been abandoned by those on whom he had relied for support, he had marched out with the devoted band who answered to his appeal determined to fight his way to Venetia, and to make no compromise with the Austrians or with the troops of Bomba; but the enemy was in overwhelming force in the provinces of Northern Italy, and in the hardships and sufferings of that retreat from Rome his devoted wife Anita died, and he was desolate. Nothing could be done for Italy, and the cause for which he was willing to sacrifice his life appeared to him to have been betrayed and lost. He therefore surrendered to the carabineers, who took him to La Marmora, then in command at Rome. Victor Emmanuel had made peace with Austria after the battle of Novara. Venice, after a noble struggle, had succumbed. There was nothing left for Garibaldi but a prison or voluntary exile. To a prison neither La Marmora nor the King of Sardinia would send the patriot who had fought on the side of national liberty. The general received him with friendly hospitality, supplied him with funds to enable him to reach Tunis, and used some influence to support a proposition that he should receive a small pension from the government at Turin. For a time Garibaldi retired to a lonely rocky island called Caprera, off the north-east coast of Sardinia, the place which afterwards became his home. Soon afterwards he returned to America, not again to take up arms, but to earn a living. His young children were consigned to the care of faithful friends of his own childhood at Nice. In 1850 he was heard of as having settled in New York, where he made and sold candles in a small shop next door to that of another exile, his old friend and comrade General Joseph Avezzava, who had gone into trade as a tobacconist; but a seafaring life was more in accordance with Garibaldi's adventurous temper, and he soon left New York for Peru, where he obtained employment as master of a vessel trading to China. In 1854 he was once more in the United States, and took command of the *Commonwealth*, an American trader, in which he made a voyage to Shields, and while there received the present of a sword forged in Birmingham. This sword, which was presented to him while he was the guest of Mr. Joseph Cowen, the present member for Newcastle, had a gold hilt on which was an inscription stating that it was from the people of Tyneside, friends of European freedom. But events were taking place in Europe which drew him homeward, and though he might have to wait, he felt that till the moment came when he should again strike for Italy, he must be near at hand. There are many who well remember Captain Giuseppe Garibaldi, the quiet capable commander of a steamer which for several years traded between Nice and Marseilles, and some of those who had transactions with him which brought him to London, scarcely understood, or were completely ignorant of the fact, that this unpretentious self-contained man was the same who had fought for the independence of Monte Video, and had marched into Rome at the head of his old Italian comrades of Rio Janeiro, the nucleus of the victorious legion,

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which was followed by a crowd of about 2500 volunteers. This was in April, 1849, and it may be interesting to note what was said of the personal appearance of Garibaldi and his followers by one who was present at the time: "He is a man of middle height, his countenance scorched by the sun, but marked with lines of antique purity. He sat his horse as calmly and firmly as if it had been a part of him. Beneath his hat—broad-brimmed, with a narrow loop, and ornamented with a black ostrich feather—spread a forest of hair; a red beard covered all the lower part of his face. Over his red shirt was thrown an American poncho, white, lined with red, like his shirt. His staff wore the red blouse; and afterwards, the whole Italian legion adopted that colour. Behind him galloped his groom Aguyar, a stalwart negro, dressed in a black cloak, and carrying a lance with a black pennant. All who had come with him from America wore pistols and poniards of fine workmanship in their belts, and carried whips of buffalo skin in their hands."

In 1855 Garibaldi had made his home in Piedmont, or rather in the island to which he had been allowed to retire years before. Caprera had become his own, purchased, it is said, for £520, a sum which he was able to pay out of about £1600 inherited on the death of his mother. It would have been no enviable retreat to any man unaccustomed to a simple mode of living: one might even say that only a man accustomed to hardship could have long occupied the quarters which the general appropriated to himself. Some improvements were made afterwards in the small square white house and its surroundings, but Colonel Vecchi, after visiting Garibaldi there in 1861, described it and its belongings graphically enough. It was situated on a level spot, shut in on one side by great rocks, and on the other by walls, the gate in which was a movable rail, a horizontal pole such as is used to let horses in and out of a meadow. There was a path running all round it. In front, on the other side of the path, some poles were stuck in the ground to make a trellis for the vines in summer. On entering, there was a vestibule which opened on the left into the room where Garibaldi's little daughter Teresita and Madame Deideri her guardian slept; on the right was the chamber occupied by the general. At the back a staircase led up to the roof and terrace; the short dark passage led to a small bed-room and to the kitchen. Here, on the right, was the wine-cellar; on the left, a pantry, from which the visitor passed into the secretary's room, which was also a bed-room, and the arsenal. "In August, when I first visited the house," said Colonel Vecchi, "there was only one chair, and that had no back. Now there are some new maple-wood chairs, presented by the officers and crew of the *Washington*, with the donors' names inscribed on the back, and some walnut-wood chairs belonging to Deideri. The hero's room, also, is more comfortably furnished. It contains a small plain iron bedstead, with muslin curtains hanging from a cane tester, a walnut-wood writing-table, and a chest of drawers, with a dressing glass on the top, blocking up a window that looks towards the north. Close to the bed stands a deal stool, covered with books and letters. On a cord stretched from the walls across the room are hung to dry the general's red shirts and various other garments, for he changes his clothes every time he changes his occupation. The fireplace is in the middle of the wall at the end of the room; some logs are always kept blazing in it on account of the damp, for beneath the stone floor is the cistern which receives the water from the gutters when it rains, and this causes the flags to be always slimy and wet. On each side of the fireplace are bookcases containing works on shipping, history, and military tactics; but books and bundles of papers, to tell the truth, are all around, lying on every available piece of furniture. Over the mantelpiece hangs a portrait, in water-colours, of his infant daughter Rosita who died at Monte Video. At the head of the bed in an ebony frame hangs a lock of hair of his wife Anita, the brave woman who is no more. There never was a more simple Spartan retreat chosen by a hero."

A simple retreat certainly, but not one judiciously chosen by a hero who suffered frequently from acute rheumatism; Garibaldi was never judicious in his own interests nor

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even ordinarily careful of his own convenience. Caprera, however, was far away from the probable calls of curious "interviewers" who would have annoyed him—far from the crowds who would have followed and shouted and put him out of countenance. There was nothing that Garibaldi disliked more than the popularity which was manifested by sight-seers—he may be said to have feared demonstrations in his honour, at all events he ran away from them, and some years later made a hurried escape from London lest he should continue to encounter them.

It was from his plain and somewhat cheerless house in the islet from which he could look out ever towards the sea that Garibaldi had been called to aid in the war. Cavour was astute enough to know that the prestige of the man who was a born leader of men, whose voice seemed to have the power of assembling brave and daring followers for any enterprise, would be valuable to a cause where the cry of "Italian freedom" was scarcely in harmony with the murmur of "French intervention." Garibaldi himself, little as he may have liked to see Italy seek an ally in Napoleon the Third, did not hesitate to offer his sword to Victor Emmanuel, to whom he vowed to be loyal, and in whom he thenceforth recognized the head of that United Italy, to secure the liberties of which, he was ready to subordinate those mystical dreams and abstract theories of a republic which had narrowed the influence and paralysed the arm of Mazzini whenever the time had come to strike.

As major-general he had taken command of the Chasseurs des Alpes, and following in the upper region a line parallel to that which led the main forces to the victories of Palestro, Magenta and Solferino, beat the Austrians at Varese and San Fermo, kept them in constant uncertainty of his daring movements in the mountains above Como, and then advanced upon Bergamo and Brescia, and pushed on to the Valtellina up to the very summit of the Stelvio Pass. It was a bitter disappointment to learn that when the national triumph was not far from accomplishment it was stopped short by the treaty which exchanged territories, and made him himself a French subject if he continued to belong to Nice, the place of his birth. But the central portion of Italy was free. The duchies of Tuscany, Modena, Lucca, and Parma declared for Victor Emmanuel, and demanded to be annexed to the Piedmontese kingdom; the rulers of those places had fled in alarm when they found that they no longer had the support of the Austrian bayonets. One of the articles in the Convention of Villafranca stipulated for the restoration of the dukes, but by the end of the year 1859 nothing was more certain than that, not the duchies merely, but Tuscany and the Romagna also were no longer at the disposal of European diplomacy. By the admirable prudence with which, up to that time, they had made use of the freedom which they had gained, these states had vindicated their right to determine to whom their future allegiance should be given.

Garibaldi, suffering severely from rheumatic pains, went to Genoa, where he stayed with his old friend and attached comrade, Augusto Vecchi, at his house outside the city. He remained during the autumn and winter, but he found work enough to do in organizing an expedition which would only have been attempted by the man who had called for followers to march out of Rome on the desperate venture of reaching Venetia, and had found five thousand men ready to go with him to "hunger, thirst, the bare earth for a bed, the heat of the sun as a solace for fatigues, no pay, no barracks, no rations, nothing but continual alarm, forced marches, and bayonet charges." To those "who loved glory and who did not despair of Italy" he had made this appeal, and they had responded to it. He now began a new campaign by embarking a thousand men—"The Thousand" as they were called—at Genoa for Marsala. The *protégés* of the Austrians had fled and left the duchies in Central Italy free, the north was rejoicing in political liberation. It might not be possible to achieve a triumph at Venice or at Rome in face of the treaty and of the French occupation, but it might yet be a glorious deed to rescue Sicily from its tyrant, and to make of the north and the south one kingdom.

It must not be supposed, however, that Garibaldi carried revolution to Southern Italy.

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His rapid preparations at Genoa were made that he might help the people of Sicily in their renewal of a conflict against the tyranny from which they had so long suffered. Ferdinand was dead, but his weak and cowardly son, Francis II., had succeeded him. It was no longer the dreaded Bomba but the despised Bombalino. The same cruelties were continued however; the party which formed the government by false witness, torture, and imprisonment continued in power. Ferdinand had been their fellow conspirator and accomplice, Francis was their follower and dupe.

"The king has now to choose between the ruin of his evil counsellors or his own. If he supports and upholds them, and places himself under their guidance, it requires not much foresight to predict that the Bourbon dynasty will cease to reign at Naples, by whatever combination, regal or republican, it may be replaced," wrote Lord John Russell to Mr. Elliot, the British minister at Naples, in July, 1859.

"I never advised this Sicilian movement, but since these brethren of ours are fighting, I deem it my duty to go to their rescue," wrote Garibaldi (to Bertani) on the day he sailed from Genoa.

The insurrection had broken out at Palermo in the first week of April, and the people had held their own against the royal troops. At Turin a revolutionary committee, including several exiles from Naples and Sicily, who had been the victims of outrages inflicted by the Neapolitan government, supported and encouraged the insurgents in the avowed determination to unite the kingdom of Sicily to the free provinces then being incorporated with Sardinia.

It was not till the 5th of May that Garibaldi sailed from Genoa. "The Thousand" had grown to two thousand before they descended upon the coast of Sicily.

From Talamona, on the Roman frontier, Garibaldi issued a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Marches, Umbria, the Roman Campagna, and the Neapolitan territory to rise, so as to divide the forces of King Francis, while he carried assistance to the Sicilians against the common enemy. "Italy and Victor Emmanuel!" he added. "That was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino; it will resound into the very depths of Etna." A few days later he effected a landing at Marsala, in full view of two Neapolitan frigates, assumed the title of "Dictator in Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel," and, bore down with his handful of men against the Neapolitan troops, of whom 25,000 were posted in and about Palermo.

By those who did not understand the influence of Garibaldi, the expedition had been regarded as a wild and almost hopeless attempt, but the people who joined him on his landing at Marsala and the numbers of volunteers who followed from various parts of Italy, soon gave him an army which, with a few field pieces, enabled him to invest Palermo. He had already beaten the royal troops at Monreale and Catalafimi, and they fled in dismay to the city, only to hold it during a brief resistance, in which they had the insurgent city itself against them. Francis for a time resorted to the only remedy he knew, and ordered the bombardment of the place from the citadel, but he could neither command nor reassure his officers, and the garrison surrendered, left the city, and were beaten along with their companions at Milazzo. The Garibaldians were then masters of the whole island with the exception of the citadel of Messina, where the king, with such of his forces as were mustered there, shut himself up, began to promise to grant a constitution to his subjects, and appealed to the great powers of Europe for help. England was the first to reply with a direct refusal; France could not mediate (said the emperor) unless the revolutionary government were first acknowledged. There was no help for Bombalino, and he deserved none.

The day before the Garibaldians, descending from the heights of Miselmeri, seized the lower town and burst open the southern gates of Palermo—to take the city after a desperate conflict—a bulletin had been issued by the Neapolitan authorities to say that Garibaldi had fled and the insurgents were returning home. When the conquerors entered the city the people received the "Dictator" with fran-

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tic shouts of joy, and when he afterwards made a tour of inspection through the streets on foot, wearing his red flannel shirt, a loose coloured handkerchief round his neck, and a battered felt-hat, he was surrounded by thousands of people laughing, crying, cheering, while many women knelt asking for his blessing, and holding up their children, several of whom he stopped to kiss as he listened to the account of the losses and sufferings which the people had sustained. The aspect of the lower quarters of the city, to which the bombardment had been chiefly directed, was horrible in the extreme. The houses had been crowded from attic to cellar by those who sought shelter from the shells; and at length, before evacuating the city, the soldiers had set fire to the buildings in several places. Numbers of dead bodies were lying festering and half burned amidst the ruins.

The whole Neapolitan army was to embark for Naples, leaving Sicily in the possession of the revolutionary forces; such were the terms of the armistice made between General Lanza and Garibaldi, who, when he had taken complete possession of Palermo, organized a working cabinet for the administration of affairs, and appropriated the small sum of money found in the treasury for carrying on the public service and providing for the campaign. Cavour was playing a difficult and intricate game with marvellous skill. He had to hold a position of assumed irresponsibility for Garibaldi's expedition, although the "Dictator" had acted in the name of the king, and could scarcely have organized the liberation of Sicily without his knowledge. Cavour had taken no steps to prevent "The Thousand" leaving the port of Genoa, but was generally believed to have instructed Admiral Persano, who had the command of a Sardinian squadron, to join in enabling the expedition to replenish their stock of provisions in the Straits of Messina, and to cover the passage of fresh volunteers, under Cosenz and Medici, to follow the standard of Garibaldi. There were reasons why Cavour, without lending active encouragement to the enterprise, should welcome it as freeing Sardinia from the pressure of a serious difficulty. The court of Naples had for some time been concerting measures with the Papal government for the organization of an army to recover possession of the revolted Papal States—a purpose favourably regarded by Austria, which had not yet become reconciled to the retention by Sardinia of her acquisitions in Northern and Central Italy. But, with the insurrection in Sicily on his hands, the King of Naples could not move a step in this direction.

As regards intervention by France, Cavour knew well enough that the cession of Savoy and Nice had placed any interruption by Napoleon to the achievement of Italian unity beyond probability, except as regarded the seizure of Venice or of Rome, and that the latter reservation would not apply to the Papal temporal possessions in the Romagna had already been made plain by the French emperor himself.

On the 6th of April Sir James Hudson had written to Lord John Russell: "The deputies from Æmilia and Tuscany accept the cession of Savoy and Nice as the price they pay to France for their liberation; but there ends their pact, and after that they will look to nothing and hear of nothing save Italy for the Italians." When Cavour signed the treaty of cession he said to the French minister, "*Et maintenant vous voilà nos complices!*" (And now, look you, you are our accomplices!)

The position maintained by England gave strength to the Italian cause; for nothing would have induced our government to enter into any plan for upholding or restoring the Neapolitan rule. We had long ceased to hold diplomatic intercourse with Naples, and probably no ministry would have survived the attempt to intervene for the purpose of preventing or delaying the achievement of the liberty of Italy. The other states of Europe were too much occupied with internal affairs, or were unwilling for politic reasons to uphold the demands of Austria against the emphatic declarations of England and the evident connivance of France. Retribution had again taken the form of revolution, and it was futile for Austria to denounce Garibaldi's enterprise as a fresh proof of the aggressive ambition of Sardinia, and to call upon the other powers to join with her in reducing to reason this

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disturber of the European peace. But a coalition of the northern powers to curb Piedmontese ambition was actually talked of at Berlin, and the Sardinian ambassador at St. Petersburg was roundly told by Prince Gortschakoff that, if Russia's geographical position permitted, the emperor would undoubtedly put his forces in motion to defend the Bourbons of Naples, and would not be withheld by the principle of non-intervention which had been proclaimed by the western powers.

It was time that the British government should speak out plainly, and on the 27th of October, 1860, a despatch was sent from Lord John Russell to Sir James Hudson, our representative at Turin, which stated in unmistakable language not only our opinions but our intentions. By this time, however, it must be remembered that the enthusiasm aroused by the successes of Garibaldi in Sicily had fired the people of Northern Italy to accomplish the unification of the kingdom. Meanwhile the policy of the government at Turin seemed to be to let Garibaldi bear the responsibility of an insurrection the results of which might be to make Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, but with which Sardinia must for a time disavow all complicity. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the statecraft displayed on the occasion came perilously near to lying and to treachery. On the 18th of May an official gazette declared that the Sardinian government disapproved Garibaldi's expedition, and attempted to prevent its departure by such means as prudence and the laws would permit. "Europe," it went on to say, "knows that the government of the king does not conceal its solicitude for the common country, but, at the same time, it understands and respects the principles of international law, and believes its duty to be to make that principle respected in the state, for the safety of which it was responsible." These words were probably forgotten when, in the following October, Victor Emmanuel, addressing the people of Southern Italy from Ancona, spoke of Garibaldi, ("a brave warrior, devoted to Italy and to me,") as having sprung to assist the Sicilians in their revolt, and said, "they were Italians; I could not, I ought not to restrain them."

But before October, as we have said, much had happened. The Emperor of the French, who had distinctly refused to fire a shot against the insurgents who sought to overthrow the Neapolitan government, a government which had forfeited its claims by its conduct, was yet desirous or professed to be desirous of preventing any invasion of the Papal territories. In July he had written to M. de Persigny to assure Lord Palmerston that his innermost thought was a desire that Italy should obtain peace, no matter how, but without foreign intervention, and that his troops should be able to quit Rome without compromising the security of the pope. He, like the King of Sardinia, appears to have kept up an assumption of wishing to appease the suspicions of the other powers of Europe till he saw how events would turn out. Lord Palmerston as well as other members of our government mistrusted him; the pope mistrusted both him and the King of Sardinia, and in March had issued letters apostolic pronouncing the major excommunication against invaders and usurpers (not named) of certain provinces in the Pontifical States. These letters said, "The first evident signs of the hostile attacks were seen at the Paris Congress of the year 1856, when that power, among other hostile declarations, proposed to weaken the temporal power of the pope and the authority of the Holy See; but last year, when war broke out between the Emperor of Austria and the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia, no fraud, no sin was avoided which could excite the inhabitants of the States of the Church to sedition." These letters were issued a week after a correspondence between the pope and Victor Emmanuel, who had made overtures for negotiations, declaring that his government was ready to offer homage to the high sovereignty of the Apostolic See, and would be disposed to bear in a just proportion a diminution of the revenues, and to concur in providing for the security and independence of the Holy See. The pontiff did not, however, incline to admit that the universal suffrage which gave the revolted provinces to Sardinia was spontaneous, and intimated that the king knew perfectly well how it was that the papal

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troops were hindered from re-establishing the legitimate government.

The fact appears to have been that Victor Emmanuel, foreseeing that the freedom of Italy was now becoming inevitable, desired to give the pope an opportunity of negotiating terms whereby he might maintain his high spiritual authority and receive compensation for any diminution of the temporal states of the Church. This, if it had been acceded to, would probably have been well received in Europe, but there was not much time for parley. The pope stood out, and while he was excommunicating his opponents, Garibaldi had, as it were, one foot on the ship that was to carry him and his followers to the conquest of Palermo and of Sicily, to be followed by the insurrection in Naples and the demolition of the evil Neapolitan government. At the same time the Emperor of the French, notwithstanding his views as to the occupation of the Romagna and the antagonism with which his attitude was regarded by the pope, was unwilling to take the French bayonets from Rome until forced by events to abandon the protection of the head of the Church, whose refusal practically to divide his temporal from his spiritual authority made the position of a foreign intervening force increasingly difficult.

But Garibaldi and his friends were preparing to transfer active operations to the mainland. The conviction had become general that there the only hope for constitutional freedom was in a change of dynasty, and annexation to the state that had been the representative and champion of the liberty and nationality of the peninsula. In vain the King of Naples appealed to the other powers of Europe to help him in confronting the danger which he had provoked. It was well known that the Emperor of the French had protested against Garibaldi's enterprise, and the enrolment in Northern Italy of volunteers to support it. But when appealed to by envoys from the court of Naples for assistance he declined to interfere. "The Italians," he said, "thoroughly understand that, having given the blood of my soldiers for the independence of their country, I will never fire a shot against this independence. It is this conviction which has led them to annex Tuscany contrary to my interests, and which is urging them forward now to Naples. To save the king single-handed is past my power; I must be aided by my allies." Sardinia alone, he at the same time told them, could arrest the course of revolution, and to Sardinia he recommended them to apply.

All, however, which the Neapolitan envoys could obtain from Sardinia was a letter from the king to Garibaldi (22d July), urging him not to invade the Neapolitan continent. But to this appeal Garibaldi (27th July) courteously responded, that much as he should like to do so, he could not obey his majesty's injunctions. He was called for by the people of Naples, whom he had tried in vain to restrain. "If he should now hesitate," he added, "he should endanger the cause of Italy. When his task was accomplished of emancipating the Neapolitan people from tyranny, he would lay down his sword at his majesty's feet, and obey his majesty for the remainder of his lifetime."

On the 6th of August Garibaldi had issued a proclamation that he intended to accomplish for the Neapolitan states that liberty which had been achieved for Sicily. This announcement increased the terror of the Neapolitan government, for it was everywhere received with pleasure. The people were ready to welcome the liberator, the army had become disaffected, the officers were timid, the navy could not be depended on. Francis II. himself was incapable, and had lost the bully in the coward. The young queen, his wife, seemed to be the only person possessing a dauntless temper, and she afterwards went out to encourage the troops in the fortress, and to induce the gunners in the citadel of Gaeta to hold out to the last. Of course such advice was useless, and though her determination contrasted favourably with the poltroonery of many of those by whom she was surrounded, it was the effort of a stubborn desire to keep a nation in subjection, and that nation had already risen and was casting off its shackles. On the 19th of August Garibaldi disembarked on the mainland at Melito with about 4000 men, and his force was augmented by a small body of his volunteers who had crossed the Straits of

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Messina some days before, and had been joined by about 1500 Calabrians.

With his usual astounding audacity he was ready to attack the Neapolitan troops with a mere handful of followers, and his assaults were mostly so rapid and unexpected that he was able to drive them before him. He struck quickly and he struck hard. He had comparatively little of the military knowledge which enables generals to take the field and to prepare for and sustain a prolonged conflict, but he was an able tactician in his own way. He would stand on some eminence, for a long time, attentively examining through his glass the evolutions or the position of the enemy, then suddenly decide, give a few rapid orders for the disposition of his regiments and the plan of an attack, and without fear or hesitation swoop down upon the weak point of his antagonist's forces with irresistible vigour and scatter the foe like chaff. "Guerilla warfare" it may have been, but it was successful, and its success depended mainly on the amazing faculty of Garibaldi as a leader—his absolute fearlessness, his self-possession, and the wonderful influence of his voice, his smile, his lion-face, that in battle seemed itself to smite the enemy with fear and to encourage his own men to deeds of valour and endurance as conspicuous as his own. The whole of the insurgent force under his command just before his descent upon Calabria was said to have been 27,000; of whom 13,000 were Italians, 7000 Sicilians, and the remainder English, French, Poles, Hungarians, and Russians. The republican members of oppressed nationalities naturally turned to the movement being made for the complete liberation of Italy, and many hands were ready to draw a sword against the representative tyranny of Naples. That there were Frenchmen among them was not very surprising, for just as Victor Hugo had retired to Guernsey and remained in voluntary exile rather than receive any favour at the hands of "Napoleon the Little," the "man of December," there were many other ardent republicans, or, at all events, irreconcilable haters of the Napoleonic dynasty and the Napoleonic tradition—men of education, ability, and courage who persisted in declaring that, notwithstanding the enterprise, the apparent prosperity, and the splendour of imperial government—the empire still meant degradation and bondage to France.

In England the cause of "free and united Italy" had never ceased to number enthusiastic supporters, and now that Garibaldi was moving down upon the stronghold of the hated government of Naples, Englishmen, and Englishwomen also, made ready to give him practical aid. There was soon an English brigade ready to fight in the ranks of the insurgents, and several ladies prepared to act as nurses or almoners of the money which they themselves devoted to the relief of the insurgents. No very large or regular English contingent joined the Garibaldians till a later period, when they could do little more than assist in the triumphal entry into Naples, for success followed success with startling rapidity; but a number of Englishmen were aiding the struggle from the first, and Colonel Dunne was in command of their brigade. Not only money but supplies of arms were sent from England, and the subscribers of Garibaldi's fund at Liverpool and elsewhere, after sending out some consignments, bought a vessel of their own, the *Queen of England*, which on the 17th of August arrived at Messina with 24,000 rifles, 12,000 Colt's revolvers, a Whitworth 84-pounder, a Whitworth 6-inch bore, and twelve 12-pounders.

Among the earliest of the volunteers—those who followed Garibaldi from Genoa to Palermo on board the *Washington*—was Captain, afterwards Colonel Peard, who had been engaged in the former campaigns for Italian freedom. Colonel Peard was for a long time a very prominent character both in English and foreign newspapers, and strange were the stories told of him. He had been represented as a gloomy misanthrope, who, possessing extraordinary skill as a marksman, attended the marches of Garibaldi for the pleasure of "stalking" the officers of the enemy, or rather of bringing them down from a distance with a kind of grim pleasure, such as may be felt by the sportsman who prides himself on his long-range shooting. It was even said that Peard made a notch in the

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stock of his rifle for every victim who fell before his unerring aim. This was during the campaign in Northern Italy, and he wrote to England indignantly repudiating such representations. That he was an unusually good shot was certain, and it is likely that those followers of Garibaldi who could use a rifle effectually were frequently of service either in preventing a *reconnaissance* or in neutralizing the danger from artillery placed in position.

The most remarkable thing in relation to Peard was his general likeness to Garibaldi. His long hair, beard tinged with white, and the contour of his face gave him a certain resemblance to his chief, so that he was often mistaken for him, and Garibaldi himself would join in the cheers which on two or three occasions greeted Peard, but were intended for himself. Several stories were told not only of the skill of "Garibaldi's Englishman," but of his cool and determined courage.

Garibaldi was well supported in his rapid seizure of Palermo and his subsequent operations in Calabria by his comrades General Medici, who had entered and held Messina with his division, and General Cosenz, who crossed the straits with his men and landed at Reggio, in spite of the not very effective fire of some Neapolitan war steamers. These two generals and Generals Bixio and Sartori were prominent figures in the campaign.

No sooner had Garibaldi landed his small force at Melito than he was ready to push onward. The next day they were on the way along the coast to Reggio, which was occupied by a large body of Neapolitan troops, who retreated almost without resistance, seeking safety at San Giovanni. The town of Reggio was abandoned, the fort only remaining in the hands of a few soldiers, who could not hold it long. Cosenz had now come up and joined his chief. The attack was short, sharp, and decisive. The officer in command was mortally wounded during the rapid firing, and the place surrendered, leaving in the hands of the invaders 500 stands of arms, many guns, and much ammunition and supplies. Garibaldi immediately began an advance towards the troops who had retreated to San Giovanni, and came upon them so quickly and skilfully that they were hemmed in. So certain was he that they would surrender that he forbade his men to open fire upon them; and sure enough a flag of truce was seen coming from the royal lines, and a cry, not for the king, but for Garibaldi,—for Italy (*Viva Garibaldi! Viva Italia!*), arose from the ranks. A few minutes and Garibaldi himself was among them, and they wanted no other chief. They were Italians probably pressed into military service, and were all,—two thousand of them,—ready and glad to lay down their arms and return to their homes. Similar defections followed as the invaders marched onward. Regiment after regiment either revolted and surrendered in favour of Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, or openly joined in the insurrection which they had been sent to quell. The tyrannical government was doomed; the memories of cruelties and oppressions against which Mr. Gladstone had protested in words that burned, now rang in the voices of the victorious liberators and gave their arms new power to smite. Yet the king would not abdicate. His army was melting away, his ministry resigned. He lingered helplessly in Naples while the army of the dictator and the avenger was advancing unresisted on the capital. He had the tenacity as well as the perfidy of the Bourbons. He might yet reach his last stronghold, the fortress of Gaeta, and there rally a force that would be sufficient to hold out till he could get help to save his kingdom. For Gaeta he embarked with his regular army of about 50,000 men on the 6th of September, and two days afterwards Garibaldi, with a number of his followers, entered Naples by railway from Salerno, and was received by the people with almost frantic demonstrations of welcome.

But now came the crisis. Garibaldi was the sword of Italian liberty, and he had startled and dazzled Europe by his swift achievements. While he could be used by Cavour and the government of Sardinia for the purpose of adding the insurgent states to the new Italian kingdom he might be secretly encouraged, even though participation in his attempts was politically denied, and his authority was dis-

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avowed. But these attempts had resulted in a series of successes more brilliant and more complete than could have been expected by any but simple and determined enthusiasts like himself, and the disavowals had grown fainter: the king had already become a participator. Probably any other minister than Cavour would have been dazed, and even that resolute and crafty politician needed all his coolness to organize the daring combination by which swift statesmanship was to avert the dangers that would follow swift generalship if the triumph of Naples were permitted to be only the prelude to a rush for the recovery of Venetia and a march upon Rome. Garibaldi himself had little doubt that he would be able to effect both these objects, and that all Italy, or all true Italians, would aid him. The danger which Cavour had reason to dread was, not that the "dictator" should fail, but that he should succeed. It does not appear that Garibaldi contemplated carrying his victorious bands to Venice, but he was fired with the glorious ambition of realizing the intention (which on the 10th of September he communicated to the English ambassador, Mr. Henry Elliot) to push on to Rome and thence to proclaim a United Italy, the crown of which he would offer to King Victor Emmanuel, upon whom would then devolve the task of the liberation of Venetia.

Had the people of Naples, when they were rid of their bombarding king, turned to Sardinia for help, affairs would have had a different aspect, and it was known that Cavour had secret agents at work to promote this result; but Garibaldi had scarcely delivered Palermo before he was at Reggio, and his progress was already a quick march, during which, after each decisive conflict, the populations and no small part of the opposing army swelled the ranks of his adherents. What was to prevent his attempting to carry out his expressed intention of driving the foreigners out of Italy, the French from Rome, the Austrians from Venetia? The consequences would have been of tremendous importance in any case, but an attack by Garibaldi upon the Quadrilateral with a view to seize Venice would have given Austria the excuse, and even the right by international law, to renew a war, by which they might hope again to seize upon the provinces that had been added to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. On the other hand, any attempt to take possession of the capital by an insurgent chief who had been at once disowned and acknowledged by the Sardinian government would end in a collision with France. In either event the very object which both Cavour and Garibaldi had at heart, widely as they differed as to the means to be employed to obtain it, would be imperilled. Instead of being united into a free kingdom and taking a great place in Europe, Italy would find the established governments against her and the work already accomplished would be undone. Such were Cavour's views, and that he was sincere was proved by the risk which he was ready to incur that he might prevent what he believed would be a fatal disaster.

To keep Garibaldi from Rome it was necessary to occupy the Roman States with the Sardinian troops in such a manner that while the hostility of France would not be aroused, the insurrection which had already begun in Umbria and the Marches would receive such apparent support from Victor Emmanuel as to satisfy Garibaldi and prevent him from interfering unless he should be summoned to assist the royal forces. It was a bold and subtle scheme, but circumstances were favourable to its successful adoption. The Papal government had unconsciously played into Cavour's hands by gathering an irregular force of paid troops (among whom was an Irish contingent) for the purpose of recovering the territories which it had already lost and holding in check the insurgent elements in the provinces already on the brink of revolt. The commander of the Papal troops was the exiled French general Lamoricière, the former captor of Abd-el-Kader. In the revolution of 1848 Lamoricière, riding amidst the insurgents in the uniform of a national guard, had proclaimed the abdication of Louis Philippe and the regency of the Duchess of Orleans; but his horse was shot under him and he himself was wounded and narrowly escaped being killed by the mob. The provisional govern-

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ment offered him the post of minister of war, which he refused. He afterwards acted under Cavaignac in the insurrection of June, when he fought against the mob at the Bastille and elsewhere. He had offered no opposition to the election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the French Republic; but afterwards, on returning from a mission to Russia and resuming his seat in the legislative assembly, became a violent opponent of the president and his supporters. On the night of the *coup d'état* he was among those who were arrested, and was carried to Ham, whence he was soon conducted to Cologne by the police. Until 1860 he had lived in Brussels, when Monsignor Merode, one of the pope's household, who had been a soldier, invited him to become commander of the Papal troops. There can be little doubt that Garibaldi and his legions would have made short work of these forces, and that he would have raised the enthusiasm of the people on his progress. It was therefore necessary to take immediate measures without waiting for the consent of France or the opinion of the rest of Europe. Cavour was equal to the occasion. With one hand he directed action with the other he conducted diplomacy. The people of Umbria and the Marches were ready for insurrection for the avowed purpose of becoming a part of the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. By promoting their desire Cavour could not be suspected of acting in opposition to the purpose of those who sought the unification and the freedom of Italy. Garibaldi had himself avowed his loyalty to Victor Emmanuel, and would be bound to recognize the claims of the sovereign to take the initiative in supporting the disaffected provinces against a mercenary army, the formation of which had been disapproved by the Emperor of the French himself.

On the 7th of September Cavour sent to Cardinal Antonelli an ultimatum, calling for the immediate disarmament of the troops levied by the pope. He stated that their existence was a continual menace to the peace of Italy, and told the Papal government that, unless its forces were at once disbanded, Sardinia would feel herself justified in preventing any movement they might make for the purpose of repressing the manifestations of national feeling.

The demand could scarcely be regarded as more than a merely formal observance before the commencement of hostilities, for only twenty-four hours were allowed for an answer, and, as might have been anticipated, the answer was a direct refusal to comply with his demands. Any other result would have disappointed the astute minister. He had, as as it were, compelled the Papal government to a hostile attitude; he had then to justify his own attitude to the governments of Europe, and for this purpose addressed a circular to the diplomatic representatives of Sardinia at the various courts, arguing the subject with almost incomparable subtlety and ability. He did not shrink from declaring that, so long as the question of Venetia remained unsolved, Europe could enjoy no solid and sincere peace; but he emphatically stated it to be the intention of the Sardinian government not to meddle with that question for the present, but to let time and circumstance bring about its solution. He referred to the misdeeds which had brought the Neapolitan dynasty to ruin by a "prodigious revolution that had filled Europe with astonishment, by the almost providential manner in which it had been accomplished, and had excited its admiration for the illustrious warrior whose glorious exploits recall all that poetry and history can relate." He pointed out the advantage to Europe and to the interests of order by the establishment of an Italian kingdom, which would rob "revolutionary passions of a theatre, where previously most insane enterprises had chances, if not of success, at least of exciting the sympathies of all generously minded men." The only barrier to this result, he said, was the separation of the north and south of the peninsula by provinces which were in a deplorable state. To repress all participation in the great national movement, the Papal government had not only made an unjustifiable use of the spiritual power, but had formed for the purpose an army, "consisting almost exclusively of strangers, not only to the Roman States, but to the whole of Italy." Sympathizing with their oppressed countrymen, the

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Italians of other states were bent upon putting an end to this state of things by force and violent measures. "If the government of Sardinia remained passive amid this universal emotion it would place itself in opposition to the nation. The generous outburst which the events of Naples and of Sicily had produced in the masses would degenerate at once into anarchy and disorder. Were he to suffer this, the king would be wanting in his duties towards the Italians and towards Europe. In fulfilment of his obligation to prevent the national movement from so degenerating he had addressed his summons to the court of Rome to disband its mercenaries, and, on this being refused, had ordered his troops to enter Umbria and the Marches, to re-establish order there, and to leave the populations a free field for the manifestation of their sentiments."

In conclusion he declared that Rome and the surrounding territory should be scrupulously respected, and adroitly professed his confidence "that the spectacle of the unanimity of the patriotic sentiments which had burst forth throughout the whole of Italy, would remind the Sovereign Pontiff that he had some years before been the sublime inspirer of this great national movement."

There was not an hour to lose; but it was necessary at least to communicate with the French emperor before taking an extreme step, and Farini, the Sardinian minister, had already given some hint of Cavour's intentions. The emperor was at Chambéry on his way through his newly acquired territory, and General Cialdini sought him there. The conversation was grave; the emperor could not countenance the course which it was proposed to pursue, but he left it to Sardinia to undertake, at her own risk, a proceeding which she might consider was necessary for her security and for the safety of Italy. This was enough for Cavour. Napoleon III. was known to have entertained the opinion that the real and legitimate authority of the pope would not be diminished by the loss of the territory now in revolt. Let Rome itself be inviolably preserved as a residence for the Sovereign Pontiff and France would not interpose.

It was well that the other governments of Europe (though with the exception of England they expressed disapproval) did not move.

It has been truly said by a chronicler of the event[1] that the other European powers could not but regard with disfavour the arguments of Count Cavour's circular, based as they were on the right of the people to depose their hereditary sovereign, and to choose for themselves by whom they should be governed. But in what direction could they move to stay the course of events in Italy? One of two results was by this time inevitable — the triumph of the extreme revolutionary party, with the consequent dangers to Italy and to Europe, or the establishment of orderly government under a monarch whose interests would be identical with their own in arresting the spread of revolutionary doctrines. If success attended the movement of the Sardinian army, it could scarcely be doubtful which of these alternatives would be most acceptable to the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin.

At anyrate remonstrance was of little avail. The army of Victor Emmanuel emulated the followers of Garibaldi himself by the rapidity and decision with which they took possession of the Papal States. General Fanti, the commander-in-chief, had concentrated his forces on the frontiers by the 10th of September; General Cialdini commanded the division which was to operate in the Marches, and General Della Rocca that destined for Umbria. Two days afterwards Cialdini took the fortress of Pesaro and 1200 men of the garrison. Fano and Urbino were next taken by assault, and meanwhile General Della Rocca had invested Perugia, which its garrison of 1700 men surrendered without much resistance. So the campaign went on. Lamoricière, with an army of between eight and nine thousand men, fell back on Loretto, intending to find safety in the citadel of Ancona. The Italian commanders joined their forces, hemmed him in till he was obliged to give them battle, and defeated him in an obstinate engagement, after which he left the field followed by a few horsemen and entered the fortress. This was on the 18th, and next day all that were left

[1] Sir Theodore Martin.

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of his army laid down their arms, and not a soldier of the Papal forces remained in Umbria and the Marches beyond the few who were shut up in Ancona. That place was immediately invested, and bombarded both by sea and land. On the 28th of the month it surrendered, the garrison becoming prisoners of war. In this brief campaign the Papal government lost nearly all its war material, while from 17,000 to 18,000 of their troops, with all their generals, were made prisoners of war.

Garibaldi had taken Naples. It was necessary to prevent him from completing the work alone by the capture of Gaeta, which would have left him free to make an attempt on Venetia. For a short time the troops of Francis II. had made a stand on the Volturno, where the Garibaldians won a brilliant victory. Before any attempt could be made upon Capua and Gaeta the Piedmontese troops had taken possession of the Marches, had beaten Lamoricière, and were now ready by another rapid movement to march with King Victor Emmanuel to Naples, and to endorse the campaign of Garibaldi by reducing Capua and Gaeta, and so completing the union of Northern and Southern Italy in one kingdom. It was a master stroke of policy, and though some of the means adopted by Cavour, such as the employment of secret agents both in Italy and in Hungary, and the manner in which he had played fast and loose with the heroic leader who had saved Italy for the king, must be deplored, the interposition between Garibaldi and Rome, and the prevention of a march upon Venetia, were absolutely necessary for the preservation of the country and the fulfilment of its struggles for liberty and a place among nations. But there was still one important, if not the greatest, element in the ultimate success of this policy which Cavour had not counted on. Not only Italy, but all Europe, had been astonished by the rapid and brilliant successes of the leader who carried all before him on his victorious march to liberty, and whose fervour and simplicity of purpose had roused the country, and served to make insurgents into soldiers and soldiers into veterans during a few months' campaign; but Garibaldi was more of a patriot and more truly heroic than either Italy or the rest of Europe had suspected. Apart from the abstract theories of republican freedom which he had learned from Mazzini—apart from the poetical but vague, confused ideas of the relations of national and social life to which he appeared to give occasional expression somewhat after the manner of Victor Hugo—one might almost say, notwithstanding remarkable episodes in his own social life, Garibaldi was a man who loved righteousness and thought of himself last or not at all. He was no dreamer, and his practical faculty for hard work, which in his case circumstances had so often translated to mean fighting, carried him out of the region of plots and conspiracies into the open field of bold and determined enterprise against the foes of Italy, who alone were foes to himself. His crowning glory was at Naples, for it was an act, not only of splendid loyalty in which he handed another kingdom to his sovereign, but an act of self-renunciation.

The Piedmontese troops had quickly crossed the Neapolitan frontier when the troops of Francis II., which had just been severely defeated by Garibaldi on the Volturno, made a sudden rally, and with a courage which, if it had been developed earlier, might at least have deferred the solution of the Italian question, attacked the leading columns of the advancing forces of Victor Emmanuel on the heights of Macerone. The Piedmontese drove them back with considerable loss, and they were compelled to retreat, leaving a large body of troops to occupy Capua. The engagement was on the 21st of October, and on the 26th Victor Emmanuel, advancing at the head of his troops, was met on the line of the Volturno by Garibaldi. An account in the *Journal des Débats*, written by an eye-witness says, "The officers of the king and those of Garibaldi shouted, 'Viva Victor Emmanuel!' Garibaldi made a step in advance, raised his cap, and added in a voice which trembled with emotion, 'King of Italy!' Victor Emmanuel raised his hand to his cap, and then stretched out his hand to Garibaldi, and with equal emotion replied, 'I thank you.'"

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This grasp of the hands was the signal of an unexpressed compact by which the result of the achievements in Southern Italy were confirmed to the king. Another account of the meeting says:

"Garibaldi and the king, still holding each other's hand, followed the troops for about a quarter of an hour. Their suites had mingled together, and followed at a short distance behind them. Passing a group of officers, Garibaldi saluted them. Among them were Farini, minister of war, and General Fanti. The king and Garibaldi were conversing. His majesty was at the head of 30,000 men, and before reaching Teano he halted, and ordered a portion of his army to file off in presence of Garibaldi, that every one might observe the good feeling which existed between him and the chieftain. He then reviewed Bixio's brigade, which was posted a little beyond Calvi. He was received with the enthusiastic and unanimous shout of "Long live the King of Italy!" Garibaldi had 7000 men, divided between different positions. The king remained at Teano; Garibaldi returned to Calvi to give orders. At Teano the people began shouting, "Evviva Garibaldi!" The latter stopped them, and said, "Cry 'Evviva il Rè d'Italia, Vittorio Emanuele!'" pointing to the king. The cry was raised, and after it again "Evviva Garibaldi!" on which the king said, "You are right; it is he who is king here."

Into Naples the general and the sovereign went together in triumph, and on that occasion another English legion of Garibaldians, a force chiefly recruited in London, was conspicuous. They had but recently arrived and were too late to take any active part in the fighting, but their will was good, and some of their countrymen had helped to bear the brunt of the campaign. The procession through the streets was a singular spectacle; many of the houses were decorated with flags, drapery, and evergreens, and the equestrian statues of the Bourbons had been covered up with sheets. There was a touch of Italian humour there. It was a wet day, but the reception of the king was enthusiastic, especially at the cathedral, where he and Garibaldi with their suites went to hear the Te Deum, and where the vast crowd, in defiance of decorum, burst into cries of "Viva il Re Galantuomo!" and so crowded around their elected sovereign that way could scarcely be made for him to reach the royal seat. Garibaldi followed, and the enthusiasm reached a pitch which almost endangered the safety of the popular hero, the people pressing about him, seeking to embrace him, to touch him, to kiss his hands. Reference has already been made to Garibaldi's striking appearance. Here is another picture of him as he appeared at that time:—

"Garibaldi was a middle-sized man and not of an athletic build, though gifted with uncommon strength and surprising agility. He looked to the greatest advantage on horseback, as he sat on the saddle with such perfect ease and yet with such calm serenity as if he were grown to it, having had, though originally a sailor, the benefit of a long experience in taming the wild mustangs of the Pampas. But his chief beauty was the head and the unique dignity with which it rose on the shoulders. The features were cast in the old classic mould; the forehead was high and broad, a perpendicular line from the roots of the hair to the eyebrows. His mass of tawny hair and full red beard gave the countenance its peculiar lion-like character. The brow was open, genial, sunny; the eyes dark gray, deep, shining with a steady reddish light; the nose, mouth, and chin exquisitely chiselled, the countenance habitually at rest, but at sight of those dear to him beaming with a caressing smile, revealing all the innate strength and grace of his loving nature."

A *plebiscite* gave Victor Emmanuel the sovereignty of the Two Sicilies, and Garibaldi resigned the dictatorship, bade an affectionate farewell to his comrades, and in an address to the brave men who had rallied round him, in which he specially referred to the English and the Hungarian contingents (the latter under General Türr), spoke with enthusiasm of Italy, and referred in no obscure manner to the probability of the country being made altogether free, and of his meeting a host of his companions in arms in the following year. He then quietly retired to Caprera after being received with honour by the royal staff and having

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his title of general confirmed, which in his case meant a special and distinctive military rank. All pecuniary grants or other emoluments he declined to accept, and it was said that on resigning his dictatorship he was possessed of just £30, with which he retired to his primitive island to live on the produce of his farm. The opinions of the French, Russian, and Prussian governments had, of course, not supported the action of Victor Emmanuel and of Count Cavour, and (perhaps to save appearances) Napoleon III. had recalled his representative from the court of Turin. There could be little doubt what England would say, if she spoke at all; but many statesmen abroad and some at home were much opposed to any word being said that would seem to favour the intervention of Sardinia in what they were pleased to assume were foreign states, or to her accepting the allegiance of those states after they had abandoned their previous rulers. Doubtless the case of Italy was peculiar, and perhaps the *Times* was right in saying that the only actual justification for upholding the action of Victor Emmanuel would be that which had supported the assumptions of William of Orange in regard to England. The English government referred to this example as a precedent when the events in Italy had, so to speak, been justified by results. We might have issued a despatch earlier, but that Lord Palmerston was jealous of France and had just succeeded in obtaining a vote for nine millions for British defences, whereof two millions only, could be at once asked for by Mr. Gladstone, who reluctantly consented to abide by the vote. There was a suspicion that Victor Emmanuel might allow Sardinia itself to follow Savoy and Nice to buy the support of France, or that he might join Garibaldi in invading Venetia. Cavour hastened to give, through Sir James Hudson, the strongest assurances that Garibaldi would not be suffered to attack Venetia, and that, if that attack were ever made, it would be by an Italian army, and when events were ripe for the movement. Never, moreover, he added, would he be accessory to bringing the French again into Italy, and so to making his country the slave of France. As for the surrender of Sardinia to France, it was a proposal which no Italian dared to entertain.

Then (on the 27th of October) a despatch was sent to Sir J. Hudson by Lord John Russell saying:—

"Sir,—It appears that the late proceedings of the King of Sardinia have been strongly disapproved of by several of the principal courts of Europe. The Emperor of the French, on hearing of the invasion of the Papal States by the army of General Cialdini, withdrew his minister from Turin, expressing at the same time the opinion of the imperial government in condemnation of the invasion of the Roman territory.

"The Emperor of Russia has, we are told, declared in strong terms his indignation at the entrance of the army of the King of Sardinia into the Neapolitan territory, and has withdrawn his entire mission from Turin.

"The Prince Regent of Prussia has also thought it necessary to convey to Sardinia a sense of his displeasure, but he has not thought it necessary to remove the Prussian minister from Turin.

"After these diplomatic acts it would scarcely be just to Italy, or respectful to the other great powers of Europe, were the government of her majesty any longer to withhold the expression of their opinions.

"In so doing, however, her majesty's government have no intention to raise a dispute upon the reasons which have been given, in the name of the King of Sardinia, for the invasion of the Roman and Neapolitan states. Whether or no the pope was justified in defending his authority by means of foreign levies; whether the King of the Two Sicilies, while still maintaining his flag at Capua and Gaeta, can be said to have abdicated—are not the arguments upon which her majesty's government propose to dilate.

"The large questions which appear to them to be at issue are these: Were the people of Italy justified in asking the assistance of the King of Sardinia to relieve them from governments with which they are discontented, and was the King of Sardinia justified in furnishing the assistance of his arms to the people of the Roman and Neapolitan states?

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"There appear to have been two motives which have induced the people of the Roman and Neapolitan states to have joined willingly in the subversion of their governments. The first of these was, that the governments of the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies provided so ill for the administration of justice, the protection of personal liberty, and the general welfare of their people, that their subjects looked forward to the overthrow of their rulers as a necessary preliminary to all improvements in their condition.

"The second motive was, that a conviction had spread since the year 1849 that the only manner in which Italians could secure their independence of foreign control was by forming one strong government for the whole of Italy.

"The struggle of Charles Albert in 1848, and the sympathy which the present King of Sardinia has shown for the Italian cause, have naturally caused the association of the name of Victor Emmanuel with the single authority under which the Italians aspire to live.

"Looking at the question in this view, her majesty's government must admit that the Italians themselves are the best judges of their own interests.

"That eminent jurist Vattel, when discussing the lawfulness of the assistance given by the United Provinces to the Prince of Orange when he invaded England and overturned the throne of James II., says:

"'The authority of the Prince of Orange had doubtless an influence on the deliberation of the States-general, but *it* did not lead them to the commission of an act of injustice; for when a people, from good reasons, take up arms against an oppressor, it is but an act of justice and generosity to assist brave men in the defence of their liberties.'

"Therefore, according to Vattel, the question resolves itself into this: Did the people of Naples and of the Roman States take up arms against their governments for good reasons?

"Upon this grave matter her majesty's government hold that the people in question are themselves the best judges of their own affairs. Her majesty's government do not feel justified in declaring that the people of Southern Italy had not good reasons for throwing off their allegiance to their former governments; her majesty's government cannot, therefore, pretend to blame the King of Sardinia for assisting them. There remains, however, a question of fact. It is asserted by the partisans of the fallen governments that the people of the Roman States were attached to the pope, and the people of the Kingdom of Naples to the dynasty of Francis II., but that Sardinian agents and foreign adventurers have by force and intrigue subverted the thrones of those sovereigns. It is difficult, however, to believe, after the astounding events that have been seen, that the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies possessed the love of their people. How was it, one must ask, that the pope found it impossible to levy a Roman army, and that he was forced to rely almost entirely upon foreign mercenaries? How did it happen again that Garibaldi conquered nearly all Sicily with 2000 men, and marched from Reggio to Naples with 5000? How but from the universal disaffection of the people of the Two Sicilies?

"Neither can it be said that this testimony of the popular will was capricious or causeless. Forty years ago the Neapolitan people made an attempt regularly and temperately to reform their government under the reigning dynasty. The powers of Europe assembled at Laybach resolved, with the exception of England, to put down this attempt by force. It was put down, and a large foreign army of occupation was left in the Two Sicilies to maintain social order. In 1848 the Neapolitan people again attempted to secure liberty under the Bourbon dynasty, but their best patriots atoned, by an imprisonment of ten years, for the offence of endeavouring to free their country. What wonder, then, that in 1860 the Neapolitan mistrust and resentment should throw off the Bourbons, as in 1688 England had thrown off the Stuarts?

"It must be admitted, undoubtedly, that the severance of the ties which bind together a sovereign and his subjects is in itself a misfortune. Notions of allegiance become confused, the succession to the throne is disputed,

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adverse parties threaten the peace of society, rights and pretensions are opposed to each other and mar the harmony of the state. Yet it must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that the Italian revolution has been conducted with singular temper and forbearance. The subversion of existing power has not been followed, as is too often the case, by an outburst of popular vengeance. The extreme views of democrats have nowhere prevailed. Public opinion has checked the excesses of the public triumph. The venerated forms of constitutional monarchy have been associated with the name of a prince who represents an ancient and glorious dynasty. Such have been the causes and concomitant circumstances of the revolution of Italy. Her majesty's government can see no sufficient ground for the severe censure with which Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia have visited the acts of the King of Sardinia. Her majesty's government will turn their eyes rather to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence, amid the sympathies and good wishes of Europe."

It need scarcely be said that this despatch moved the gratitude both of Cavour and of Garibaldi, "who," as Earl Russell said in his subsequent account of it, "with the magnanimity of great men, instead of attributing to themselves the whole merit of rescuing Italy from her centuries of servitude and depression, and securing to her the blessings of independence and freedom, were ever willing to acknowledge, with gratitude, the efforts made by British statesmen to help on the good work." It may be mentioned that several gentlemen in Milan combined to send to Earl Russell a token of their appreciation in the shape of a beautiful marble statue, the work of Carl Romano, representing Young Italy holding in her hands a diadem embossed with the arms of the various Italian states thenceforward to be united in one kingdom.

The death of Cavour, and a change of ministry which brought the cunning Rattazzi into power, proved disastrous to Garibaldi. He had been elected to the Italian parliament as deputy for Naples, and on his recovery from an illness which followed his retirement to Caprera he appeared in the assembly and after some passages of words, in which he was no match for his opponents, retired from the contest, and allowed a reconciliation, or rather an expedient truce, to be effected. Rattazzi, crafty, designing, but not highly capable, nor possessing the confidence of either party, seems to have imagined he could follow the policy of Cavour, and to gain the support of the revolutionary party, or "the party of action," allowed it to be understood that he would supply a million francs for an expedition to take Venice from the Austrians.

It need scarcely be said that this proposal was seized upon with alacrity by Garibaldi, who not unnaturally assumed that he might again raise volunteers for an enterprise in which he could count on the connivance, if not on the direct assistance of the government. But the attempt to make history repeat itself was too hazardous. It had been already distinctly declared by Victor Emmanuel that no attempt should be made against the Austrians at Venetia except by regular Italian troops, and in order to avert the suspicion of promoting the enrolment of volunteers for such a purpose, it was necessary to take decided measures to prevent Garibaldi from calling upon men to follow him. It would have been well if the general had submitted; but it was highly improbable that he would be satisfied to obey without bitterly complaining of having been deceived and betrayed. He abandoned the attack on Venetia, but at the same time proclaimed his disappointment, and at the instigation of the "party of action" landed in Sicily, and there raised a small undisciplined force. He had attended a rifle meeting at Palermo, where Prince Humbert, the eldest son of Victor Emmanuel, was present, and where Pallavicini, who had for years been an officer of the Piedmontese, was in command of the Papal troops. There he openly announced his intention of organizing a force for the purpose of taking Rome from the French who occupied it. Of course this avowal should at once have been denounced as illegal. It would have been monstrous for the king, who had acquired dominion over a whole territory, and whose

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authority had been recognized and established, to sanction the attempt of a subject to levy troops or to commence a war, but it was almost as monstrous to permit any initiatory steps to be taken. No positive command was sent to Garibaldi to cease at once from any preparation for hostilities; and it was not till Rattazzi saw to what a fatal termination his former indirect encouragement was likely to lead, that the government found itself compelled to resort to force to prevent a calamity which would never have threatened but for the weakness and duplicity of the minister. At any sacrifice of feeling, and even at the expense of appearing dishonourable, it was essential that the followers of the "liberator" should not be suffered to come into conflict with the French troops. Garibaldi had crossed to Calabria, where he expected to raise a force large enough to march on Rome and expel the French garrison. Only a few weeks earlier, Victor Emmanuel had been expressing his gratitude to Napoleon III. for "a careful act of kindness" in sending a French fleet to Naples for his protection and for "sympathy for the cause of Italy." Prince Napoleon, too, had visited the king at Naples and had afterwards been to Sicily, where the troops at Messina had marched past his hotel and shouts were raised by the people of "Long live the defender of Italy! Long live France!" Shortly before that day 35,000 Italians had sent a memorial to the English government asking for its influence in inducing the French to relinquish the occupation of Rome. It was not till he reached Aspromonte that Garibaldi found himself opposed by the royal troops—a battalion of Bersaglieri. Several officers of the army had thrown up their commissions rather than obey orders to fight against the chief who had done so much for Italy. It was necessary to take immediate measures, for the people were becoming excited and were clamouring against France. At the same time the true friends of Italian liberty saw how deplorable had been the error into which Garibaldi had fallen. Opinions were everywhere conflicting, but while Russia came in with an offer of "moral support" to Victor Emmanuel in the cause of order, Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, wrote a letter to the Italian journals strongly disapproving the attitude assumed by his brother patriot, and exhorting the Hungarians not to lend their aid to a movement which, by bringing Italy into collision with France, would tend to rivet afresh the manacles from which the people had been freed. But the mischief had been done so far as injury to Garibaldi himself was concerned. Cialdini had stipulated that he should be allowed to choose the troops who were to be sent against his former friend and comrade, and he intrusted the capture of the general to Pallavicini and his Bersaglieri or sharpshooters. It was believed that Garibaldi would lead his men to the mountains of the Tyrol rather than submit. As the regular troops advanced it became evident that they were in force, and that they had been so disposed as to endeavour to prevent his retreat, but it was equally certain that he had no intention of giving them battle. From the first moment while he was looking at them through his glass he repeatedly gave orders to his men not to fire, and the order was repeated by his officers and by sound of trumpet all down the line. The Bersaglieri, however, commenced firing, and Garibaldi himself was wounded in the thigh by a spent ball, and more seriously in the ankle by a bullet which struck with full force. He stood erect for a moment, shouted "Long live Italy!" again called out "Do not fire," and then was carried to a short distance, where he lay beneath some trees and began to smoke a cigar vigorously till his foot could be attended to by the surgeon. His son, Menotti, was brought in also with a wound in his leg, and several others were injured. In one part of the line the Garibaldians had returned the fire of the troops and a skirmish took place, which was, however, quickly ended. Friends, old comrades, relatives met as the two forces approached. It was a scene of regret and of mutual and sorrowful reproaches. Pallavicini came bareheaded and with every token of respect to the place where the wounded chief lay. For a very short time people wondered what would be done with Garibaldi. What *could* be done with him? He was carried to Spezzia to the

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fort of Varigliano, only to be released after a nominal imprisonment. In a few days it was possible to remove him to Caprera, where the sympathies of his countrymen and of thousands of others in England, France, and Europe, reached him. Our concern took a practical shape, and Mr. Partridge, an English surgeon, was sent to Italy to attend him and to extract the ball from his foot, a task which was difficult and tedious. He eventually recovered, however, and though he still suffered from rheumatism and from the results of his wound, was able to visit London in 1864 at the invitation of the Duke of Sutherland and a number of friends who desired to give him fresh assurances of the sympathy and admiration of the English people. The people, that is to say the largest proportion of the population, were eager to show him honour. His appearance in the streets became a public triumph, the enthusiasm was tremendous, and though for a time a number of the leaders of society kept critically aloof, they were in a minority, and either from a dislike to appearing singular, or because they were unable to withstand the influence of the common excitement, became even more exuberant in their praises and more exacting in their hospitalities than those who had first received the "hero" whose picture was in every shop window. Garibaldi was so overwhelmed by a popularity, the violent demonstrations of which he had neither courted nor desired, that his health began to suffer, and it was found necessary to enable him to escape from his titled and aristocratic admirers who would have killed him with receptions, dinners, and deputations. After a short stay, therefore, he re-embarked in the Duke of Sutherland's yacht and went back to the farm in his solitary island, grateful for all the sympathy of which he had been the object, but glad to be once more in a position to remember it at a safe distance.

Garibaldi's day was done, so far as actively effective service of his country was concerned. It might have been better if the "Sword of Italy" had not been again unsheathed. Deeds heroic in themselves lose their force and value if they are the consequence of perverse or mistaken enthusiasm. The attempt to march on Rome had been a grievous error, which was obscured if not obliterated in the pain and the pity that were felt not only in Italy but throughout Europe at the event at Aspromonte. It has been truly said that had Garibaldi been wrecked on the voyage after his crowning glory at Naples, or had he reached Caprera with an unshaken determination never to revisit the mainland, his achievements would have gone down to posterity as a myth hardly second to the deeds of the ancient demigods; but he was elected a deputy, met opponents in parliament, quarrelled and even squabbled with those for whom he was no match in what is sometimes called debate, and persisted in the opinion that he could somewhere and somehow repeat the triumphs that had only been possible and *could* only be possible once in a lifetime. The very simplicity and unselfishness of the man,—qualities which had wrought wonders,—made him the tool of ill advisers and led him to attempts that ended in humiliation and defeat.

In 1864 the seat of the Italian government was removed to Florence, and as the idea of obtaining Rome seemed to have been abandoned, France agreed to withdraw the garrison. In 1866 the war between Prussia and Austria, of which we shall have a little to say presently, gave Garibaldi an opportunity of manifesting his undying hostility to the tyrants of Italy, and as the soldier of the king he headed a force of several thousand volunteers and ineffectually endeavoured to force his way into the Southern Tyrol. He was kept at bay by the Austrian rifles, and after defeat at Custozza was compelled to fall back, sick and wounded, and to return once more to Caprera. His joy when the war ended, and one of its results was the liberation of Venetia and its reunion with Italy, was probably little affected by the fact that he had been unable to take a leading part in the achievement. He was too high-minded and therefore had too little self-consciousness for that, but he was too easily ensnared in the toils laid by Rattazzi, who, returning to power in 1867, again attempted to imitate Cavour's subtle sagacity by an exercise of easily detected cunning. Cavour had, at great risk, surmounted the difficulty of at once promoting

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and appearing to restrain an insurrection. He had made an edge-tool of Garibaldi, and but for his own energy and adroitness his own hand would have been seriously wounded and Italy maimed. As it was, Garibaldi, first secretly encouraged and then ostentatiously checked, had added Southern to Northern Italy and united the kingdom for Victor Emmanuel. Cavour stopped short at Venetia and at Rome. Rattazzi, now that Venetia had fallen again into the lap of Italy, began to repeat the tactics which had before brought himself as well as Garibaldi to grief, and the victim of Aspromonte was again fired with ready enthusiasm at the cry of "Rome for Italy,"—was again caught in the net which cunning folly had spread for him. Rome had been relieved of the French garrison and was supposed to be comparatively defenceless. If the minister could only excite an attempt to seize upon the capital, and could at the same time appear to be strenuously opposing it, he might achieve the desire of the extreme party, and either deceive Napoleon III. or so awaken his sympathies for the Italian cause as to prevent his effectual interference. This was Rattazzi's absurd attempt to imitate Cavour. There was no difficulty in raising volunteers, and arms were ready to be distributed. Menotti Garibaldi was on the borders of the diminished Papal States enlisting men. Garibaldi himself was at Genoa almost as soon as he heard that the farce of 1862 was to be forgotten in a repetition of the original drama of 1860. He went from Genoa to Florence, his addresses to the people were ardent and so imprudent as to be almost inexcusable if he remembered with whom he had to deal. The government, dissembling still in the eye of France, condemned his language, and affecting to be shocked at his attitude ordered his arrest and his removal to Caprera, where government cruisers lay off shore to watch him and prevent his escape till the time came for the blow to be actually struck against Rome. Then he was allowed to get off quite easily, to land at Leghorn, and to join the force mustered on the Papal frontier. It was too late—the drama ended in a pitiful fiasco—in a wretched tragedy rather. When Garibaldi advanced with his followers he found himself opposed not only to the much larger forces of the Papal army, but to French battalions sent for the rescue and protection of the pope and commanded by De Failly. All was over. Wounded alike in body and in soul and sick at heart, the hero went once more to his solitary island like a broken eagle to its eyrie, and again after three years saw Rome,—to restore which he would have given his life,—taken after a brief struggle, by the Italian army and made the true capital of United Italy, while he had no hand in the achievement, and the French emperor who had so long prevented it was rushing on his fate at Sedan.

Reference has already been made to an Irish brigade formed for the protection of the Papal territory, and in this association the name of Mr. Pope Hennessey will occur to some readers. Mr. Pope Hennessey, who, with Sir George Bowyer, was an ardent supporter of the Papal authority in Italy, had occupied the office of a civil clerk in the council office, and was afterwards returned for King's County. As an Irish Roman Catholic of the extreme school—the Ultramontanists, as men of his way of thinking were then called—he had been conspicuous in the formation of the Irish Brigade, which irreverent jesters had nicknamed "the Pope's Brass Band," and he was of course opposed to the course taken by the government in relation to Italian independence, since he sympathized with the King of Naples and regarded Garibaldi as a bandit and Victor Emmanuel as a robber. At all events he had the courage of his convictions, for in a well-arranged and well-delivered speech, which lasted two hours and a half, he denounced the conduct of the government, and delivered opinions which were directly opposed to those of the great majority of the house. As he was then only twenty-seven years old this was an achievement, and though he had very few supporters he was listened to with something like interest, or at all events without interruption; but when Mr. Layard rose to reply, the house rapidly filled, and it was evident from the cheering which accompanied his retorts, as well as the remarks of Mr. Edwin James and

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Sir Robert Peel, that neither Mr. Hennessey nor Sir George Bowyer could bring censure upon the foreign policy of the government in Italian affairs. In such a debate Mr. Gladstone naturally felt that he could not sit silent, and indeed he was entitled to some reply, if only for the reason that Lord Derby in the House of Lords had condemned the policy of the government towards France and Italy, which he said placed on the people an amount of taxation "absolutely unprecedented in time of peace, and only made more intolerable by the financial freaks of the chancellor of the exchequer." In a speech, fervid, eloquent, and almost passionate, Mr. Gladstone replied to Mr. Hennessey's accusations; and having commented upon the breach of faith committed by the old King of Naples towards the people in reference to the promised constitution of May, 1848, characterized the reign of that monarch as built up by, and founded upon, a denial of justice and a violation of all law. That king's son, who had succeeded him, had thrown away a splendid opportunity for impressing a glorious name upon the pages of history. No one had marred a brilliant fortune more completely than the miserable and unhappy Francis II. But sad as were the records of Neapolitan rule, the ecclesiastical authorities of the States of the Church were still more fruitful of oppression and injustice. The manner in which the inhabitants of these States had been handed over once to the military government of Austria was such, that had the people borne it they would have been no better than worms fit to be trodden under foot. By documentary evidence Mr. Gladstone proved the atrocities which had been committed in the States of the Church and in the territory of the Duke of Modena; and he concluded by declaring that the consolidation of Italy would be a boon not only to the Italians themselves, but also to every power in Europe.

To the not altogether new imputation of Lord Derby, only a practical answer was necessary, and the reply was forthcoming in the successive budgets, which, even in a time of difficulty and trial, were directed as much as possible to diminish pressure of taxation on articles of necessary consumption.

Mr. Hennessey was not without supporters who condemned both Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, but in the House of Commons they were few, and a tempest of applause greeted Mr. Gladstone's reply. Referring to the assertions put forward, he said Sir George Bowyer and Mr. Hennessey had called upon the house to lament the foreign policy of the government, which they alleged was founded on injustice and could not prosper; and they also said that the cause which we favoured in Italy was the persecution of righteous governments. The member for Dundalk had asserted that a revolution which the people of England looked upon with wonder was the result of a wicked conspiracy carried on by an unprincipled king and a cunning minister; and that the people of Naples, governed by benignant laws wisely administered, were devoted to their sovereign. As to the courage "that miserable monarch," Francis II., was said to have manifested during the siege of Gaeta, Mr. Gladstone said, "It is all very well to claim consideration for him on account of his courage, but I confess I feel much more admiration for the courage of the hon. member for Dundalk (Sir G. Bowyer) and the hon. member for King's County (Mr. Pope Hennessey); for I think I would rather live in a stout and well-built casemate listening to the whizzing of bullets and the bursting of shells, than come before a free assembly to vindicate such a cause as that which these honourable gentlemen have espoused."

Both these gentlemen returned to the charge a year later, however (in April, 1862), when Sir George Bowyer violently attacked the policy of the government, which he said had set up Victor Emmanuel as a French viceroy —made France the dominant power in Italy, and broken the power of Austria, but had not secured what was called the unity of Italy. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies still existed, while that of Italy had only been organized by France and England. He declared that we had not made Rome the capital of Italy—and that Rome never would be the capital of Italy.

This was such an extraordinary statement,

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in face of what was then actually occurring, that Mr. Layard was able to say in reply that there were no Piedmontese troops in the Marches, Umbria, or the Legations—that if the people wished to return to their former allegiance there was nothing to prevent them —and with regard to Rome, the question was not whether King Victor Emmanuel wanted it, but whether the Romans wanted *him*.

Mr. Gladstone, pointing out the extraordinary credulity and the equally extraordinary power of paradox displayed by Sir George Bowyer, said: "To take a particular instance, there is the downfall of the late kingdom of the Two Sicilies. My hon. and learned friend was so kind as to ascribe to me some infinitesimal share in removing from the world the sorrow and iniquity which once oppressed that unhappy country. I should take it as a favour if the charge were made truly, but I claim or assume no such office. Here is a country which my hon. and learned friend says is, with a few miserable exceptions amongst the middle classes, fondly attached to the expelled dynasty—and what happens there? An adventurer, Garibaldi, clothed in a red shirt, and some volunteers also clothed in red shirts, land at a point in the peninsula, march through Calabria, face a sovereign with a well-disciplined army of 80,000 men, and a fleet probably the best in Italy, and that sovereign disappears before them like a mockery king of snow! And yet such is the power of paradox that my hon. and learned friend still argues for the affectionate loyalty of the Neapolitans, as if such results could have been achieved anywhere save where the people were alienated from the throne." Sir George Bowyer had declared or predicted that the Italians would never have the city of Rome for their capital. He (Mr. Gladstone) did not believe in that prediction. Sir George required the house to believe that the people of Rome were perfectly satisfied; but there were some 20,000 French troops kept there for some purpose which Sir G. Bowyer had not explained. Speaking as an individual, he could not but regret the continuance of that occupation: and he most earnestly hoped, for the sake of the name and fame of France, for the sake of humanity and the peace of Europe, it might soon be done away. With respect to the temporal government of the Papacy—one of the questions involved in the discussion—Mr. Gladstone, in a powerful argument, urged the impolicy as well as the injustice of prolonging it.

Lord Palmerston closed the debate by declaring that the government had acted consistently with their avowed desire to see Italy liberated from tyrannical oppressors, and that this policy had represented the feeling of the country. He complimented Sir George Bowyer on his loyalty to the church of which he was a member, but affirmed that the government would be willing to abide by the verdict of the nation.

The first year of the decade, the events of which we are now considering, is memorable for the commencement of that tremendous conflict which it was thought would separate the United States of America into two independent republics; and the social as well as the political effects produced in this country by the war in America were attended with great anxiety and fraught with no inconsiderable danger. The anxiety was of two kinds, the painful impression produced by the prospect of a long and sanguinary struggle between people who had formed one great nation —speaking the same language, possessing the same civilization, and in the main derived from the same stock as ourselves; and the fear (which for a time proved to be well grounded) that our commercial and international relations to either or to both belligerents would be injured and imperilled. The danger lay in the ignorance of the great majority of people here as to the real grounds of a strife which appeared to be so sudden and overwhelming; and in the erroneous impression which many of the most enlightened and sagacious of our public men had formed of its probable issue. In a word, England, because of her true and natural sympathy with the people of the United States, was divided into partisans of the North or of the South, according to the sentiments or the misapprehensions by which opinions were guided, at

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the very time when the near and peculiar relation that we bore to the combatants most demanded the exercise of a practically disinterested neutrality, which as a nation we earnestly and successfully strove to preserve.

There was and continued to be a great deal of confusion in the representations current in England with regard to the original causes of the war and the reasons for its continuance; nor would it be easy within the limits of these pages to trace the real history of its beginning, and the varied conditions and vicissitudes under which it was pursued. That the first hostilities by the South and the secession of South Carolina were in immediate relation to the apparently inevitable opposition of the Northern States to the maintenance of slavery was obvious enough; but several endeavours were made by the United States government to induce the slave-holding states to remain loyal to the Union, and among the propositions were suggestions to adopt a boundary line beyond which slavery should never be interfered with. When the "Republican" party, which was regarded as the anti-slavery party, carried their candidate for the presidency, it was still admitted that force would not or should not be employed to restore the Union. Mr. Seward, who became secretary of state, had declared that if the Union were restored by force it would not be worth having. Mr. Abraham Lincoln, however, in his inaugural address, stated his intention of recovering and keeping the property of the United States, and as he did not mention that he would do so by the force of arms, much trouble was taken by several eminent men in and out of office to represent that the message was truly pacific. It would appear that a considerable number of those who read the message in this way—and among them Mr. Seward—professed not to believe in the reality of the secession, but thought that the temporary demonstrations of revolt would cease when the whole question came to be argued and a compromise was effected. Otherwise it is difficult to see how the property of the Union could be either recovered or preserved without recourse to force. South Carolina having announced her resumption of separate independence as a sovereign state, had been followed by Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas; and Mr. Jefferson Davis, who had formerly been secretary of war in the United States government, was elected, in a meeting at Charleston, and proclaimed first president of these "Confederated States." Then, after having adopted a constitution similar to that of the United States government, the Confederates or "Seceders" took possession of all the property of the Federal government within their reach, including all the military posts except two or three forts. In Texas a force of 2000 regular troops under General Twiggs surrendered to the state militia; and Major Anderson, commanding the Federal garrison of Fort Moultrie, in the port of Charleston, blew up the post which he could no longer hold, and removed the garrison to Fort Sumter.

All this had taken place during the presidency of Mr. Buchanan, who preceded Mr. Lincoln, and who was said to be closely allied to the interests of the slaveowners. At any-rate some of his ministers were in favour of the Confederacy, and he was obliged to dismiss them. One of them, Mr. Floyd, afterwards become a violent partisan of the South, and commanded a brigade in Western Virginia, and another went to preside over the Confederate senate.

These were convincing signs that the question of slaveholding and slave traffic were the primary reasons for secession; but for a proper understanding of the attitude of the Federal government, it will be necessary to remember that at the time of the actual commencement of hostilities and afterwards, Mr. Abraham Lincoln declared that he did not go to war to put an end to slavery, nor even to decide whether in certain states slavery should or should not exist, or whether a certain number of slaves should be permitted; but that he called upon the Northern States to arm solely to preserve the Union, which it was their duty to maintain.

So far then we may see a little of what was the position of affairs in 1861; but whatever may have been the assumed causes or the expressed objects of the combatants, the

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slave question was that which had really to be settled. The advances in civil liberty made by the Northern States, where the "peculiar institution" of holding negroes in perpetual bondage had been long abandoned, made the perpetuation of slavery in neighbouring territories under the same government impossible, and the negro who could escape over the border was concealed or protected by the "abolitionists." After the commencement of the war such fugitives were enfranchised by the law which was passed against the recapture of, or claim of property in, any one dwelling within the boundaries of the free states.

The cry for abolition of negro slavery was in the air of the Northern States; and there were not wanting either true narratives, passionate appeals, fictional representations, or clear, indisputable evidence to show what were the actual as well as the possible cruelties and degradations to which the human chattel was liable under the irresponsible authority of an owner, or the irregulated tyranny of an overseer. Slavery could not have existed in any form likely to have been acceptable to either party, and, indeed, the most vigorous party—those who had retained the "grit" and persistency of the early founders of America—would not have rested with any compromise. Their forefathers, like ours, had regarded the institution as at least a permissible one, even when they did not rely on a convenient interpretation of Scripture for its support; but these people had abandoned the belief that negroes were the children of Ham, or that the system of slavery as it was practised, or might easily be practised, was of divine institution. To them it was a thing evil and odious—a system which had become dangerous to the existence of the republic. Whatever may have been Mr. Seward's opinion of the means to be taken to abolish it—and though in 1861 he may have regarded the secession of the slave-owning states as only a temporary demonstration—he had, as early as 1858, declared in a speech in New York state that the antagonism between freedom and slavery was "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces;" and the "irrepressible conflict" became one of those significant phrases which are conveniently used to express settled convictions. But it is necessary to note that Mr. Seward apparently held the opinion that a compromise might be made by which slavery should be suffered gradually to die out, or should by degrees be superseded by free labour, and should not be perpetuated in future generations by what were called the slave-breeding states. Even before the date of the speech just quoted he had said, in addressing the senate at Washington, "All parties in this country that have tolerated the extension of slavery, except one, have perished for that error already, and that last one—the Democratic party—is hurrying on irretrievably to the same fate!"

There was nothing in the attitude of the state of South Carolina inconsistent with previous demonstrations. In 1848, when the senate at Washington had approved of a petition from the people of New Mexico to exclude domestic slavery from that country, the assembly of South Carolina passed resolutions denying the power of Congress to prohibit the introduction of slavery into any territory acquired by treaty or by the arms of all the states. The question was not likely to become the cause of a national conflict while the Democratic party was in power, for the Democrats of America may be said to have represented the Conservative party, and the Republicans the Whigs or Liberals. Near the end of the year 1853 a meeting of English ladies was held at Stafford House to agree upon a memorial to the ladies of the United States, which said, "A common origin, a common faith, and we sincerely believe a common cause, urge us at the present moment to address you on the subject of that negro slavery which still prevails so extensively, and even under kindly disposed masters, with such frightful results, in many of the vast regions of the Western World." The address was read by the Duchess of Sutherland, and was sent; but the answer received from Mrs. Tyler, the wife of the ex-president, was resentful. It roundly told the duchess that she might find fitting objects for her sympathy in London, in Ireland, or on her own Highland estates; and

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said, "Leave it to the women of the South to alleviate the sufferings of their dependants, while you take care of your own. The negro of the South lives sumptuously in comparison with 100,000 of your white population in London." This reply, of course, did not touch the other side of the negro question, and, in fact, did not touch the question of slavery at all. It indicated, perhaps, that a large proportion of the people of the Northern States did not care much for the negroes, as they very plainly showed when they came in contact with them; and it seemed to imply that at that time emancipation was not regarded as a desirable question to bring into prominence. Evidences were not wanting that it might soon become a difficult, if not a dangerous one.

The Republicans appear to have taken up the slave question as one which would have to be fought out with determination, and were ready to demand that the whole force of the government should be exerted to prevent the extension or the perpetuation of slavery in any of the states of the Union. The Democrats, on the other hand, were equally ready to defend "the institution," and the result was that while the United States government, in conjunction with Great Britain, was expending a large amount of money and losing many men in the work of suppressing the African slave-trade—and the only portions of the civilized world where that traffic was tolerated were the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico—runaway slaves, in their endeavour to escape from the Southern States to the borders, were recaptured and severely punished. Even at Charleston the abolitionists were wrought to a pitch of excitement by the arrest of fugitives, and their relinquishment to those who claimed them as their property. This was in accordance with the Fugitive Slave Bill passed by Congress in 1850, permitting owners to follow runaway slaves into free states, and making any assistance given to them in their flight, or any opposition to their arrest, illegal and punishable. At the same time the "free soil" party—(who, like the slaveholders, were fond of the word "freedom" in relation to themselves)—agreed to reject the testimony of slaves in courts of justice. This had been the condition of affairs in those states which did not repudiate the bill by their own state laws, until the secession of the Southern States, and the first losses of the Federals after the commencement of the war—when Abraham Lincoln, who was then president, issued a proclamation declaring the freedom of all fugitive slaves entering the Federal States.

The demands for complete emancipation had not been altogether silenced since the days when England had paid so heavily for the freedom of the negroes in her West Indian possessions. In France and in America anti-slavery societies were earnestly at work, but all that could be done was to insist on the active suppression of the traffic in Africa. Unhappily the slave-dealers and their agents, the man-stealers, found the trade sufficiently profitable to tempt them to run great risks, and horrible discoveries were sometimes made of the sufferings of the wretched creatures, who were battened down in fast-sailing craft, that a quick run might be made to escape the British, French, or American cruisers. In 1840 the societies held a conference, the result of which was that the American government endeavoured to establish a negro colony, which they called Liberia, on the West Coast of Africa, to which slaves who had obtained their freedom might be sent. We cannot here follow the obvious causes of the failure of this attempt to form a self-sustaining colony of freed slaves. England had a station at Sierra Leone for the reception of negroes rescued from intercepted slave ships. It was believed that many of the slaves bought in Africa were not only taken to Cuba and Porto Rico, but were smuggled through Texas to the Southern States of America; but apart from that, those states retained in bondage the negroes at work on the plantations or otherwise employed, and comparatively few of them or their offspring obtained their freedom. The number of the negro slave population in the South in 1840 was reckoned at about two millions; but these figures were uncertain, or perhaps did not include the quadroons or mixed race of negroes and whites, numbers of whom were kept in slavery even though, in many instances, the

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signs of their negro descent had been almost obliterated, or at least were not conspicuous.

The anti-slavery societies had done much, and the Quaker community had been forward in the effort to abolish from the land what they believed to be an accursed thing; but, as we have seen, other powerful agencies contributed to give a quick incentive to the movement, which in 1859 had aroused not only the interests but the passions of either side. The question had become, at the same time, a political and a religious one. Slaves who succeeded in escaping from the plantations found protectors in the free states, who aided and comforted them even at the risk of incurring punishment by the law, or the lawless revenge of those who looked upon them much as horse or cattle stealers would have been regarded in some other communities. The fugitives often had dreadful stories to tell of the cruelties practised by overseers; the evidences of the truth of what they said, were to be seen upon their scarred and seared bodies, and were often corroborated by witnesses who had themselves visited Southern plantations, or possessed indubitable testimony of the treatment of which the slaves were frequently the victims. It may be conceded that comparatively few instances of cruelty and atrocity would have been sufficient, in the excited state of feeling, to raise a passionate outcry against the system of slavery and a demand for its abolition, but the examples were too numerous to be regarded as exceedingly rare or as altogether exceptional. It was known that men, women, and children were sold at auction like beasts, that they were often treated like brutes, that men and even women were flogged and punished in a revolting manner, that women who were not negroes, but who were partly of negro blood, might be flogged or worse. Not only in cries, speeches, songs were these things denounced, but anti-slavery tracts, essays, stories, were circulated in great numbers. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's story, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, sent a thrill of pain and of indignation not only through the Northern States, but through England, through other nations of Europe. Of course we know now that it was a "story," that all that was in it was not fact in the sense of its having happened in relation to persons such as were there depicted; but there was nothing in it that might not have happened without interference by law. The system of slavery in the South made such incidents possible, many of them probable: it was known that they had happened and were happening. The character of Uncle Tom was not the biography of any one man. It has been explained that the first suggestion of it reached Mrs. Stowe while she was in the Walnut Hills, Ohio. The coloured cook, whose husband was a slave in Kentucky, used to go to Mrs. Stowe to ask her to write to him. The poor woman told her mistress that this man's master trusted him to go alone and unwatched to Cincinnati to market his farm produce. This, according to the laws of Ohio, gave the man his freedom, since if any master brought or sent his slave into Ohio he became free *de facto*. But she said her husband had given his word as a Christian to his master that he would not take advantage of the law—his master promising him his freedom. Whether he ever got it is not recorded. It was some four or five years after, when the fugitive slave law made Mrs. Stowe desirous of showing what slavery was, that she conceived the plan of writing the history of a faithful Christian slave. After she had begun the story she obtained, at the Anti-slavery Rooms in Boston, the autobiography of Josiah Henson, and introduced some of its most striking incidents into the story. Josiah Henson, an old negro, was in England in 1879 or 1880, and was introduced as the Uncle Tom of Mrs. Stowe's story. Doubtless *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had an immense effect in increasing the public feeling against slavery; but it was not alone books or stories or public meetings which were working upon the popular imagination or the general sense of right and justice. In 1859 "abolition" had taken a startling and practical form—the form of an enthusiasm which, by some, was not unnaturally regarded as fanaticism, as displayed by John Brown and his sons and followers at Harper Ferry.

John Brown, or as he was usually called, "Old John Brown," had been a prominent character before the struggle between the

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abolitionists and the supporters of slavery broke out into systematic reprisals. He had been the victim of one of the raids made by the border ruffians of Missouri during the time that the country was disturbed by bands of robbers and scoundrels, who made political excitement and party opposition the pretext for committing all kinds of atrocities. He was the son of an Ohio farmer, and himself made a considerable competence by farming and by trading in wool. While on his land in Kansas his homestead and farm buildings were burned, his property stolen, and it was said that two of his children were killed. Probably it was known at that time that he held strong opinions on slavery, though it appears that he had previously taken no prominent part in public affairs; but afterwards, and when he was about sixty years of age, he became a determined abolitionist, and with his six sons devoted himself to efforts to liberate the slaves. He became what his opponents called a fanatic or a monomaniac, but his friends regarded him as an enthusiast. He with his sons organized a band of about five-and-twenty, most of whom, it was said, were New Englanders, and all well armed. Several times these men, under "Old Brown's" guidance, had penetrated far into the interior of Missouri and liberated from jail, men who had been apprehended on a charge of assisting slaves to escape, or on some other allegation connected with attempting to free the negroes, which would probably have cost the accused persons their lives after a trial by "Judge Lynch." For a very small amount of practical sympathy with an escaped slave, either in speech or action, men had been seized and roughly used, and afterwards tarred and feathered, or sat astride upon a sharp rail beneath which their feet were tied together; and for active participation in the escape of a fugitive, or opposition to his recapture, they were liable to be tried by lynch-law and hanged or severely maltreated. When John Brown and his followers paid a return visit to Missouri they made reprisals by setting free numbers of slaves, and occasionally had a fight, in which some of their opponents were killed or their property damaged. It should be remembered, however, that their antagonists were the people who strove to force slavery upon the state of Kansas by raising a civil war. An agreement was come to which for a time caused a cessation of hostilities, and Brown settled down again to his farm, until a party of Missourians in pursuit of a runaway negro, under a pretence of looking for "their property," forced their way into the houses of some of the people of Kansas without legal authority, and committed several outrages. They had not long returned to their homes when Old Brown, his sons, and followers were among them, retaliating by carrying off negroes and horses and making other reprisals upon their property. A bold and skilful rider, a man of iron constitution and iron determination, Brown became a determined assailant, and eventually devoted himself entirely to the rescue of negroes. His sons lost their lives during the repeated struggles in which they were engaged. The name of the leader of the Kansas band was known all over America, and his foes had offered a reward for his head. He and his followers, however, contrived to inflict repeated defeats on their opponents, who, of course, often outnumbered them, but were beaten by the skilful strategy of the man who afterwards said he was always ready to give his life for the cause which he had adopted with the intensity and fervour of a strong religious conviction. It was said that a committee of five called on him on one occasion and informed him that he must leave the territory in three days or die—that they would come to his house with a sufficient force at the end of that time, and if they found him still there they would hang him. The old man thanked them for the notice, saying very coolly, "You will find me here then, gentlemen." Before the next sun rose the five members of that committee were in the other world. Whether Brown killed them or not is unknown; but it is certain, had they lived, that they would have killed him, and no man knew that better than he. On one occasion a certain Henry Clay Pate started out from Westport, Missouri, with a party of thirty-three men, full of boastings and promises to catch "Old Brown" and take him a prisoner to Missouri, his only fear being that

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he would not be able to find him. Brown was very easily found, however, for with sixteen men he went out to meet Pate, and after a short fight at Black Jack, near the Santa Fé Road, in which a few were killed and wounded, Pate and his party surrendered to "Old Brown," with the exception of a Wyandot Indian by the name of Long, and a notorious murderer named Coleman. These two men, being well mounted, made their escape.

Upon another occasion a body of some 220 men were raised and equipped in Jackson county, and started into Kansas, under the command of General Whitfield, to attack and capture Brown, who, being always vigilant and wary, was possessed of secret means of intelligence, and had made full preparation to meet the Missourians. He was encamped with 160 men at a chosen point near the Santa Fé Road, which he knew his enemies would pass. He had fifty men with Sharpe's rifles, which would kill at half a mile, and which could be loaded at the breech and fired with great rapidity. His men he had concealed in a ravine, where they lay on the ground, and commanded the prairie for a mile before them. The residue of the party he had concealed in the timber, ready at the proper moment for an attack on the flank of those who might reach the ravine alive. Colonel Sumner, with a squad of dragoons, came down from Fort Leavenworth and prevented the fight, disbanding both parties, after which the colonel was heard to remark that his interposition was a fortunate event for the Missourians, as the arrangements and preparation made by Brown would have ensured their destruction.

It was at Harper Ferry, a singularly beautiful spot at the entrance of the Alleghanies, where the great rivers the Potomac and the Shenandoah form a junction, that the event occurred which terminated Brown's career, and may be said to have precipitated the struggle which only ended with the close of the American war. To Harper Ferry went the farmers of Western Virginia when they had to enter the lower world, and thither also went the Maryland and Lower Virginian slaveholders when they wanted to pass westwards or to seek a cool temperature in summer. It is just within the Virginian frontier, and precisely where Maryland is narrowest, so that Pennsylvania could be reached in a few hours. Thither "Old Brown" went in 1857 or 1858, after having buried his sons and defeated his enemies in Kansas, and seen the soil there safe from the intrusion of slavery, and helped the Missouri people in getting rid of what remained of it in their territory. It appears that he believed it to be the duty of his life to go wherever he could most effectually repeat this kind of effort. So he went to Harper Ferry, whence, being close to Pennsylvania, where the free blacks were in considerable numbers, he could operate at once upon Maryland and Virginia. Had he wished to raise a servile war he would have gone down into the cotton states; but, as he afterwards declared, he had no desire to kindle such horrors. He wished to free the slaves without bloodshed—that is, by running them off. For a year he lived, with two or three coadjutors, at a farm near Harper Ferry, maturing his schemes, and collecting arms and other resources for holding the ground while the negroes ran.

It was in the autumn of 1858 that he and his two surviving sons made their appearance at the place under the name of Smith. Brown's farm was on the Maryland side of the Potomac, and, the better to conceal his real objects, he pretended to make investigations for the discovery of minerals. He chose for his lieutenant a man named Cook, who belonged to the neighbourhood, and they selected for their confederates, men who, like themselves, had taken a prominent part in defending the soil of Kansas against slaveholding aggression. With the free negroes they originally formed a band of not more than twenty-two persons; but their numbers were ultimately increased by volunteers, and by slaves whom they seized on neighbouring plantations, but who voluntarily joined them. On the night of Sunday the 16th of October, 1859, the watchmen at Harper Ferry Bridge were seized by a body of insurgents, who were headed by Brown and Cook. A party under Cook then entered Maryland, and arrested at their own houses Colonel Washington and Mr. Allstadt, two

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influential slaveholders, and these gentlemen they afterwards confined as prisoners in the Armoury at Harper Ferry. Cook, at the head of the captured negroes, and accompanied by two white men, marched in the early morning up the mountain road in the direction of Pennsylvania, probably intending to incite the slaves of Maryland to rebellion. Old Brown, on the other hand, returned to the town, took possession of the Armoury, and stationed bodies of armed men at various points, so that when the inhabitants arose the next morning they found, greatly to their surprise, that their town was in a state of siege, and that the trains had been stopped and the telegraphic wires broken. A species of guerilla warfare then commenced between the insurgents and the townspeople, and in this way several lives were sacrificed. In the course of the day troops arrived from the neighbouring towns of Charleston, Shepherdstown, and Martinsburgh; but before the arrival of these troops the insurgents had entrenched themselves in the Armoury grounds, which they prepared to defend. In the meanwhile the news of these events had reached Washington and Baltimore, and had created some consternation in those cities, and in fact throughout the United States. Colonel Lee was immediately despatched by the war department at Washington to take command of the troops, and to suppress the insurrection. He, together with a party of soldiers and marines from Baltimore, reached Harper Ferry in the course of the Monday night; and at once caused a number of the troops to surround the engine-house, in which the insurgents had determined to make their final stand. Owing to the absence of windows from the building, and the impossibility of taking accurate aim through the holes which had been pierced through the walls and doors, the besieged could do but little mischief, while the besiegers, on their side, were afraid to use cannon lest they should injure the prisoners who were kept in confinement. Under these circumstances Colonel Lee at first refrained from an attack, but sent an officer with a flag of truce to demand of the enemy an unconditional surrender; but John Brown refused these terms, and required that he should be permitted to march out with his "men and arms, taking the prisoners with them; that they should proceed unpursued to the second toll-gate, when they would free their prisoners; the soldiers would then be permitted to pursue them, and they would fight if they could not escape." This proposition was, of course, rejected, and Colonel Lee at once gave the signal for making the attack. The door was battered down, an entrance was forced, and after a brief but sanguinary struggle all the surviving insurgents were made prisoners. John Brown was found to be severely wounded, but was expected to recover; one of his sons received a mortal wound. The prisoners were removed to Charleston jail, to await their trial on the double charge of murder and high treason.

It was said that, in an interview with Governor Wise, Brown made a full confession, stating that the whole plot was well contrived and arranged as far back as 1856, and that he had reason to expect assistance of from 3000 to 5000 men—that he looked for aid from every state. The search of his house led to the discovery of a large number of rifles, pistols, and swords, and a great quantity of ammunition, together with various documents, one of which appointed Brown commander-in-chief and specified the rank of his followers, while another purported to be a provisional constitution for the United States —abolishing slavery, among other changes. In the fight six citizens and fifteen insurgents were killed, and several on both sides wounded.

Brown was put upon his trial at Charleston on the 27th, ten days after he was taken prisoner, and notwithstanding that appeals were made on account of his physical condition, a postponement was refused. He was taken into court on a bed, as he was severely wounded in four places, and was unable to sit up without assistance, to listen to his arraignment. A Virginian counsel had been appointed by the court for his defence, but though he declared that he could have no confidence in this arrangement, considering the excited state of the public mind in Charleston and the hostility exhibited towards him, he was

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not granted two days' delay to enable him to procure legal aid from the Free States. The consequence was that the members of the Massachusetts and Ohio bar whom he employed did not make their appearance in court until all the evidence for the prosecution was in; and they were compelled to enter upon their duties without consultation with the prisoner, without any accurate knowledge of the facts, and little or none of the Virginian criminal code. On the Saturday night they had been without sleep for two nights—partly spent in travelling, partly in study—and pressed for an adjournment until Monday morning to enable them to recover from complete physical exhaustion. The prosecution fiercely opposed it, on the ground that all the women in Virginia "were harassed by alarm and anxiety as long as the trial lasted," and that the jurymen wanted to get home to their wives. The summing up was accordingly commenced after nightfall, and the prisoner's counsel only escaped having to address the jury through the extreme lateness of the hour.

When, at the commencement of the trial, Brown was asked whether he had counsel, he addressed the court, saying:—

"Virginians, I did not ask for any quarter at the time I was taken. I did not ask to have my life spared. The Governor of the State of Virginia tendered me his assurance that I should have a fair trial; but under no circumstances whatever will I be able to have a fair trial. If you seek my blood you can have it at any moment without this mockery of a trial. I have had no counsel—I have not been able to advise with any one. I know nothing about the feelings of my fellow-prisoners, and am utterly unable to attend in any way to my own defence. My memory don't serve me—my health is insufficient, although improving. There are mitigating circumstances that I would urge in our favour, if a fair trial is to be allowed us; but if we are to be forced to put up with a mere form of trial—a trial for execution—you might spare yourselves that trouble. I am ready for my fate—I do not ask a trial. I beg for no mockery of a trial—no insult—nothing but that which conscience gives, or cowardice would drive you to practise. I ask again to be excused from the mockery of a trial. I do not even know what the special design of this examination is. I do not know what is to be the benefit of it to the commonwealth. I have now little further to ask, other than that I may not be foolishly insulted only as cowardly barbarians insult those who fall into their power."

The Democrats made strenuous efforts to show that Mr. Seward and the Republican party were implicated in Brown's attempt, but such a charge could not be sustained. At the same time men of influence and of pronounced opinions did not hesitate to declare sympathy with the prisoner, whose name was already becoming a watchword.

"As to the plot itself," wrote William Lloyd Garrison, "it is evident that few or none were privy to it, except the little band directly engaged in it; for though Captain Brown had many to sympathize with him in different parts of the country, in view of his terrible bereavements, perils, and sufferings in Kansas, in defence of the freedom of that territory against border ruffian invasion, and were disposed to contribute not only to relieve his necessities, but also to facilitate the escape of slaves through his instrumentality to Canada, still an enterprise so wild and futile as this could not have received any countenance in that direction.

"As to Captain Brown, all who know him personally are united in the conviction that a more honest, conscientious, truthful, brave, disinterested man (however misguided or unfortunate) does not exist; that he possesses a deeply religious nature, powerfully wrought upon by the trials through which he has passed; and he sincerely believes himself to have been raised up by God to deliver the oppressed in this country in the way he had chosen, as did Moses in relation to the deliverance of the captive Israelites; that when he says he aims to be guided by the golden rule, it is no cant from his lips, but a vital application of it to his own soul, 'remembering those that are in bonds as bound with them;' that when he affirms that he had no other motive for his conduct at Harper Ferry except to break the chains of the oppressed, by the

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shedding of the least possible amount of human blood, he speaks 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth;' and that if he shall (as he will speedily, beyond a peradventure) be put to death he will not die ignobly, but as a martyr to his sympathy for a suffering race, and in defence of the sacred and inalienable rights of man, and will, therefore, deserve to be held in grateful and honourable remembrance to the latest posterity by all those who glory in the deeds of a Wallace, a Tell, or a Washington. It will be a terrible, losing day for all slavedom when John Brown and his associates are brought to the gallows. It will be sowing seed broadcast for a harvest of retribution. Their blood will cry trumpet-tongued from the ground, and that cry will be responded to by tens of thousands in a manner that shall cause the knees of the Southern slavemongers to smite together as did those of Belshazzar of old."

The Rev. Mr. Beecher, brother of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, said:—

"An old, honest, industrious man peacefully went to settle with his family in the west. His lot was cast in Kansas. A great slave state adjoining the territory marches her armed men in among the peaceful settlers to dragoon them to uphold slavery by force of arms. They cross the boundary and subvert the laws, and commence a civil war. They pollute the ballot-box and carry destruction among the harvests and death among the quiet cultivators of the soil. There were no marines, no militia, sent to oppose them. There were forces there, but they acted on their side—on the side of the wrong-doers, the invaders. It was here that Brown learned his first lesson on the slavery system—here that old man endured his first sufferings in the death of his first-born, who was dragged manacled across the country by the slavery-men in the heat of a broiling sun, and afterwards beaten by inhuman officers. Another son was shot down by them. Revolving the indignation in his mind against the system that would tolerate and countenance such cruelty and bloodshed, he is goaded by his own feelings to a mad but fixed determination to oppose it to the end of his life. And now, as he is in the depressing, the most trying circumstances, no one can fail to discover in this same old man a manly, straightforward, independent soul, which rises high above all those among whom he is at present, however insane he may be. I shrink from the folly of the bloody fray in which he was engaged; I shrink further from the bloody fray which will follow it: but while I do, I feel that by and by, when people will read the record of the whole tragic scene, they will wonder at and admire the bearing of the old man who, through all his misfortunes, woes, and suffering, maintained a dignity and independence, and a sentiment which only shines in full brilliancy when contrasted with the conduct of his accusers, who possess their reason."

Brown was sentenced to death, and several of the others concerned in the insurrection were sentenced at the same time.

When the verdict was pronounced Brown sat up in his bed and addressing the court, said:—

"I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted—of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri, and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended to do. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion or to make insurrection. I have another objection, and that is that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved—for I admire the truthfulness and candour of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it

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would have been all right, and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. This court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever that I would that men should do to me I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to remember them that are in bonds as bound with me. I endeavour to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, on behalf of his despised poor is no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country, whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done. Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind. Let me say something also in regard to the statements made by some of those who were connected with me. I fear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me; but the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. No one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated. Now I have done."

Mr. Chilton, one of his counsel, proposed to stay judgment on the ground of errors in the indictment and in the verdict, but without effect. The laws of the state of Virginia would not allow the governor to pardon a person convicted of treason to the commonwealth except with the consent of the General Assembly declared by resolution. The legislature did not interpose, and it is was believed that even if the governor had been disposed to commute the punishment and spare Brown's life, public feeling in Virginia would have been too strong to allow him to do so.

Brown maintained the same unyielding and courageous bearing to the last. While he was in prison a Quaker lady wrote to him a letter of sympathy—telling him that though those who were non-resistants could not approve of bloodshed, yet they knew that he was animated by the most generous and philanthropic motives; that thousands prayed for him every day; that posterity would do him justice. He wrote a calm reply, declaring that he had acted under a conviction that a sword was put into his hand for the work he had to do, and God continued it so long as he saw best, and then kindly took it from him. He concluded by saying: "I always loved my Quaker friends, and I commend to their kind regard my poor bereaved, widowed wife, and my daughter and daughters-in-law, whose husbands fell at my side. One is a mother, and the other likely to become so soon. They, as well as my own sorrow-stricken daughter, are left very poor, and have much greater need of sympathy than I, who, through infinite grace and the kindness of strangers, am 'joyful in all my tribulations.' Dear sister, write them at North Elba, Essex Co., N.Y., to comfort their sad hearts. Direct to Mary A. Brown, wife of John Brown. There is also another—a widow, wife of Thompson, who fell with my poor boys in the affair at Harper's Ferry, at the same place. I do not feel conscious of guilt in taking up arms; and had it been in behalf of the rich and powerful, the intelligent, the great—as men count greatness—of those who form enactments to suit themselves and corrupt others, or some of their friends, that I interfered, suffered, sacrificed, and fell, it would have been doing very well. But enough of this. These light afflictions,

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which endure for a moment, shall work out for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. I would be very grateful for another letter from you. My wounds are healing. Farewell. God will surely attend to his own cause in the best possible way and time, and he will not forget the work of his own hand."

On the 2d of December, 1859, Brown was executed at Charleston. He maintained the same confident and cheerful spirit to the end. Even his interview with his wife on the previous day did not shake him. They were both composed even at the moment of parting, after they had spoken of the education of their children and the death of his two sons, whose bodies the wife had endeavoured to recover. He was conveyed to the scaffold in a wagon containing a pine box, on which he sat. In the box was an oak coffin. An attempt at a rescue by armed bands of men from the free states had been suspected. The town was filled with strangers and with soldiers. The execution was the occasion of a military display in front of the jail and afterwards at the scaffold, where the men were marched and countermarched for ten minutes, during which the condemned man had to stand with the cap drawn over his face and the rope round his neck. Nothing shook his fortitude or broke the calm of his demeanour. Among his last utterances were kindly words to the jailer and the sheriff.

Brown was hanged, and whatever may be thought of it otherwise, it was a mistake—the deed itself and the manner of it. It was reported that the rope to be used at the execution, was publicly exhibited at the sheriff's office, and was made of South Carolina cotton—a fact which was mentioned with exultation, with the words "No Northern hemp shall help to punish our felons." This story may have been an invention, but there can be no doubt of the defiant and threatening attitude assumed on the occasion. In some of the Northern States there were significant counter demonstrations: minute guns were fired, flags hung half-mast high, and sympathy meetings were held. In the legislative assembly at Boston motions for adjournment were made in the senate and in the house of representatives, and though the proposal was not carried, strong language was used. What Mr. Garrison had said became of great significance afterwards. Though some trivial or contemptuous verses about the execution of John Brown were sung by numbers of the Southerners, the time came, when the tide of success had turned, that the Federal troops marched to a kind of chant, poor enough in composition, but with a refrain to which the name of the chief insurgent of Harper Ferry gave an intensity of meaning as it spoke of his death and immortality. By that time, however, the war, which on the part of the North was declared to have been for the prevention of disunion, was distinctly directed to the immediate and complete extinction of slavery in all the states.

The Harper Ferry insurrection has occupied much of our attention; but it will serve better than detailed reference to subsequent events, to indicate the conditions underlying the merely superficial aspects of the two parties, and the violent antagonism which so quickly led to the attempted disintegration of the republic.

The states of Arkansas and Mississippi soon joined the Confederation, but the border slave states were uncertain. Mr. Buchanan, the president who preceded Mr. Lincoln, was, as we have seen, divided in his opinions, inclining, it was believed, towards Southern demands, and though he stopped short of any actual encouragement to secession, he gladly supported the proposal of Virginia to come to some sort of compromise. The terms presented for acceptance were ineffectual, and indeed no compromise was probable. The free states could not without dishonour stoop to the alternatives by which an agreement could have been arrived at; for the South had apparently determined in any case to use every effort to establish an independent government. By the end of May, 1861, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina had followed South Carolina. The complete confederation of seceded states was then formed, and though at the beginning of the year many

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cautious Northern politicians would have consented to let all the slave states go if they could have secured the permanent cohesion of the Federation, which would still have numbered twenty millions on the right bank of the Ohio,—and the secessionist leaders would then have been ready to adopt the proposition, and had even endeavoured to press the border states to decide one way or the other,—there was no longer much expectation of any arbitration but that of the sword. Mr. Jefferson Davis and his colleagues had in fact determined to commence a war, expecting that no slave-owning state would side with the North. The Confederate General Beauregard, commanding at Charleston, was ordered to attack Fort Sumter; the garrison capitulated, and the effect was that there went through the North an immediate resolve to put down secession as rebellion. Mr. Lincoln, in pursuance of this distinct declaration, called upon the states to provide 75,000 men. It was then that Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee had seceded from the Union, and Kentucky and Missouri refused to comply with the requisition for providing troops. Delaware remained neutral, but in Maryland, and particularly in Baltimore, an insurrection was only prevented by the military force which had been rapidly collected to defend the seat of government at Washington.

Jefferson Davis, who had been elected President of the "Confederate" States, was a man of considerable distinction—the son of a Kentucky planter who had removed to the state of Mississippi. Young Davis, after finishing his education, went to the United States Military College at West Point, where he graduated in 1828, when he was twenty years of age, and was appointed brevet second lieutenant. For seven years he continued his military duties, the active service being mostly against the Indians who fought under the renowned chief *Black Hawk*. In 1835 he resigned his commission, and became a cotton planter in Mississippi. In 1843 he began to take an active interest in political affairs, and became an influential member of the Democratic party. He was elected to Congress in 1845, and at once took a prominent part in its discussions, especially on military affairs. On the breaking out of war with Mexico in 1846 Mr. Davis was elected colonel of the 1st Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, which he led to the Rio Grand to reinforce General Taylor. He at once became one of the foremost officers engaged in the campaign, and not only bore a part in the fighting which caused the commander to speak in complimentary terms of his coolness and gallantry, but, as one of the commissioners employed in drawing up the terms for the capitulation of Montery, displayed judgment and ability. Mr. Davis was consistent in his political views. On the expiration of his term of service after the Mexican war, President Palk offered him a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers, which he declined on the ground that the constitution reserved the appointment of the officers of militia to the respective states themselves, and that consequently such an appointment by the federal executive was a violation of the rights of the states. In 1847 he was again returned to the senate as one of the representatives of Mississippi, and was chosen chairman of the committee on military affairs. He was a zealous supporter of state rights, of the institution of slavery, and of the demands of the slave states; but he was defeated as a candidate for the governorship of Mississippi. When General Pierce became president in 1853 Mr. Davis was appointed secretary of war, a post which he held till the election of Mr. Buchanan to the presidency in 1857. During this time he had introduced remarkable improvements in the war department, and in the discipline and organization of the army. In 1857 he retired from office, and was again elected to Congress, in which he would have continued till 1863 but for the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1860, and the secession of the slave states. There was probably no man in the country who could have been chosen for the President of the Confederacy with a better reputation for energy and ability than Colonel Jefferson Davis. This was shown by the promptitude with which he took the reins of the government, together with the activity he displayed in successfully carrying

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on the conflict during many months in such a manner that, to the eye of Europe, the disunion of the States seemed almost inevitable—a disunion the probability of which had been foreseen by the President Jefferson more than half a century before Mr. Davis (who, like many Americans, was named after him) undertook the arduous and dangerous task of guiding the Confederation, and directing the revolt against the Union.

On the other side, the man who had been elected President of the United States, and who, after the declaration of the Confederates, had announced decisively that he would treat the attempts of the secessionists as rebellion, was equally able to hold his own, though he had passed through an entirely different training and experience. Abraham Lincoln, or "honest old Abe," as many of his rather familiarly admiring countrymen called him, afforded a very striking example not only of the mental and physical characteristics of the active and able American, but of the comparative facility with which, in America, such men may direct their ambition into channels which lead to political influence and to official honours. The biography of Mr. Lincoln is simple enough, but it exhibits a very remarkable instance of the untiring perseverance and tenacity which usually lead to great results, and these united to singular sagacity and penetration were precisely the qualities which he needed at a time when it was necessary not only to persist in opposition to what appeared to many to be a successful revolution, but to control the impatience and indiscretion of his own supporters. Perhaps the designation "honest" expressed the most important qualification of the man in such a crisis. It was above everything essential that the president should be one who could be trusted not to be led either by mere party considerations or by personal interests, and Abraham Lincoln was a man of undoubted integrity, of calm strength of character, and with that peculiar dry but genial humour which has in itself a powerful influence. "Abe" Lincoln's sayings became aphorisms, and his pithy quaint replies to importunate or impertinent questioners, his brief retorts and his weighty epigrammatic hints, had an extraordinary effect, sometimes greater, perhaps, than the simple earnest statements by which he declared his policy or defended his conclusions. Mr. Lincoln was about a year younger than Mr. Jefferson Davis, and was also born in Kentucky (in 1809), where his father's family, having left Virginia some thirty years before, had settled to frontier life. His grandfather had been killed in a sudden attack made upon the settlers by the Indians, and his father, who was the youngest of the family, was early initiated into the hardships of border enterprise. But a man who was poor and who owned no slaves, farming land held on an uncertain tenure, had little chance against the wealthy planters with their negro labourers, and when Abraham was about seven years old the family removed to Spencer County in Indiana, where the boy, who had about a year's schooling, began to work. In 1818, when he was nine years old, his mother died, but her place was in a great measure supplied by a good and kind stepmother. The boy had a rough life but he grew to it; grew to be six feet four inches in height before he was nineteen years old, and with a powerful frame inured to exertion, and with muscles hardened by rail-splitting, timber-hewing, and working the canal flat-boats. In 1830 his father again migrated and went to Cole's County, Illinois, where he died in the following year. Just before they removed, a man who was about to start a flat-boat expedition engaged young Lincoln with a companion and his half brother among the hands, but it happened that when the time arrived no boat made its appearance, so Lincoln and his comrades set about building one for themselves, and succeeded so well that they made a journey to New Orleans and back. This led to the engagement of Abraham as a clerk at New Salem at a salary of fifteen dollars a week, and to his having to make his way among the "regulators" of the town by wrestling, running, and even offering to engage in a boxing match with their best man. His physical powers, no less than his evident coolness and ability, induced these rough companions

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to elect him as their captain on the breaking out of the *Black Hawk* war, and this was the beginning of his public career, since he afterwards, when he was twenty-three years old, became a candidate for representing the state of Illinois. He was not at first successful, but was returned two years afterwards, and was then earning his living as a surveyor, and studying law in the intervals of his daily work. He must have used his time assiduously, for in 1836 he received a licence to practise, and in the following year his business so increased that he took up his residence at Springfield, for which he was four times elected as the representative. In 1844 Mr. Lincoln reentered the political arena after two years' retirement from public business; but he did not take a seat in the legislature till 1846, when he was elected for Illinois by an enormous majority. He took a prominent part in the discussions on the Mexican war and against the extension of slavery, and on the termination of Congress and the dissolution of the Whig party joined the Anti-Nebraskians, who afterwards came to be called Republicans, and were opposed to any repeal of the Missouri compromise by which slavery had been limited to the country south of 36° 30′, an area which Mr. Lincoln endeavoured to contract by advocating the adoption of a limit still further south. For three years Mr. Lincoln took no prominent part in public affairs, till he appeared as the supporter of General Scott in 1852; but in 1854 he was called upon to oppose a territorial bill which, it was believed, was intended to promote the extension of slavery, and then a definite Republican party was formed in Illinois and he became one of its leaders. Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance was remarkable, and was well described by a writer of his biography soon after he had been elected president: "He stands six feet four, it is said, in his stockings. His head is well set upon his shoulders and would be a pleasing study for a phrenologist. His black hair, thin and wiry, is sprinkled here and there with gray. His forehead is good, his eyes dark gray, and when lighted up with emotion, small as they are, flash forth the fire that lives in the soul. His nose is long and slightly aquiline, and his nostrils are cut on that peculiar model which Napoleon praised in his favourite generals. His complexion is that of an Octoroon, his face is cut into innumerable angles, and in each there seems to lurk the genius of humour. His frame is gaunt, his arms long, and his lower limbs proportioned to his gigantic height. As a speaker he exhibits readiness, preciseness, and fluency of ideas rather than of language, for his enunciation is for the most part slow and emphatic, and he impresses his hearers with seriousness or convulses them with merriment, according to the requirements of the occasion."

The state of public feeling in England with regard to the American war, was of a very diversified and changeable character. The large body of people in this country really knew very little about the constitution of the United States, and though there was a general expression of abhorrence against slavery, and a sense that it could never have our support or countenance, there was a general hesitation to accept the conclusion that the war would in its main result put an end to it.

We have already noted that at the commencement of the conflict, the president, Mr. Lincoln, had distinctly declared that he would prosecute hostilities, not for the question either of the existence or the limitation of negro slavery, but for the purpose of maintaining the Union against what he regarded as unwarrantable rebellion. This representation, when superficially,—or perhaps even when more earnestly—regarded in England, was not at first likely to carry complete conviction with it. Other states of Europe might entirely agree with the president's conclusions, but it was argued that rebellion against constituted authority had actually made of the United States an independent nation,—that England could scarcely determine to exclude so-called rebellion from any subsequent acknowledgment, if it had been justly commenced and carried to successful issues against tyranny or oppression. On the other hand there was a peculiar kind of sympathy with the Southern States for some fanciful reason, not

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easy to determine apart from the fact of their having protested against the control of the North, but apparently associated with a notion that the South represented the aristocracy of the country. There was a curious vague romantic notion floating in the brains of a good many people, such as is sometimes half expressed in favour of Charles the First's Cavaliers in comparison with the "Roundheads," without any apparent notion that the aristocracy was to be found on both sides, or that whether it was or not, the justice or necessity of the case must determine our practical acknowledgments of the results of success on either side.

It is not necessary to insist that fanciful notions had any ultimate influence on the opinion of the English people, for that opinion was afterwards almost entirely in strong accord with the Northern cause, but for a time the grounds of the conflict were not understood to be such as to enlist great sympathies on either side, and during a large part of the time that the war lasted, the Federal government, or at all events its officials, showed a threatening and antagonistic temper towards England, which arose, in all probability, from the fact that people in America no more understood us or believed that we were anxious to act in sympathy and good faith, than we believed they were in reality desirous of doing the same by us. As it often happens among members of the same family, there was a petty exhibition of pride and temper on both sides, which gave much offence and might have led to very serious consequences, which were, however, happily averted by the common sense which belonged to both parties.

Perhaps at the period of which we are speaking (1861), few people in this country were better acquainted with the actual situation in America than Mr. Bright, and though he has been (not altogether unreasonably) accused of "cracking up" American institutions, it will be worth while to turn for a moment to his representations when he addressed some of his townsmen at Rochdale.

"Eighty-five years ago," said Mr. Bright, "at the time when some of our oldest townsmen were very little children, there were, on the North American continent, colonies, mainly of Englishmen, containing about three millions of souls. These colonies we have seen a year ago constituting the United States of North America, and comprising a population of no less than thirty millions of souls. We know that in agriculture and manufactures, with the exception of this kingdom, there is no country in the world which in these arts may be placed in advance of the United States. With regard to inventions, I believe, within the last thirty years, we have received more useful inventions from the United States than from all the other countries of the earth. In that country there are probably ten times as many miles of telegraph as there are in this country, and there are at least five or six times as many miles of railway. The tonnage of its shipping is at least equal to ours if it does not exceed ours. The prisons of that country, for even in countries the most favoured, prisons are needful, have been models for other nations of the earth; and many European governments have sent missions at different times to inquire into the admirable system of education so universally adopted in their free schools throughout the Northern States.

If I were to speak of that country in a religious aspect I should say that, considering the short space of time to which their history goes back, there is nothing on the face of the earth besides, and never has been, to equal the magnificent arrangement of churches and ministers, and of all the appliances which are thought necessary for a nation to teach Christianity and morality to its people. Besides all this, when I state that for many years past the annual public expenditure of the government of that country has been somewhere between £10,000,000 and £15,000,000, I need not perhaps say further, that there has always existed amongst all the population an amount of comfort and prosperity and abounding plenty such as I believe no other country in the world, in any age, has enjoyed.

This is a very fine, but a very true picture; yet it has another side to which I must advert. There has been one great feature in that country, one great contrast, which has been pointed to by all who have commented on the United States as a feature of danger, as a con-

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trast calculated to give pain. There has been in that country the utmost liberty to the white man, and bondage and degradation to the black man. Now rely upon it, that wherever Christianity lives and flourishes there must grow up from it, necessarily, a conscience hostile to any oppression and to any wrong; and therefore, from the hour when the United States' constitution was formed, so long has it left there this great evil—then comparatively small, but now so great—it left there seeds of that which an American statesman has so happily described, of that 'irrepressible conflict' of which now the whole world is the witness. It has been a common thing for men disposed to carp at the United States to point to this blot on their fair fame, and to compare it with the boasted declaration of freedom in their deed and Declaration of Independence. But we must recollect who sowed this seed of trouble, and how and by whom it has been cherished. I should like to read to you a paragraph from the instructions understood to have been given to the Virginian delegates to Congress, in the month of August, 1774, by Mr. Jefferson, who was perhaps the ablest man the United States had produced up to that time, and who was then actively engaged in its affairs, and who afterwards for two periods filled the office of president. He represented one of these very slave states, the State of Virginia, and he says:—

'For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to avoid all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibition, and by imposing duties which might amount to prohibition, have hitherto been defeated by his majesty's negative, thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice.'

I read this merely to show that two years before the declaration of independence was signed, Mr. Jefferson, acting on behalf of those he represented in Virginia, wrote that protest against the course of the English government, which prevented the colonists from abolishing the slave trade preparatory to the abolition of slavery itself. Well, the United States' constitution left the slave question for every state to manage for itself. It was a question too difficult to settle then, and apparently every man had the hope and belief that in a few years slavery itself would become extinct. Then there happened a great event in the annals of manufactures and commerce. It was discovered that in those states the article which we in this country now so much depend on, could be produced of the best quality necessary for manufacture, and at a moderate price. From that day to this the growth of cotton has increased there, and its consumption has increased here, and a value which no man dreamed of when Jefferson wrote that paper has been given to the slave and to slave industry. Thus it has grown up to that gigantic institution which now threatens either its own overthrow or the overthrow of that which is a million times more valuable, the United States of America.

The crisis which has now arrived was inevitable. I say that the conscience of the North, never satisfied with the institution of slavery, was constantly urging some men forward to take a more extreme view of the question; and there grew up naturally a section, it may not have been a very numerous one, in favour of the abolition of slavery. A great and powerful party resolved at least upon a restraint and a control of slavery, so that it should not extend beyond the states and the area which it now occupies. But if we look at the government of the United States almost ever since the formation of the union, we shall find the southern power has been mostly dominant there. If we take thirty-six years after the formation of the present constitution, I think about 1787, we shall find that for thirty-two of these years every president was a southern man; and if we take the period from 1828 until 1860 we

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shall find that in every election for president the South voted in the majority.

We know what an election is in the United States for President of the Republic. There is a most extensive suffrage, and there is the ballot-box. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the same suffrage, and generally they are elected at the same time. It is thus, therefore, almost inevitable that the House of Representatives is in accord in public policy with the president for the time being. Every four years there springs from the vote created by the whole people a president over that great nation. I think the world offers no finer spectacle than this, it offers no higher dignity, and there is no greater object of ambition on the political stage on which men are permitted to move.

You may point if you will to hereditary rulers, to crowns coming down through successive generations of the same family, to thrones based on prescription or on conquest, to sceptres wielded over veteran legions and subject realms; but to my mind there is nothing so worthy of reverence and obedience, and nothing more sacred, than the authority of the freely chosen by the majority of a great and free people; and if there be on earth and amongst men any right divine to govern, surely it rests with a ruler so chosen and appointed.

Last year the ceremony of this great election was gone through, and the South, which had been so long successful, found itself defeated. That defeat was followed instantly by secession, and insurrection, and war. In the multitude of articles which have been before us in the newspapers within the last few months I have no doubt you have seen it stated, as I have seen it, that this question was very much like that upon which the colonies originally revolted against the crown of England. It is amazing how little some newspaper writers know, or how little they think you know. When the war of Independence was begun in America, ninety years ago, there were no representatives there at all. The question then was, whether a ministry in Downing Street, and a corrupt and borough-mongering parliament, should continue to impose taxes upon three millions of English subjects, who had left their native shores and established themselves in North America. But now the question is not the want of representation, because, as is perfectly notorious, the South is not only represented, but is represented in excess, for, in distributing the number of representatives, which is done every ten years, three out of every five slaves are counted as freemen, and the number of representatives from the slave states is consequently so much greater than if the freemen, the white men only, were counted. From this cause the southern states have twenty members more in the House of Representatives than they would have if the members were apportioned on the same principle as in the northern free states. Therefore you will see at once that there is no comparison between the state of things when the colonies revolted and the state of things now, when this wicked insurrection has broken out."

Probably few thoughtful people would now refuse their assent to these serious representations, or would deny their importance; but at the time they were uttered, or just before it, Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and others who thought with them, appeared to be in a minority, and were not believed to represent the popular feeling in England. The attitude of the Federal government towards this country was that of suspicion, and soon became exasperating. The supposed hostility of the English people had been met by offensive demonstrations in the Northern States, and though the governments on both sides carefully abstained from endorsing any such breach of international courtesy as would produce a decided quarrel, the correspondence which went on between them showed great irritation under the reserve of diplomatic phraseology. A very large proportion of the people of England held firmly to the conviction that the Northern States had right and justice on their side in refusing those demands of the South which had for their object the perpetuation of negro slavery. It was perhaps a misfortune that the Federal government should have adopted the determination to preserve the constitution, by destroying the source from

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which the constant danger of disruption had emanated, only when it was discovered that a war was inevitable in which each side must put out its strength. The assurance that the first effort to suppress rebellion was independent of the question which had all along been the cause of antagonistic legislation between individual states, and of the violent hostility of the two political parties, missed the true issue of the conflict, and gave the subsequent proclamations of freedom to the negroes the appearance of a desire to raise a servile insurrection in the South for the purpose of retaliation, or as a desperate expedient for retrieving the failures which at first seemed to attend almost every attempt of the Federal forces. By that time, however, the hopes which some Northern statesmen had entertained, that the Confederate revolt could be suppressed before it had grown beyond a domestic insurrection, had been frustrated. The struggle had technically assumed proportions even beyond those of a civil war. By blockading Charleston with sunken stone-ships, and afterwards announcing a blockade of Southern ports, the Federals had acknowledged the Confederates as belligerents. They may not have kept this consequence in view under the stress of circumstances which demanded prompt and extreme measures, but they could scarcely expect that the observances of international law would be dispensed with in their case; and though the proclamation of the British government that thenceforth the Southern States of America must be regarded as a belligerent power, and strict neutrality must be exercised, increased the angry feeling to a pitch that led to extravagant menace, deliberate politicians on both sides, and a considerable majority in this country, felt that no other course could reasonably be adopted.

We may look for a moment at some of the conditions which had exercised an influence on public feeling in England, and they will in some degree serve to explain the differences of opinion which prevailed during the first year of the struggle between the disunited states.

The fugitive slave question had been emphasized by the fact that escaped negroes were assisted by the abolitionists to find a refuge in Canada, where they were safe from demands for their restoration on the authority of "state laws." In 1861 the case of John Anderson became very prominent as an example of the liberty to be attained by seeking an asylum in Canada, and at the same time illustrated with remarkable effect the evil of slavery. Anderson, a negro slave, but not without some admixture of white blood, had been brought up in the state of Missouri, where he eventually married a slave girl, from whom and from his child he was separated by being sold into a distant part of the country as though he had been a mere beast of burden, but with even less care for his wellbeing. In the year 1853, however, he escaped from the plantation to which he was sent and reappeared in the neighbourhood where his wife still lived, only to be discovered by Seneca P. Digges, a planter, who had not the slightest claim on the fugitive, but who, in order to uphold the great institution of slavery, at once volunteered a man hunt for the good of the cause, and went on Anderson's track with four slaves to help him. After having hunted their game till he became desperate, they at last came up with him, and in an evil moment Digges closed with the runaway, who, in the defence of life and liberty, stabbed his antagonist and mortally wounded him, afterwards escaping to Canada, where he lived the life of a quiet and industrious man, although his wife and child were not redeemed from the bondage which he had long been anxious to terminate, by saving a sufficient sum to purchase their freedom. Anderson was claimed by the United States government on a charge of murdering Digges, and on his trial in December, 1859, it was urged on behalf of the prisoner that he was entitled to the writ on which he was brought before the court, and, upon the return of the writ, to have the matter charged against him inquired into; that the evidence was not sufficient to put him upon trial for the crime of murder, assuming that he was entitled to the protection of British law; that a charge under the treaty should be first laid in the States, while there

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was no evidence that any charge had been laid against the prisoner; that if even the court were bound to administer the law of Missouri, the evidence did not show that Missouri had power to pass such a law, inasmuch as she was but a municipality in relation to other governments, and the law was against natural justice; and that the word "murder" mentioned in the treaty meant murder according to the laws of both countries; and if not, that, both by treaty and statute, the crime and its criminality were to be determined by the laws of Canada.

Anderson was brought before the Court of Common Pleas at Toronto on a writ of habeas corpus, issued by Chief-justice Draper on the 9th of April, 1861, though his extradition to the Missouri authorities had been ordered. The English court, however, granted a writ of habeas corpus on an affidavit that Anderson was illegally detained at Toronto, and the only question which it considered was whether it had jurisdiction to issue such a writ into the province of Canada. The further question of this authority was prevented, however, and the whole case was happily concluded without a prolonged discussion of the interpretation of the extradition treaty, by the issue of the writ by the Canadian Court of Common Pleas on the very day that the writ of the English court arrived at Toronto, and by the discharge of the prisoner by Chief-justice Draper for technical informality in the warrant of commitment.

Chief-justice Draper, after hearing the evidence, said that it was doubtful whether the case could be decided in that term if judgment were to be given upon all the points; but that he would give the prisoner the benefit of a speedy discharge if they came to an opinion in his favour on the technical point as to the insufficiency of the commitment. An order was given for the prisoner to be brought up on the following Saturday, and when the day arrived Anderson was discharged, on the grounds that the warrant of commitment was not issued in conformity with the statute—1st, Because it did not contain a charge of murder but only of felonious homicide, whereas treaty and statute do not authorize surrender or committal for any homicide not expressed to be murder. 2d, That it was not expressed to be for the purpose of surrender, but only until the prisoner should be discharged by due course of law, whereas the statute requires both. No judgment was given upon the merits of the case itself. Chief-justice Draper declared that he did not see any way to the conclusion that the court could hold the case not to be within the treaty, and the act so clearly not to be murder, that there would be nothing for a jury to try, but that the court could dispose of it as a true question of law; for if there was a question of fact to be tried, he apprehended the accused must be surrendered, as such question could only be tried in the country where the fact arose. These and other similar questions were of too serious a character to be decided upon impulse or in haste, and he did not scruple to say that so long as the prisoner sustained prejudice by the delay, he desired to defer pronouncing an opinion on them. He was reluctant, on the one hand, where the accuser did not make it indispensable, to declare that each individual of the assumed number of four millions of slaves in the Southern States might commit assassination in aid of his escape on any part of his route to that province, and find impunity and shelter on his arrival there. He was reluctant, on the other hand, to admit that Great Britain had entered into treaty obligations to surrender a fugitive slave, who, as his sole means of obtaining his liberty, had shed the blood of the merciless taskmaster who held him in bondage.

This was, in fact, a back way out of a difficult position. When the case had first come before the Canadian courts, the chief-justice had construed the extradition treaty in a manner more vigorous than English lawyers believed was justifiable, by representing that as by the law homicide committed in resistance to lawful authority was murder, and that as the authority by which Digges attempted to capture Anderson was unquestionably lawful by the laws of Missouri, where the struggle took place, Anderson, though morally justified in the eye of the English law, was nevertheless guilty of the crime of murder. Happily

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this legally fine-drawn distinction was not brought forward for final argument, or the extradition treaty might or should have suffered. By an adroit use of a technical objection the case was put to an end by the release of the prisoner, and everybody, except perhaps the extreme pro-slavery party, breathed more freely.

Comparatively few people in England understood that the demand for the relinquishment of Anderson as an escaped slave was made by a government controlled by Southern influence. Scarcely anybody here knew much about the working of the separate state laws in America, or the changes that would probably follow the accession to power of a strong Northern party. For some years our governments had been irritated by the overbearing tone frequently assumed by the ministers at Washington in their representations regarding England, their denunciation of English claims in Central America, and other subjects of correspondence. These things were remembered as against the government of the United States, without much distinction being made between the parties of which that government might be formed; and consequently when the representatives of the North, the antagonists of slavery, came into power, and not unreasonably looked for the sympathy and moral support of Great Britain, they had some excuse for being disappointed at finding that, on the whole, Great Britain seemed inclined to turn to them a very cold shoulder.

The truth was that half the people in England did not regard the war as one directed against slavery, but as an effort to prevent the Southern States from breaking the union. The South was the aggressor, no doubt, but there were strong surmises that it had been driven into hostilities by the same overbearing temper which had so often been displayed towards this country. Nobody seemed to reflect that these arrogant messages were sent to this country by a government favourable to Southern and not to Northern views; and as to the suppression of slavery, had not President Lincoln, in entering upon the duties of his office, said: "I have no purpose, direct or indirect, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the United States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Where was there any sign of the abolition of slavery in this declaration. Even better informed people seemed to think that the best thing the North could do was to let the Southern States go, and to take their peculiar institution with them. It was a not uncommon opinion that the Union would be broken up into various territories, under distinct and independent governments, like the countries of Europe. Another impression was that the Mississippi pretty accurately divided the free from the slaveholding states. In addition to these errors, which a reasonable amount of reflection or inquiry would have corrected, there existed a notion that the people of the Northern States were rather a crafty huckstering set, with a turn for double-dealing or talent for taking advantage. The movements of the government were therefore viewed with caution, if not with suspicion, when it came to be understood that the Northern cause was represented. Certainly there was little attempt on the part of the American cabinet to propitiate opinion in England.

When it was seen that very little sympathy could be counted on from this country, the United States government showed much asperity, although their accusations and the temper which they displayed fell far short of the animosity towards England openly avowed by the people in New York and elsewhere. Very little pains were taken on either side to restrain or to suppress expressions of feeling which were as bitter as they were ill founded, and unfortunately the policy adopted by the American government tended still more to excite the expressions of dissatisfaction with which the prosecution of the war was regarded here. Of course it was a serious misfortune that the supply of cotton should have been entirely suspended, and that the mills of Lancashire and Cheshire should be idle, the manufacturing population reduced to want, and the whole of a great staple trade paralysed; but in addition to this the American legislature had adopted a system of rigid protection which by the so-called "Morrill" Tariff

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Bill almost prohibited the importation of foreign goods into America.

Our trade with the Southern States, it was felt, would have been comparatively unrestricted if those states had been able to legislate for themselves. In 1860 England had sent twenty millions of exports to America, and this amount of merchandise was now to be practically excluded, or to be taxed with duties which would be prohibitory. Birmingham expected to lose £3,800,000 of her cutlery trade; South Staffordshire was in dismay. Early in March, 1861, the *Times* said:

"The period between the election of the new president and the surrender of office by the old is a sort of interregnum, in which it may be said all legislative and executive activity is paralysed. But, though unable to do anything for the cause of the Union, the senate and the congress have employed the interregnum to strike a second blow at the commerce, the finance, and the general prosperity of the country infinitely more fatal than any abstraction of territory or diminution of population. They employed the last weeks of what is probably the last session of the last congress of the United States of America in undoing all the progress that has been made in the direction of free-trade, and in manacling their country once more in the fetters of a protection amounting to prohibition.

The conduct of congress on the Tariff Bill has much changed the tone of public feeling with reference to the Secessionists, and none here, even those whose sympathies are with the Northern States, attempt to justify the course which the Protectionists in congress have pursued. In Manchester the proposed increase of duties on cotton goods in the United States is causing great attention. In Newcastle it is considered that it will be impossible to do business with the United States on the terms set out in the tariff, while the business with the Southern States is described as satisfactory. In Sheffield considerable apprehension is felt as to the effect of the new tariff on the steel trade. In Wolverhampton the anticipation that the tariff has become law darkens the already gloomy prospects of the iron trade. When it is remembered that all this ill-will and disruption of international ties and sympathies, which were becoming closer every day, and which America never needed more than now, is to be effected for no better object than that of protracting the sickly existence of an artificial manufacturing system raised and nurtured at the expense of the shipping and trade of the country, and by levying an odious tribute from all classes not concerned in manufactures, we cannot but wonder at the madness of democracy and its utter inability to apprehend and retain the most obvious principles of economical science. Protection was quite as much a cause of the disruption of the Union as slavery. In that respect it has done its worst; but it is destined, if we mistake not, to be the fruitful mother of other disruptions. What interest have the great agricultural Western States, for instance, in being made tributaries to the ironmasters of Pennsylvania or the cotton-spinners of Lowell? They will desire, as the South have desired, a direct trade with England; and the peculiar position of Canada, with its facilities of communication by lake, river, and railway, will show them the readiest means of obtaining a direct trade by a fresh separation, possibly by an amalgamation with our own colonies.

These topics are so obvious that we forbear to insist upon them, but we beg to point out, for the comfort of our own countrymen and the warning of the government of the United States, that in attempting to exclude at one blow twenty millions of exports from their territory they have undertaken a task quite beyond their power. They may, indeed, destroy their own customs revenue; they may ruin the shipping, and cripple the commerce of the towns on the Atlantic seaboard, but they cannot prevent English manufacturers from permeating the United States from one end to the other. A glance at the map is sufficient to show this. The Southern Confederacy will, of course, desire no better than to make Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans dépôts of English manufactures, to be smuggled across the long and imperceptible frontier which separates them from the United States. Nay, it is quite possible that the

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great city of New York may prefer to declare itself a free port, and to become the dépôt of an enormous illicit traffic, rather than see its wharves rotting, its streets deserted, and its harbour empty, because a suicidal policy has driven commerce to the inferior harbours of the South. The indented coasts of the Northern States give ample opportunity for smuggling, and, what is still more important, the frontier between Canada and the Union is virtually traced by the stream of the St. Lawrence and the centre of the great Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron. It is a region which might have been created for the express purpose of punishing the presumptuous folly of seeking to erect the barrier of prohibition between nations which have long enjoyed the mutual benefits of commercial intercourse. The smuggler will redress the errors of the statesman, as he has so often done before."

These representations were not calculated to allay public excitement or to increase popular feeling in favour of the North, but there were numbers of thoughtful and influential men who never wavered in their conviction that the Northern cause was worthy of the sympathy of this country. This was the view held by Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, Mr. John Stuart Mill, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Villiers, and Mr. W. E. Forster, who represented a considerable phalanx of opinion; and on the whole the government maintained a quiet but friendly disposition, while, as we have noted, the people of the manufacturing districts, where the loss of trade was most severely felt, were still stanch in their belief that the war was a righteous one on the part of the Federal States, who had not commenced hostilities till their opponents had struck the first blow for the dissolution of the Union. Most of the unfavourable opinions expressed here, and the indiscreet manifestations made by some of those opposed to the action of the Federals, were repeated with exaggerations in America, and produced corresponding exasperation, not unaccompanied by threats. The governments of both countries had in effect to disavow and repudiate the insufferable demonstrations of ignorant partisans assuming to represent the sentiments of the majority.

The Federal government, however, was as captious as the people were extravagantly testy, and the temper with which it persisted in regarding every expression of opinion in England was strikingly manifested by the complaints and remonstrances that were made when our government determined to recognize the South as a belligerent power, and to proclaim a strict neutrality. The Confederates had taken Fort Sumter. A vessel which, in view of the possibility of the revolt, the Federal government had sent with reinforcements, had been fired at from an island in the harbour, and then the Confederates bombarded the fort from batteries which they had erected on the mainland for the purpose. The garrison left it because they had no means of resistance, and the Confederates took possession of it. President Lincoln immediately called for 75,000 men as volunteers to join the Federal forces for the purpose of re-establishing the Union.

Jefferson Davis then declared his intention to issue letters of marque, and called for 150,000 volunteers. The Southern ports were immediately placed under blockade.

The president's call for troops was enthusiastically responded to by the legislatures of the free states, New York tendering 30,000 men, instead of the 13,000 demanded, and 3,000,000 dollars. The governors of the border slave states—Kentucky, North Carolina, and Missouri—refused to respond to the president's call, North Carolina going so far as to seize all the Federal forts within her borders. Virginia declared for the secession, and closed Norfolk harbour by sinking vessels at its mouth, so as to prevent the Federal ships of war coming out; and the captain of one of the ships had threatened to lay the town in ruins if the obstructions were not removed. The Federal commissioners at Harper Ferry, being pressed by 1000 Virginians, destroyed the armoury, arsenal, manufactory building, and 15,000 stands of arms. They then retired into Pennsylvania, with the loss of three men. Troops were arriving at Washington from all points; a Massachusetts regiment, when passing through Baltimore, had been attacked by the mob, and many persons were wounded and some killed. The Federal

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government had proclaimed that Southern privateers would be treated as pirates, and no more arms or provisions were to be sent south. The feeling throughout the North appeared to be most enthusiastically and unanimously in favour of energetic measures against the seceders.

All these events occurred in April, and in May Lord John Russell announced to Parliament that, after taking the opinion of the law officers of the crown, the government had determined to recognize the American Confederacy as a belligerent power. The proclamation of the blockade of all ports in the seceded states meant not only war, but a war of recognized belligerent powers. The Confederates were then on the footing of regular antagonists, for it could not be maintained that a nation would blockade its own ports. Accordingly a proclamation was issued which, after noticing the fact that hostilities had unhappily commenced between the government of the United States of America and certain states "styling themselves the Confederated States of the South," strictly charged and commanded "all the loving subjects of her majesty to observe a strict neutrality in and during the aforesaid hostilities, and to abstain from violating or contravening the laws and statutes of the realm in that behalf, or the law of nations in relation thereto, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril." The proclamation next set forth *in extenso* the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, which prohibits British subjects from engaging in the naval or military service of any foreign prince, potentate, colony, &c., without the leave and license of her majesty; from equipping or fitting out vessels for the service of any such foreign prince, potentate, colony, &c., and from adding to or increasing the warlike force of any ship or vessel of war, cruiser, or other armed vessel belonging to a foreign power which may enter the ports of this country. In order that none of her majesty's subjects might render themselves liable to the penalties imposed by the statute, the proclamation strictly commanded that no person or persons whatsoever should commit any act, matter, or thing contrary to the provisions of the said statute upon pain of the several penalties imposed (fine and imprisonment and the confiscation of the vessels and warlike stores) and of her majesty's "high displeasure." The proclamation warned British subjects that if, in violation of their duty, they entered into the service of either of the contending parties on board a ship of war or transport, or served on board any privateer bearing letters of marque, or broke or endeavoured to break any blockade "lawfully or actually established," they would do so at their own peril, and would in no wise obtain any protection for or against any liabilities or penal consequences, but would, on the contrary, incur her majesty's high displeasure by such misconduct. There was also the usual warning against carrying officers, soldiers, despatches, arms, military stores or materials, or any article or articles considered to be contraband of war according to the law or modern usage of nations. These words were (perhaps purposely) ambiguous, because important articles which, in former contests, were of innocent use, had by the application of science become formidable implements of modern warfare; for instance, coal and the component parts of steam-engines, which never had been declared by any competent tribunal to be contraband of war.

This proclamation was definite and emphatic enough, but the North immediately resented our having recognized the position of the South as a belligerent power. It was interpreted into a hasty determination to assist and encourage rebels. Yet the law of the matter was clear; the friends of the Northern States and of the Federal government in this country were anxious that the proclamation should be issued, if only for the reason that until the South was treated as a belligerent power no nation in Europe could properly recognize the blockade of the ports of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. Had it been a mere closure of the ports any offender could only have been dealt with in American waters, but the proclamation of a blockade gave power to pursue an offender into the open sea. In effect the announcement of a blockade meant war instead of suppression of revolt, and our recognition of it and conse-

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quent neutrality was the only proper course, and the best course for the interests of the Federal government. But our declaration of this neutrality was by implication treated as an offence throughout the long correspondence that ensued.

It required some care to prevent the controversy being distorted into an actual quarrel, for the Federals appeared to regard England as a watchful enemy, waiting to do the Union an ill-turn, or to aid in preventing its restoration. As a matter of fact the Emperor of the French, who had in his mind the ill-fated scheme for intervention in Mexico, all but openly recognized and sided with the South, and would have had us join him in interfering to secure the demands for a separation from the Union. Neither Lord Palmerston nor Lord John Russell would listen to such a proposal for a moment. Many "advisers" were strongly in favour of our interposing to secure the independence of the Confederacy, but the government utterly refused to entertain such a notion. They knew very well what were the motives of the Federals, and they respected them, though the sudden and complete successes which followed the first prompt action of the Confederates caused them to think, as the majority of people thought, that the South would ultimately become a separate nation.

The second call for 23,000 men for the regular army, and 18,000 seamen, was made by President Lincoln immediately after the blockade; but the Confederates were equally determined, and seemed for a time to be masters of the situation. Their repeated successes had the effect of increasing the number of their admirers here, and of emphasizing the feeling of distrust and indifference towards the North, which had already been augmented by the invectives which were uttered against England by the populace in New York and many of the ill-regulated recruits of the Federal army.

Much was said on the part both of the North and the South to keep public opinion here in a ferment. Both claimed to act in accordance with right and justice. Mr. Jefferson Davis stigmatized as unconstitutional the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln calling for 70,000 volunteers, and excused his own appeal for recruits to form a Confederate army by saying to his ministry:—

"Deprived of the aid of congress at the moment, I was under the necessity of confining my action to a call on the States for volunteers for the common defence. I deemed it proper further to issue a proclamation inviting application from persons disposed to aid our defence in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, which you alone, under the constitution, have power to grant. I entertain no doubt you will concur with me in the opinion that, in the absence of a fleet of public vessels, it will be eminently expedient to supply their place by private armed vessels, so happily styled by the publicists of the United States 'the militia of the sea,' and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare. I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorizing me to accept the numerous proposals already received."

He then went on to denounce the proclamation of a blockade, and concluded by saying:—

"We feel that our cause is just and holy; we protest solemnly in the face of mankind that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honour and independence; we seek no conquest, no aggrandisement, no concession of any kind from the States with which we were lately confederated: all we ask is to be let alone; that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, this we must, resist to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial."

At about the same time Mr. C. M. Clay, the minister of the United States in St. Petersburg, addressed a long letter to the *Times*, in which he endeavoured to correct some of the erroneous impressions which he believed to be prevalent in this country.

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"What are we fighting for?" he inquired, and replying to the question declared, "We, the people of the United States of America (to use the language of our Constitution), are fighting to maintain our nationality, and the principles of liberty upon which it was founded —that nationality which Great Britain has pledged herself, both by past comity and the sacred obligations of treaty, to respect—those great principles of liberty, that all power is derived from the consent of the governed; trial by jury, freedom of speech, and the press; that 'without law there is no liberty'—which we inherited from Great Britain herself, and which, having been found to lie at the base of all progress and civilization, we desire to perpetuate for ourselves and the future of all the nations. The so-called 'Confederate States of America' rebel against us—against our nationality, and against all the principles of its structure. Citizens of the United States—of the one government (not of the Confederated States, as they would have the world believe, but of 'us the people'), they propose, not by common legal consent, but by arms, to sever our nation into separate independencies. Claiming to 'be let alone,' they conspire against us; seize by force our forts, stores, and arms; appropriate to themselves our mints, moneys, and vessels at sea; capture our armies, and threaten even the Capitol at Washington."

Mr. Clay contended that the word "secession" was used to cover up treason and to delude the nations, and that the idea of "state sovereignty" was utterly delusive. The American nation had given up the old "confederation" to avoid just such complications as had occurred. The states were by the constitution deprived of all the rights of independent sovereigns, and the national government acted not through state organizations, but directly upon the citizens of the states themselves—to that highest of power, the right of life and death. The states could not keep an army or navy, or even repel invasion, except when necessity did not allow time for national action; could make no treaty, nor coin money, nor exercise any of the first great essential powers of "sovereignty." In a word, they could no more "secede" from the Union than Scotland or Ireland could secede from England.

The Confederates, he declared, had overthrown the constitutions of the "Confederate States" themselves, refusing, in every case, to refer their new usurpations to the votes of the people, thus making themselves doubly traitors to both the states and the nation. The despotic rulers over 4,000,000 of enslaved Africans, they presumed to extend over the North, the white races of all nations, the same despotism by ignoring the political rights of all but their own class, by restrictions upon the popular franchise, by the suppression of the freedom of speech and of the press, by the terrorism of "lynch-law," or tyrannical enactments, backed by standing armies; to crush out the independence of thought, the ineradicable instincts of world-wide humanity—with the atrocious dogma that negro slavery was the only basis of real conservatism and progressive civilization, and that the true solution of the contest of all time between labour and capital was that capital should own the labourer, whether white or black.

Mr. Clay confidently asserted that the Federals could subdue the revolted states. The whole seven revolted states (2,173,000) had not as much white population as the single state of New York (3,851,563) by 1,500,000 people. If all the slave states were to make common cause they had only 8,907,894 whites, with 4,000,000 slaves, while the Union had about 20,000,000 of homogeneous people, as powerful in peace and war as the world had seen. Intelligent, hardy, and "many-sided," their late apparent lethargy and weakness was the self-possession of conscious strength. When they had made up their minds that force was necessary they moved upon Washington with such speed, numbers, and steadiness as had not been surpassed in history. They had the money (at a lower rate of interest than ever before), the men, and the command of the sea and the internal waters. The North could blockade the Confederates by sea and invade them by land, and close up the rebellion in a single year if "let alone."

They did not propose to "subjugate" the revolted states, but to put down simply the

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rebel citizens,—to go to the rescue of the loyal Unionists of all the states,—to carry safety, peace, and liberty to the union-loving people of the South, who would of themselves (the tyranny overthrown) send back their representatives to congress, and the Union would be "reconstructed" without a change of a letter in the constitution of the United States. Did England subjugate Ireland and Scotland? Were the united kingdoms less homogeneous than of old, before the wars against rebellion? So would the United States rise from the smoke of battle with renewed stability and power.

Then followed some questions to the British public, followed by appeals which, though doubtless meant in all sincerity, were not in the best form for impressing the national sentiment. They began well enough by saying, "We overthrow that political element in America which has all through our history been the studied denouncer and real hater of the British nation, while we have been always from the beginning the friends of England. Because, though under different forms of government, we had common sympathies and a common cause, and therefore a common interest. England was the conservator of liberty in Europe—the Old World; we are in the New. If 'the Confederate States' are right, then is England wrong. If slavery must be extended in America, then must England restore it in the West Indies, blot out the most glorious page of her history, and call back her freed men into chains! Let her say to the martyrs of freedom from the nations who have sought refuge and a magnanimous defence on her shores, Return to your scaffold and your prison-house; England is no more England!"

Arguing on the ground of England's material interests, Mr. Clay said: "We are her best consumer; no tariff will materially affect that fact. We are the best consumer of England, not because we are cotton-growers or cotton-spinners, agriculturists or manufacturers, but because we are producers and manufacturers, and have money to spend. It is not the South, as is urged, but the North, who are the best consumers of English commerce. The free white labourer and capitalist does now, and always will, consume more than the white master and the slave.

"Can England," he continued, "afford to offend the great nation which will still be 'the United States of America,' even should we lose part of the South? Twenty millions of people to-day, with or without the slave states, in twenty years we will be forty millions! In another half-century we will be one hundred millions! We will rest upon the Potomac, and on the west banks of the Mississippi river, upon the Gulf of Mexico. Our railroads will run 4000 miles upon a single parallel, binding our empire, which must master the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. Is England so secure in the future against home revolt or foreign ambition as to venture, now in our need, to plant the seeds of revenge in all our future? If Ireland, or Scotland, or Wales shall attempt to secede from that beneficent government of the United Kingdom which now lightens their taxation and gives them security and respect at home and abroad, shall we enter into a piratical war with our race and ally, and capture and sell in our ports the property and endanger the lives of peaceable citizens of the British Empire all over the world? I enter not into the discussion of details. England, then, is our natural ally. Will she ignore our aspirations? If she is just, she ought not. If she is honourable and magnanimous, she cannot. If she is wise, she will not."

This conclusion was by no means happy. It struck a wrong note in relation to the general impression then prevalent, partly because of the repeated defeats of the Federals which almost immediately followed the confident declaration that the South would be easily subdued.

An opinion prevailed in the North that privateers would be able to sell their prizes in British ports. Letters were issued from our foreign office interdicting the armed ships and privateers either of the United States or the "so-styled Confederated States of North America" from carrying prizes made by them into the ports, harbours, roadsteads, or waters of the United Kingdom or of any of our colo-

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nies or possessions abroad. France also held to her laws, which only allowed privateers with prizes to remain in her ports for twenty-four hours, and did not permit them to sell or dispose of prizes or cargoes.

On the 17th or 18th of June (1861), both armies were in motion, and the Federals were repulsed by the Confederates, whose station they had attacked at Fort Bethel.

We need not follow the various episodes of that terrible fratricidal war, nor the dread details of slaughter, the accounts of which sickened the hearts of those who read them, and left more than half the families in America to mourn their dead. During the early part of the conflict the Federals suffered repeated defeats, which seemed at first to justify the opinion held here that the Northern levies were no match, as soldiers, for the Southern force. The Confederate ranks were largely filled by men accustomed to out-door sports and who had leisure for learning the use of arms, and, moreover, they composed the militia of the Southern States, to whom drill and military exercises were a frequent recreation. The Federals, on the other hand, were to a great extent men taken from store or office,—men engaged in trade and town life. They did not at first estimate what they had to do, and it was not till the misfortunes they had sustained called out the pertinacity and determination which they afterwards displayed, that they began to reverse the disasters of the first campaigns, and to follow up the subsequent successes until the Union was restored and slavery abolished. In July, 1861, the Federals attempted to advance upon Richmond in Virginia, which had become the Southern or Confederate capital, and at a place called Bull Run, or Manassas Junction, they suffered a severe defeat, almost at the very beginning of hostilities. On their side about 18,000 men were engaged, the greater part of them being raw recruits under the command of General M'Dowall. Two of the regiments whose term of service had expired a few hours before insisted on being discharged, and fell to the rear at the commencement of the action. The conduct of the Federal troops was not very admirable, and they were entirely broken and scattered, their defeat ending in flight. They returned to Washington with a loss of 19 officers and 462 men killed, and 64 officers and 947 men wounded, while the Confederate loss was comparatively trifling. The appearance of the fugitive regiments in the streets of the capital created intense excitement, and it was feared that the Confederates, following up the advantage, would march thither. This, however, they were not able to accomplish. It may be said that this defeat had the effect of intensifying the determination of the Federal government. From that time for three years President Lincoln and his colleagues repeatedly called out fresh levies, and announced their determination to devote all the resources of the country to the maintenance of the Union and the reclamation of the rebellious states. The victory of the Confederates was received in England, if not with general satisfaction, with something too much like noisy applause, in which was mingled admiration for the victors and a certain disdain for the vanquished. The brave little army of the South had beaten the larger forces that had been called together to force them to obedience. The side which it was supposed had been most ready to "bounce," and had used threatening language and offensive innuendo towards England had shown the white-feather. This was the view which was most loudly, and, as it appeared, most generally expressed, and such comments took a tone that had in it something of exultation. Happily the Federal government in America had in Mr. Lincoln a chief of penetrating sagacity and plain common sense, and our own ministers were equally able to distinguish between a temporary ebullition of popular opinion and the duties that belonged to the administration of the affairs of the country. Both Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell firmly resisted any suggestion that would have led to our interposition on behalf of Confederate independence.

At the same time there was great exasperation of feeling on each side, for in America the abuse of England was both loud and deep. In the early part of November (1861), an

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event occurred which at first seemed likely to lead to more serious consequences than the mere interchange of invective during a time of ignorant excitement.

The Confederate leaders, encouraged, doubtless, by their recognition as the government of a belligerent power, had appointed two commissioners to represent them,—one at the English and the other at the French court.

Mr. Mason was accredited to England, and Mr. Slidell to France, and they were accompanied by their secretaries, Mr. M'Farland and Mr. Eustis. Mr. W. L. Yancey had already been in Europe as the advocate of the doctrine of state sovereignty, and Mr. Thurlow Weed was then, or soon afterwards, in London for the purpose of representing the case of the North before public opinion here, as Mr. Clay had already endeavoured to do.

Mr. Slidell, the proposed envoy to Paris, was a Southern lawyer, and Mr. Mason was said to be the author of the fugitive slave law, which had been so effectual in arousing the opposition of the Abolitionists in the border states. They were sent to Europe to endeavour to obtain the official recognition of the French and English courts, and had run the blockade from Charleston to Cardenas in Cuba in the Confederate steamer *Nashville*, escaping the Federal vessels which were on the look-out to prevent them from reaching a neutral port. The Federals knew well enough of the intention to send these gentlemen and their secretaries to Europe, and understood their purpose in coming hither, but, notwithstanding the vigilance of the watch kept on Charleston they contrived to reach the Havana and to take their passage on board the English mail-steamer *Trent*. It happened, however, that the United States sloop of war, the *San Jacinto*, was returning from the African coast, and her commander, Captain Wilkes, heard that the Confederate envoys were endeavouring to embark for Europe. Wilkes was one of those hot-headed indiscreet men who are not to be depended on when judgment is required, and he probably thought it would be a fine stroke of patriotism to "beard the British lion," as his admirers afterwards phrased it when extolling his exploit. At all events he fell in with the *Trent* on the afternoon of the 8th of November, and without showing any colours hove to ahead. The *Trent* hoisted her ensign, but it was not responded to, and as she went nearer, the stranger fired a round shot across her bows and showed American colours. The engines of the *Trent* were slowed, and she was still approaching when the other vessel fired a shell close across her bows. She then stopped, and an officer with an armed guard of marines boarded her and demanded a list of the passengers, which demand being refused, the officer said he had orders to arrest Mr. Mason, Mr. Slidell, Mr. M'Farland, and Mr. Eustis, and that he had sure information of their being passengers in the *Trent*. The commander of the *Trent* declining to satisfy him whether such passengers were on board or not, Mr. Slidell stepped forward and announced that the four persons named were then standing before him under British protection, and that if they were taken on board the *San Jacinto* they must be taken *vi et armis*. The commander of the *Trent* and Commander Williams, who was on board, protested against the demands of the captain of the *San Jacinto* as an act of piracy which they had no means of resisting, as the American vessel was on their port beam, 200 yards off, her ship's company at quarters, ports open, and tampions out. Remonstrance was unavailing. The commissioners and their secretaries were forcibly carried off, such necessary luggage as they required being sent to them, and it was then demanded that the commander of the *Trent* should go on board the *San Jacinto*. This he positively refused to do unless he should be forcibly compelled, and the demand was not insisted on. The ships then parted company, and the *Trent* proceeded on her voyage to St. Thomas.

When the intelligence reached England it produced immense excitement. The act of Captain Wilkes was clearly illegal, and it was regarded as an outrage, a deliberate insult to the country. A cabinet council was held and despatches were prepared, the conciliatory form of which was to some extent determined by the advice of Prince Albert, whose draft

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of the representations to be made to the Federal government was one of the latest duties with which he was occupied shortly before his death. The despatch said that the seizure on board the *Trent* was an act of violence, a breach of international law, and an insult to the British flag; but it went on:—"Her majesty's government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed this aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his government, or that, if he conceived himself to be so authorized, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received. For the government of the United States must be fully aware that the British government could not allow such an affront to the national honour to pass without full reparation; and her majesty's government are unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling.

"Her majesty's government therefore trust that, when this matter shall have been brought under the consideration of the United States, that government will of its own accord offer to the British government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed."

The proceeding of Captain Wilkes was regarded here as a deliberate affront to Great Britain, sanctioned if not directed by the Federal government in America, and the temper displayed on the other side gave some justification of this opinion and of the bitter resentment which accompanied it.

Mr. Seward, the secretary of state of the Federal government, was fond of discussing and orating, and in his reply to the despatch insisted on arguing the question before consenting to liberate the prisoners. He asked, Were the persons named and their supposed despatches contraband of war? Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the *Trent* for these contraband persons and despatches? Did he exercise the right in a lawful and proper manner? Having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband despatches, had he a right to capture their persons? Did he exercise that right of capture in a manner observed and recognized by the law of nations? This was grave trifling; but Mr. Seward answered all the questions in the affirmative, admitting, however, two special difficulties against his case, namely, the want of specific instructions to the commander of the *San Jacinto* by his government, and his permitting the *Trent* to proceed on her voyage after he had satisfied himself that she was carrying contraband of war. On these grounds Mr. Seward was ready to agree to the release of the prisoners. This kind of concession was irritating, and it was still believed that Captain Wilkes had acted under the direct or implied sanction of his government.

It was afterwards reported that General Scott, who was in Paris, had declared that instructions had been given to Capt. Wilkes by his government, and whether this report was true or not, it is quite certain that the captain of the *San Jacinto* was made a hero at two or three mass meetings; and what was worse, the secretary of the navy had commended his action, and he had received a vote of thanks from the House of Representatives at Washington.

Our legal authorities declared that a breach of international law had been committed. Another despatch had been sent to Lord Lyons that if at the end of seven days no answer was given to the representations of our government, or if any other answer was given than that of compliance with their demands, he was to leave Washington with all the members of his legation, bringing with him the archives of the legation, and to come immediately to London. There was a very painful impression here, even among many who were in sympathy with the Northern States, that

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the Federal government was taking a course calculated to provoke hostilities on the part of England, and that the demonstrations against this country made by a strong and turbulent party in America might carry the ministry there to acts of aggression or defiance which must lead to farther complications. To thoughtful men on both sides war between Britain and the Federal States would be scarcely less horrible or less fratricidal than the conflict already going on between North and South; and, though with perhaps too suggestive promptitude, it was decided to despatch troops to the number of 8000 to Canada, and it was argued that this step was necessary to show that we were in earnest in our representations,—a great load of anxiety was felt to have been removed when Mr. Seward's reply was received, in a long and rather circumlocutory despatch, containing the satisfactory declaration that Captain Wilkes had acted without authority, and that the four persons taken from the *Trent* should "be cheerfully liberated."

The conclusion was an equitable one, and it should not be forgotten that the concession had to be made at a most critical juncture, when the Federal reverses had made the position of the government extremely difficult, and the popular ferment against England for her supposed sympathy and support of the Confederates was almost uncontrollable.

Whatever may have been the mistaken estimate of English feeling on the part of American agitators, it could not be denied that the prompt declaration of neutrality by our government had secured the Northern States against a probable French intervention on behalf of the South, while other states of Europe had followed our example. The foreign envoys at Washington were now, in obedience to their governments, earnest in their representations to Mr. Seward that he could not consistently with international law refuse to comply with the demands made by Great Britain.

Even before the prompt declaration sent by the Emperor of the French to Washington, M. Mercier, the French minister, had spoken to Mr. Seward in the same sense. On the 23d of December Lord Lyons wrote to Earl Russell: "M. Mercier went, of his own accord, to Mr. Seward the day before yesterday, and expressed strongly his own conviction that the choice lay only between a compliance with the demands of England and war. He begged Mr. Seward to dismiss all idea of assistance from France, and not to be led away by the vulgar notion that the emperor would gladly see England embroiled with the United States in order to pursue his own plans in Europe without opposition."

This was a curiously worded communication when it is read side by side with an intimation by Lord Palmerston to the queen that he had been credibly informed that General Scott, while in Paris, had let it be understood that he was commissioned to propose to France to join the Northern States against England, in which event the French province of Canada would be restored to the empire. "General Scott," added the jaunty premier, "will probably find himself much mistaken as to the success of his overtures; for the French government is more disposed towards the South than the North, and is probably thinking more about cotton than about Canada." Whatever truth or falsehood there may have been in the rumour about General Scott, Lord Palmerston was right in his conclusion. General Scott may have been a political Captain Wilkes, assuming an authority for which he had no warrant, and this seems probable from the attitude preserved towards England by President Abraham Lincoln. He, as well as other sagacious leaders in the Northern States, must have seen that the British government was acting loyally in declaring the South to be a belligerent and announcing complete neutrality. We needed cotton as much as France did. A whole manufacturing industry in England was paralysed—a whole population in deep distress for the want of it, and, in addition to this, the Southern States would have maintained free-trade with England, and the North had imposed duties many of which were almost prohibitive in relation to English commerce. Mr. Lincoln recognized this, and with his clear good sense also saw that to persist in supporting the action of Captain

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Wilkes would be inconsistent. The claim of right of search in free ports had been abandoned in all civilized states, and the United States governments had been specially active in abolishing it. "This is the very thing the British captains used to do," said Mr. Lincoln. "They claimed the right of searching American ships and carrying men out of them. That was the cause of the war of 1812. Now we cannot abandon our own principles. We shall have to give these men up, and apologize for what we have done."

Happily the terms of the despatches from England were, as Mr. Seward said, courteous and friendly, not dictatorial nor menacing, and the task of reconciling his government to a pacific course was therefore the easier. The commissioners and the secretaries were liberated, and were sent to this country in a British man-of-war. It was no long time since international courtesies had been exchanged—the eldest son of the queen had been welcomed with enthusiasm in the States, and England was grateful. In the despatch itself the real horror which would be felt at the approach of hostilities between the two countries was suggested. But though this feeling was general, there was still a strong party on each side which maintained a hostile attitude by respectively abusing England and speaking with dislike, if not with contempt, of the Northern States of America, while certain newspapers on both sides accentuated the invective and helped to maintain the ill-feeling.

Sir Stafford Northcote had been one of the longest if not one of the most effective speakers against the budget of 1861, and though he had apparently not forgotten that he was once private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, and always spoke of the chancellor of the exchequer as "my right honourable friend," he persisted in contending that the calculations for the financial year would be fallacious. On this occasion Sir Stafford Northcote may be said to have first come prominently to the front and to have achieved decided success as a parliamentary speaker, though he was already known as an authority in figures, for he had sat, as it were, at the feet of the great Gamaliel of finance. Mr. Disraeli said that the chief credit of the debate on the opposition side belonged to Sir Stafford Northcote, and doubtless the attack on the budget was sharp and the arguments against it were carefully arranged, but we have seen how the measure passed, and the paper duties were abandoned in spite of the forebodings of those who deplored the tendency to remove all taxes on cheap newspapers, and who, not having altered their views as Mr. Gladstone had altered his, still regarded such imposts as necessary, or at least desirable, for "preventing the circulation of bad matter;" a result, by the by, which the old oppressive taxes on cheap publications had never effected, as could be shown by turning to the files (if any exist) of many scandalous periodicals issued between the years 1830 and 1850. When the budget for 1862 was brought forward both Mr. Disraeli and Sir Stafford Northcote were ready to renew the attack. That budget, though not so elaborate as the preceding one, was, like some of its predecessors, a remarkable exposition of the resources of the country and of a scheme for providing an adequate revenue notwithstanding adverse circumstances and an expenditure, some items of which, like the sum spent for fortifications, had not been approved by the chancellor of the exchequer.

The civil war in America had already begun to make its effects felt. In the first quarter of the year our exports to the States had diminished from £21,667,000 to £9,058,000, being a difference of no less than £12,609,000. There had been great distress, enforced idleness, and a consequent enormous loss of production. The harvest of 1861 had been deficient in quantity, and the winter of 1860 had been one of such severity that the distress in London and our large towns strained the provisions of the poor-law beyond their ordinary limits, and at last, so far as London was concerned, almost caused a break-down in the system, which had to be largely supplemented by private charity and public subscription. All these causes operated to diminish the revenue, and yet so successful had been the financial operations of the previous year and the working of the commercial treaty with

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France, that the revenue showed an increase of £2,000,000. While our trade with the United States had seriously diminished, that with France had increased in a single year from £2,190,000 to £6,910,000. Unfortunately there had been a nearly corresponding increase of expenditure. The chancellor of the exchequer announced that the real expenditure of the past year was much greater than the estimate by means of supplementary grants in 1861 and 1862, principally in reference to the despatch of troops to Canada and a small amount to China; so that the actual expenditure of the past year was £70,878,000. The total expenditure of the year 1860–61 was £72,504,000. The revenue of the past year was £69,670,000. This was a decrease, taking into account circumstances connected with the financial year, of £809,000. This must be considered satisfactory, when it was remembered that in 1861–62 they had parted with three items of revenue—by reducing the income-tax 1*d.* in the pound, making £850,000; the paper duty, involving a loss on the last six months of the financial year of £665,000; while no malt credit had been taken up, as was the case in 1860–61 to the extent of £1,122,000. It was not a fact that the revenue was declining. In the customs, on the first three quarters of last year there was an increase of £468,000, but in the last quarter there had been a decrease of £100,000. Yet although the gross revenue had fallen off by £609,000, the customs had exceeded the estimate by £464,000, the stamps by £130,000, taxes by £10,000, the income-tax by £15,000, and the miscellaneous by £81,000. In the excise there had been a falling-off amounting to £456,000; there had been a loss on spirits, hops, and paper. With regard to the estimates, that of the China indemnity, which had been placed at £750,000 had only realized £478,000 up to September, but when the two quarters due in March were paid there would be a gross receipt of £658,000. There were other deductions which would make the whole sum actually received this year from this source only £266,000. The total estimate of expenditure was £70,040,000, the estimated total revenue would be £70,190,000. There was no prospect of the remission of taxes, but rather of heavy expenditure which would make additional taxation necessary. The total result of the treaty of commerce, including the increase in foreign and colonial exports, showed an amount of £10,000,000. The government had determined to do without a surplus, and to impose no new taxes, reserving to themselves the privilege of taking the necessary steps to meet any contingency which might arise. There could be no remission of taxes, but the burden of the country would be lighter by £600,000 or £700,000. Demands had been made on the government by various interests, to which Mr. Gladstone referred, but it was proposed to make some changes in other matters. The increased sobriety of the people and a diminished power of consumption had caused some falling off in the estimated amount derived from the spirit duties, and it was not proposed to touch them. The sugar duties being classified duties were unequal in their pressure; but the difficulties of removing this classification were so great that no change could be effected without a complete inquiry into the subject, and he would consequently be prepared to assent to a committee for the purpose. With regard to the malt credits, no case for a change had been made out, and an alteration would deprive the revenue of £1,300,000 a year. The minor duties on exports and imports, while entailing an amount of labour in collection which gave them a claim to repeal, yet amounted to £182,000; and with a surplus of £150,000 it was not possible to deal with them, besides which they afforded a means to the Board of Trade of obtaining valuable statistical information. But he was willing to grant an inquiry into the subject. With regard to the wine duties, there was a favourable increase in the trade; but on the whole it was determined to retain what was called the alcoholic test, but altering and modifying it by reducing the four scales to two, admitting all wines from 18 to 26 degrees of alcohol at a duty of 1*s.*, while from 26 to 42 the scale would be raised from 2*s.* 5*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*, and above 45 an additional duty of 3*d.* on every additional rise of strength. This would yield

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a net gain of £15,000 a-year to the revenue. Coming to the hop duties the chancellor of the exchequer announced that it was not possible to surrender duties which yielded £300,000 a-year on the average. He proposed, however, to do something in the way of commutation by readjusting the system of brewers' licenses and including in them a charge for the hop duty; while, at the same time, relief would be given to smaller brewers in respect of the charge for their licenses. The result of this plan would be to secure to the revenue nearly as much duty as now, while it would cause a complete free trade in home and foreign hops. The customs and excise duty on hops would be repealed from next September; and it was also proposed, as regarded private brewers, to exempt from license all brewing carried on by the labouring classes. By this financial operation there would be a loss to the revenue of £45,000.

These being the proposals of the government, Mr. Gladstone reviewed the financial results of the past three years. He pointed out that it was an error to suppose that the public expenditure was still growing, for that of 1861 was less than that of 1860, while in the year ensuing there was a decrease in the estimates of over £700,000. Putting aside new items of expenditure which had never been included in the estimates before, the actual diminution was £1,700,000. But the level of our expenditure still demanded attention, for it was a higher level than could be borne with comfort and satisfaction by the people, or than was compatible with a sound condition of finance. The growth of expenditure was partly owing to the growing wants of the country; then to a sense of insecurity which had prevailed in the country; next to the influence of the establishments and expenditure of other nations; and lastly, to special demands which had arisen out of exigencies which had sprung up—demands which were in substance, and in everything except the name, war demands. "With respect to the state of establishments and expenditure abroad," said Mr. Gladstone, "I do not know whether honourable members, in their perusal of the journals and in their observation of the condition of other countries, have fully comprehended what a race the governments of the world are running, and at what a fearful pace outside of England national obligations are now in course of accumulation." Nearly all countries were in the same predicament, and the only flourishing budget he had seen was that of the Ottoman Empire. During the last twenty years France had added 250 millions to her debt, of which 180 millions was not attributable to war expenditure. Austria and Russia had added to their debts, and the financial year of 1861 alone had added to the state debts of all the great countries 200 millions of money. England had not added to her debt, but among extraordinary expenses there was the cost of the war with China, which had been £7,054,000. In the last three years, what might be called war expenditure, including China, New Zealand, and the despatch of troops to North America, was £8,600,000. To meet this extraordinary expenditure the income-tax had risen since 1859 by three millions, and, including the spirit duties and other imposts, there had been taxes imposed exceeding five millions. The taxes reduced or abolished amounted to over four millions. Their extraordinary resources were now at an end; and if they looked into the future, and asked themselves how provision was to be made for it, they must make their reckoning without these resources. About eleven millions had been devoted in the last three years to extraordinary expenditure, of which six millions had been met by extraordinary resources, and five millions by taxes drawn from the people. As regarded the revenue it had increased since 1858–59 by upwards of four millions in 1861–62. We had passed through exceptional years without going into the market for loans, but, as he had remarked, all other extraordinary resources were now exhausted, and to meet casualties which might occur it was only to ordinary sources of revenue we had to look, and any difficulty which might be anticipated was only to be met by the application of the principles of true and strict economy.

The budget was attacked by Mr. Disraeli with his wonted vigour. He accused Mr. Gladstone of profusion; of having by the re-

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peal of the paper duty sacrificed a surplus of a million and a half for the sake of a barren triumph over the upper house. He had calculated his loss at £655,000, when it was £850,000. "The right honourable gentleman," he said, "never proposes a vote—and it falls to him to propose the most profuse votes that any minister in time of peace ever brought forward—he never does this without an intimation that he does not sanction in his heart the expenditure he recommends. . . . How is it that the party which preaches retrenchment and reduction—who believe all our estimates, especially the naval and military estimates, are much too extravagant—who are opposed to fortifications, and who do not much like iron ships—how is it that this party always support a minister who is bringing forward these excessive estimates and who provides for this enormous expenditure? Well, that is a great question. This at least we know, that while the spendthrift is weeping over pence—while this penurious prodigal is proposing this enormous expenditure—he always contrives to repeal some tax to gratify the interests or prejudices of the party of retrenchment. No wonder, then, we hear no longer the same character of the income-tax; no wonder we are no longer reminded of that compact entered into by the house and accepted by the country for its gradual and permanent abolition. Unless the house expresses, on a fitting occasion, its opinion, there is very little hope of our obtaining any redress in this respect. . . . Who will deny that this position of affairs is peculiar and perilous? I remember some years ago, when the right honourable gentleman was at the head of a small party, not then absorbed in the gulf of Liberalism, that we heard much prattle about political morality. What then most distinguished the right honourable gentleman and his friends was their monopoly of that admirable quality. They were perpetually thanking God that they were not as other men, and always pointing their fingers at those unfortunate wights who sat opposite to them. Now we see the end of 'political morality.' We see the position to which political morality has brought the finance of a great nation. I denounce this system as one detrimental to the character of public men, and most injurious to the fortunes of the realm."

This was a telling example of what was regarded as a "damaging speech" from the leader of the opposition, but it had no very damaging effect, for the house knew pretty well that Gladstone *had* objected to the fortification scheme, and had spoken with no uncertain and no insincere voice against the growing tendency to increased expenditure. It was for this reason that the party of retrenchment trusted him, for they knew that if the time should come when retrenchment could be practised, he would be able to use his extraordinary financial skill to secure the results to which he had declared he looked forward with anxiety. No very lengthy reply was needed. After having answered some of these representations of his opponent, Mr. Gladstone reminded his hearers that the repeal of the paper duty was said to be an improvident proposal; yet the opponents of that measure proposed to part with £950,000 of tea duty, which would have been so much addition to the alleged deficiency. He was well content to be called by Mr. Disraeli the most profuse chancellor of the exchequer on record. He was satisfied to bear any epithets of vituperation he had already produced or might produce on a future occasion. It was not difficult to bear the abuse of the right honourable gentleman when he remembered that far better men than himself had had to suffer it. But he should be still more content if the effect of his opponent's speech was such as to bring the house and the country to a due sense of the gravity of the financial situation, and the necessity for a reduction of expenditure. With regard to the income-tax, he did not desire that it should be permanent; and if the country could be governed by something about £60,000,000 it could be done without—but it could not be abolished with an expenditure of £70,000,000. He did not yet despair of reduction and retrenchment, though he did not look forward to sweeping reductions.

To Sir Stafford Northcote, who had risen early to oppose his financial proposals, he had already made a reply, in which he had said

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SIR STAFFORD HENRY NORTHCOTE.

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he did not deny his responsibility as chancellor of the exchequer, but it was not quite so extensive as the honourable baronet had represented it. He was not responsible for the estimates in every department of the government. If he were, the heads of those departments might be abolished altogether. His duty was to see that there was no lavish expenditure of the public money when he had it in his power to prevent it. He had never denied the responsibility of the house or the government. On the contrary, he had always asserted it. The complaints out of doors about taxation were so great that the question required the serious attention of Parliament. To this Mr. Gladstone added that he had to provide £70,000,000 in a time of peace, and he believed that when the right honourable gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote), or the right honourable gentleman by his side (Mr. Disraeli), took his place they would be able to do it.

Sir Stafford Northcote, who was acknowledged by competent judges to be the rising man, steadily climbing upward to the future chancellorship of the exchequer, had been, as we have seen, private secretary to Mr. Gladstone when that gentleman was president of the Board of Trade under Sir Robert Peel in 1843–45. His ancestor was Sir John Northcote, who wrote certain notes on the Long Parliament. Sir Stafford entered the house as member for Dudley in 1855, but in 1857 did not venture to oppose the numbers who had evidently determined to vote for Mr. Henry Brinsley Sheridan the Radical candidate, and so vacated his seat, to be returned in the following year for Stamford. He came to Parliament with a reputation already established, and in 1859 he was appointed financial secretary to the treasury. Associated with several philanthropic and educational movements and justly regarded as eminently trustworthy, he possessed both taste and aptitude for figures, and his friends were not slow in assigning to him the chancellorship of the future. It was said by others that he was more fitted for an actuary or manager of a great bank. These underrated his abilities, probably because he was a monotonous and prosaic speaker, though he was ready and even fluent. At that time he seemed to have but a small horizon, his views were not extensive enough for a chancellor of the exchequer who had to compete with Gladstone, but he had a certain determination of manner, and was a clear financial critic, in fact was much more skilled in minute anatomy of an opponent's statements than in constructing any broad and effective scheme of his own. In 1861 Sir Stafford Northcote was returned for North Devon, and by that time he had completely gained the respect of the house no less for his honourable integrity than for the practical ability which he afterwards had an opportunity of displaying as secretary for the Board of Trade.

Notwithstanding the distress which had been felt in London in the previous year, and which was still prevailing in the cotton manufacturing districts, and in spite of some of those signs of want and discontent which took the ultimate form of outrages by those men who sought to carry out the decisions of trades-unions by physical force, the destruction of machinery, and dangerous or even murderous assaults upon fellow-labourers who chose to work without the control of their society; the general prosperity of the country was promising. The death of the Prince Consort had, as we have seen, cast a gloom upon the project for repeating in 1862 the experiment of a great international exhibition similar to that of 1851; but the scheme was not suffered to fall through, and his valuable aid had at least been secured for its inception and the settlement of many of the primary arrangements. Early in 1861 the site of the building had been chosen. It was a large space of ground in front of and inclosing the grounds of the Horticultural Society, and upon the Kensington Gore estate, which was purchased out of the funds arising from the first exhibition. The ground was bounded by four roads: Cromwell Road forming its southern limit, Exhibition Road its eastern, Kensington Road its northern, and Prince Alfred Road its western. The area was much larger than that of the former building in Hyde Park. The length of the space under glass there was 1848 feet and its breadth 408, with

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48 feet additional for machinery, or, with the galleries, about 1,000,000 feet of flooring space. The building of 1862 was about half as large again, and this increase was rendered necessary, not only because of the expectation of increased exhibits from various parts of England, but in view of the applications likely to be made by France and our colonies.

The design of the building as furnished by Captain Fowke, R.E., differed essentially from those of the former "Crystal Palace." The main walls were of brick up to 60 feet, and though iron and glass formed a considerable portion of the structure, much of the lighting was by means of clerestories through a solid and compact roof. This was necessarily the case in the fine art department, as it had been found that the iron and glass roofs did not give complete security against damp, and as loan collections of valuable paintings, including some of the art treasures from the Manchester exhibition of the previous year, and a number of priceless examples of the works of the great painters of the century, from all countries, were to be included, it was necessary to adopt adequate means for their protection. Five noblemen and gentlemen were appointed under the original patent of incorporation to take the direction; namely, Earl Granville, Mr. Wentworth Dilke, the Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Fairbairn, and they were left to seek efficient advice and assistance in carrying out the work.

During the latter part of the time that the building was approaching completion, and even at the opening ceremony and for a little while after the exhibition was inaugurated, the scheme met with considerable disparagement. There were constant objections to the site, to the style of the building, and to the supposed inferiority of its contents to those of the first great "world's fair" of 1851. People shook their heads sagaciously to emphasize the opinion that one can never repeat a great success. Others said the structure resembled a factory or a gigantic warehouse, and prophesied that its contents could not be properly exhibited even if they were worth seeing. Again during the first days of imperfect arrangement it was currently declared that the place was only a gigantic bazaar for the display of the goods of enterprising, or rather advertising, tradesmen.

The commissioners might well have been daunted; but the money was forthcoming, the building was completed by the stipulated time, and though the unpromising prospects of its success seemed likely to be confirmed because of the mourning into which the queen was plunged by the death of the prince, whose name and prestige it was believed would carry it into public favour, and the opening ceremony was unattended by the pomp and celebration of a royal inauguration, the truth at last dawned upon the public mind that as a real international exhibition it was superior to its predecessor not only in the variety of the display, but in the evidences which it contained of the progress made in arts, manufactures, and inventions during the eleven years that had elapsed.

Unfortunately there were small quarrels and jealousies among the proposed directors of the musical performance at the opening ceremony, and Mr. Costa having objected to conduct the cantata, or whatever it was called, composed by Professor Bennett to the words of the poet laureate, went off in a sulk, and Mr. Sainton was invited to take his place. The following were the words:—

Uplift a thousand voices, full and sweet,
In this wide hall with earth's inventions stored,
And praise th' invisible universal Lord,
Who lets once more in peace the nations meet,
Where Science, Art, and Labour have outpour'd
Their myriad horns of plenty at our feet

O, silent father of our Kings to be,
Mourn'd in this golden hour of jubilee,
For this, for all, we weep our thanks to thee!
The world-compelling plan was thine,
And, lo! the long laborious miles
Of Palace; lo! the giant aisles,
Rich in model and design;
Harvest-tool and husbandry,
Loom, and wheel, and engin'ry;
Secrets of the sullen mine,
Steel and gold, and corn and wine;
Fabric rough or fairy fine,
Sunny tokens of the Line;
Polar marvels, and a feast
Of wonder, out of West and East,
And shapes and hues of part divine!
All of beauty, all of use,
That one fair planet can produce,

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Brought from under every star,
Blown from over every main,
And mixt, as life is mixt with pain,
The works of peace with works of war.
O ye, the wise who think, the wise who reign,
From growing commerce loose her latest chain,
And let the fair white-winged peacemaker fly
To happy havens under all the sky,
And mix the seasons and the golden hours,
Till each man finds his own in all men's good,
And all men work in noble brotherhood,
Breaking their mailed fleets and armed towers,
And ruling by obeying nature's powers,
And gathering all the fruits of peace and crown'd
with all her flowers.

On the 1st of May the exhibition was opened, and though her majesty was not present an imposing pageant passed in procession through the building, consisting of civic dignitaries, foreign ambassadors, including the Japanese envoys, and her majesty's ministers, who met to receive the commissioners, who presented an address to the Duke of Cambridge. His royal highness represented the queen on the occasion, and after the formal procession declared the exhibition open in her majesty's name.

It may be mentioned here that it remained open until the 1st of November, when it was computed that the total number of visitors had been 6,117,450, or about 50,000 fewer than the gross number of visitors to the exhibition of 1851; but it must be remembered that the condition of the people in some of our large centres of industry accounted for some falling off, and probably there were fewer foreign visitors, though the foreign exhibitors numbered 16,456 against 6566 in 1851. A contemporary account of the building and its contents, touching upon the evidences of progress witnessed in the various departments, remarked:—

"'It is only eleven years since the last exhibition,' some people may say; 'and eleven years hence there will be still more to see.' When there will be another exhibition is a question which depends upon persons and things far beyond our ken or control; but if time be measured by improvement or by mere change, then these last eleven years have been twenty-two. Since the last exhibition there have come up the Armstrong gun, the Enfield rifle, and iron-plated ships; several new gold-fields, with a proportionate development of the colonies; the opening of China and Japan; the example of the Manchester exhibition, leading to our new picture-gallery; the addition of Rome and Naples to the list of exhibitors; a greatly increased rivalry in glass, in porcelain, in iron, in paper, in furniture, in jewelry, and many other things. Onyx marble has been discovered. Machinery has been applied to many purposes hitherto left to unassisted hand labour. Mediæval architecture has fairly taken root in the national mind. Our ships of war are doubling their tonnage, fining their lines, and thickening their iron coats. Photography, the electric telegraph, and instruments for measuring and recording meteorological changes have made a great start. All the nations of the earth are interchanging their productions much more freely than eleven years ago. Corn, wine, and oil are more abundant, and come here in greater varieties. The wealth of the world has increased, and the exhibitors have better hope of turning their pains to good account than they had eleven years ago. All these differences in the comparison of the two periods have told on the exhibition, and made it in all respects vastly larger and more beautiful than that of 1851. It has suffered some sad blows, but they are from without rather than within. The loss of its great patron and promoter seemed at first hardly possible to get over. A still deeper wound has been struck at its success by the distress of the manufacturing districts. But whoever can visit it, even at a cost of time and money somewhat beyond his wont, will find that he has no reason to regret an expenditure which teaches him more than books and companions, and places him, as it were, in the front rank of the world's material progress and outward civilization."

The distress in Lancashire had indeed become very serious long before the Great Industrial Exhibition was closed, and it continued for a long time afterwards; but the attitude of the suffering cotton operatives was one of courageous endurance, such as elicited the admiration not only of their countrymen, but of all Europe and of the Americans themselves.

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On the 19th of January, 1863, Mr. President Lincoln, in reply to an address from the working men of Manchester, who had sent to him a declaration of their hatred of slavery, said: "I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working men at Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempts to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favour of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens the working men of Europe have been subjected to a severe trial for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under these circumstances I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country." Before the end of that year the price of middling New Orleans cotton in Liverpool was 29½*d.* per lb. In 1854 the rate of the same quality of cotton had been 5*d.* per lb. During 1861 the quotations had continued to average 11⅞*d.* per lb., and in 1862 it had been 24½*d.* Of course the high price in 1863 meant no supplies, and though efforts had been made to bring cargoes from Egypt, and the crops in India were looked forward to with such anxiety that a consignment of Surat was received with joyful manifestations, there was never enough to give good hope of resuming work except on very short time in a limited number of mills.

The provisions made for the relief of the families of the Lancashire operatives were continued. In July, 1862, Mr. Villiers, president of the Board of Trade, brought in a bill enabling every parish overburdened with local distress to claim a contribution from the common fund of the union, and in committee an addition was made enabling the unions to raise money by loan, or to resort to a rate in aid whenever the expenditure of a union exceeded 3*s.* in the pound. A Lancashire relief fund was also started, with an executive committee properly appointed. According to a statement made by Mr. Wilson Patten in the House of Commons the contributions to the fund in April, 1863, had shown the results of the munificent liberality of the nation. There had been collected by the Central Relief Committee £959,000, in clothing and provisions to the value of £108,000; subscriptions from different localities, £306,000; private charity, £200,000; Mansion-house committee, £482,000; poor-law board, £680,000—in all a total of £2,735,000, of which £1,480,000 had been contributed by the county of Lancaster, so determined was the courage and independence of the people there. It may well be understood that though this large sum had been received, and that the balance then in hand for continued distribution was £845,000, the distress was extreme. There was no margin for more than the provision of necessaries in extreme cases, and, indeed, the operatives were mostly reduced to extremity before they would consent to receive assistance.

In November, 1862, Mr. Cobden, in writing to Lady Hatherton, had said: "Imagine that the iron, stone, and coal were suddenly withheld from Staffordshire, and it gives you but an imperfect idea of what Lancashire, with its much larger population, is suffering from the want of cotton; it reverses the condition of the richest county in the kingdom, and makes it the poorest. A capitalist with £20,000 invested in buildings and machinery may be almost on a par with his operatives in destitution if he be deprived of the raw material which alone makes his capital productive. Bad as is the state of things, I fear we are only at its commencement, and unhappily the winter is upon us to aggravate the sufferings of the working people. The evil is spreading through all classes. The first effects will be felt on the small shopkeepers; the weak millowners will come next. I met a magistrate yesterday from Oldham, and he told me that at the last meeting of the bench four thousand assessments were exempted from payment of poor-rates on the plea of inability of the parties to pay! How rapidly this must aggravate the pressure on the remainder of the property of the union! There will be another meeting of the Manchester Committee next Monday, at which it will be proposed to extend it to a

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National Committee, and the queen will be solicited as Duchess of Lancaster to allow her name to appear as its patron. An energetic effort will then be made to cover the whole kingdom with local committees, and then institute a general canvas for subscriptions. By this means we may keep matters in tolerable order till Parliament meets, but there is a growing opinion that we shall have to apply to parliament for imperial aid. People at a distance, who learn that the poor-rates in Lancashire are even now less than they are in ordinary times in the agricultural districts, cannot understand this helplessness and destitution. They do not perceive how exceptional this state of things is. Lancashire, with its machinery stopped, is like a man in a fainting fit. It would be as rational to attempt to draw money from the one as blood from the other. Or it may be compared to a strong man suddenly struck with paralysis; until the use of his limbs and muscles be restored to him, it is useless to tell him to help himself."

We have seen what had then been done to increase poor-law relief. In September, 1862, twenty-four poor-law unions in the distressed districts afforded out-door relief to 140,165 persons, at a weekly cost of £7922, which represented aid to 100,000 persons in excess of the relief of the corresponding period of the previous year. On the week ending 27th of December the want was far more excessive, the relief lists showing the alarming total of 496,816 persons dependent on charitable or parochial funds, while the loss of wages was estimated at about £168,000 per week.

Happily the fund for the relief of the sufferers was well supported, not only by noble and wealthy donors—among whom were the queen, who gave £2000, and the Viceroy of Egypt, who gave £1000 during his visit to London—but by the people themselves—shopkeepers, employés, and even agricultural labourers, who contributed pence from their own small and hardly-earned wages. It should not be forgotten either that substantial aid and expressions of sympathy came to Lancashire from various parts of Europe, and that the Northern States of America were not behindhand in significant expressions of goodwill, which took the shape of consignments of provisions and other additions to the fund. This act of generosity amidst their own troubles and anxieties, and when their own fields lay fallow and their own manufactures were still for want of the hands that were engaged in the deadly struggle, was afterwards warmly remembered, as, indeed, it deserved to be; and though for a time it had little appreciable effect in mitigating the rancorous declamations of a section of the public on both sides, it doubtless had a very decided influence in the ultimate restoration of reasonable and friendly feelings, and contributed greatly to the mutual good understanding that ensued, notwithstanding the affair of the *Alabama* and the "claims" that were so long a bone of contention between the two countries.

It is not out of place to note also, that, in the midst of the conflict of opinion and the increasing distress in the early days of 1862, Mr. George Peabody, a wealthy American merchant in London, announced that it was his intention to give £100,000 for the benefit of the poor of this metropolis. Mr. Peabody was a native of Danvers, in the State of Massachusetts. He was born on February 18, 1795; his parents were in humble circumstances, and his early education was acquired at the district "common school." At the age of eleven he was placed in a grocer's store in Danvers, in which situation he spent four years. After a year's rural life with his grandfather in Vermont he went to Newburyport, Massachusetts, as clerk to his elder brother, who had opened a dry-goods shop there. He afterwards was in business with his uncle at Georgetown, district of Columbia, for two years. In 1814 he withdrew from this concern and became a partner with Mr. Elisha Riggs in the dry-goods trade, Mr. Riggs furnishing the capital and Mr. Peabody the business talent. In 1815 the house was removed to Baltimore, and in 1822 branch houses were established in Philadelphia and New York. In 1827 Mr. Peabody crossed the Atlantic for the first time to purchase goods. In 1829 he became senior partner by the retirement of Mr. Riggs. On several occasions of his visits to England he was intrusted with important

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financial negotiations by the State of Maryland. Early in 1837 he took up his residence in England. In 1843 he withdrew from the concern of Peabody, Riggs, & Co., and founded a banking-house in London. In the crisis of 1837 he rendered valuable assistance towards the maintenance of American credit in England. The banking-house he established became the headquarters of his countrymen resident in or passing through London and the centre of American news. His Fourth of July dinners at the "Star and Garter," Richmond, soon became public events, and served to bring English and American gentlemen together in agreeable intercourse. In 1852, at the bicentenary anniversary of his native town, he sent a cheque for 20,000 dols. to be expended in the founding of a lyceum and library for the town. By subsequent donations this sum was raised to 60,000 dols., and the institution was opened in or about 1857 with great éclat. In the latter year he gave to certain citizens of Baltimore the sum of 500,000 dols. to found an institute in that city for the promotion of science, literature, and the fine arts, the opening of which was retarded by the civil war in America.

Mr. Peabody was presented with the freedom of the city of London in recognition of his munificent gift. He afterwards added another £50,000 to it, and received a letter of thanks from the queen for his "more than princely munificence." Her majesty would have conferred upon him either a baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the order of the Bath; but that she understood he felt himself debarred from accepting such distinctions. It only remained, therefore, for the queen to give Mr. Peabody the assurance of her personal feelings, which she further wished to mark by asking him to accept a miniature-portrait of herself, which she desired to have painted, and which, when finished, was either to be sent to him to America, or to be given to him on his return to the country which owed him so much. Mr. Peabody replied: "Madam, I feel seriously my inability to express in adequate terms the gratification with which I have read the letter which your majesty has done me the high honour of transmitting by the hands of Earl Russell.[1] On the occasion which has attracted your majesty's attention, of setting apart a portion of my property to ameliorate the condition and augment the comforts of the poor in London, I have been actuated by a deep sense of gratitude to God who has blessed me with prosperity, and of attachment to this great country, where, under your majesty's benign rule, I have received so much personal kindness and enjoyed so many years of happiness. Next to the approval of my own conscience I shall always prize the assurance which your majesty's letter conveys to me of the approbation of the Queen of England, whose whole life has attested that her exalted station has in no degree diminished her sympathy with the humblest of her subjects. The portrait which your majesty is graciously pleased to bestow on me I shall value as the most precious heirloom that I can leave in the land of my birth, where, together with the letter which your majesty has addressed to me, it will ever be regarded as an evidence of the kindly feeling of the Queen of the United Kingdom to a citizen of the United States." The American war had concluded when this letter was written, and above two years afterwards, in December, 1868, Mr. Peabody, who had returned from America, once more gave £100,000, bringing the total sum to the superb amount of £250,000. Shortly afterwards he gave another million of dollars to his American Southern education fund. In October of the following year this liberal benefactor died at the residence of his friend, Sir Curtis Lampson. He was seventy-five years of age, and under his will he had left an additional amount for the benefit of the London poor, making altogether a total of half a million sterling. His remains were placed in Westminster Abbey previous to being conveyed on board one of her majesty's ships to his birth-place in America. The large sum of money, which was placed in the hands of trustees for providing suitable dwellings for the London poor, appears to have been chiefly devoted, it is true,

[1] This was in 1866; Lord John Russell took his seat in the House of Lords in July, 1861, as Earl Russell of Kingston-Russell in Dorset and Viscount Amberley of Ardsalla in Meath.

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to the purpose of building substantial houses on a model plan, and on a plan which will yield a certain dividend for the maintenance of the scheme; but it can scarcely be contended that the actually poor inhabitants of London, or those who need benevolent aid, are those who have been chiefly benefited, since the trust has rather been devoted to the provision of convenient and well-constructed tenements for those decent tenants who can afford to pay a fair amount of rental. Doubtless some good may have been effected by thus enabling respectable mechanics and working people to obtain sound sanitary and reasonably rated dwellings; but whether this kind of speculative provision quite represents the intentions of the philanthropic donor is perhaps a question which the trustees and their representatives can best answer.

Mr. Peabody's splendid gift of course had nothing to do with the relief of distress in Lancashire, to which he was also no doubt a liberal contributor, but it had much significance in representing the good feeling which continued to exist between numbers of thoughtful Americans and unbiassed Englishmen. The efforts made for the special object of diminishing the sufferings of the people during the cotton famine were numerous and well sustained. Nor were they confined to mere contributions or subscriptions. They included many personal endeavours, among the most directly useful of which were those of Mrs. Gladstone, who during the first months of the calamity visited the districts where the need was greatest, and while practically assisting to alleviate the wants of those who were on the spot had a number of the men conveyed to Hawarden, where they were employed in making new roads and paths in the park. She also established at Hawarden an industrial home for distressed Lancashire girls. Numerous endeavours of a similar kind were made in the suffering districts, and it is to be remarked that though the painful effects of the cotton famine were felt long after the American war was over and the mills were at work again, that time of trial had not been barren in good results, so that we may well believe it proved of incalculable after benefit to the whole population of the districts where its lesson had been patiently learnt. One of the most striking features of the time was the remarkable diminution in the number of deaths and the improvement in the health of the majority of the people, even in those districts where the distress was most severely felt. This has been attributed to enforced temperance; it may have been also partially attributable to a period of temporary rest. It should be noted, however, that means were taken for providing interesting occupation. Schools were established for the instruction not only of children but of adults, numbers of whom willingly devoted their now unemployed time to acquire the instruction which in their younger days they had never been able to attain. Sewing-schools for women and girls were also opened in all parts of the manufacturing districts. Numbers were there taught how to make and to mend various garments, and carried the practical knowledge gained in these schools into their homes. The organization for relieving want went hand in hand with efforts for providing occupations which would keep the people from brooding over their trouble, and be useful to them in their daily lives.

During the whole time that the dearth of cotton continued the government and many wealthy and enterprising individuals were using efforts to promote the growth of the plant in India and other British dependencies, so that we might not hereafter be wholly dependent on one source of supply. Some advances were also made in the introduction of improved machinery for preparing and cleaning the fibre; and railways and means of transit from the manufacturing districts to the seaports were still further developed. To the East and West Indies, New Zealand, Queensland—and outside the British empire, Brazil—consumers of cotton were looking not without hope that in the future, if not immediately, large supplies might be brought from those places. Of course the supply increased but slowly, or rather absolute cessation of supply was only prevented by these means, especially as nothing came from the African cotton-fields when prices had considerably

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increased. The native growers there had no notion of working except when compelled; and the increased amount which they received when they conveyed the produce of their plantations to the shore enabled them to settle down to enjoyment—or what passed for it in their estimation—and to leave the fields untilled and unsown. The staple at mills which resumed work was the *Surat;* and though this was of inferior quality, dirty, and difficult to manufacture, it was so much better than none at all that the people who could obtain employment were delighted at being able to maintain their independence, and to leave the relief funds for the large number who were necessarily supported by charitable efforts.

Among the institutions which were already in existence and served both at the time and afterwards to mitigate the effects of such a sudden and protracted arrest of a great industry occupying a large district, should be noticed those societies in which the principles of co-operation had been adopted and had proved successful. The co-operative societies of Rochdale had not, it is true, had many imitators, nor did it then seem as though the scheme which they had adopted was likely to find much extension in other parts of England and amidst other industries; but the circumstances of the distress in Lancashire and the survival during the cotton famine of the original associations whose members had so long benefited by the provisions of the system, attracted public attention to the question. Since that time co-operative societies in one form or other have been regarded as valuable means for securing the mutual advantages of their members, and in London, societies embracing one branch of the original institutions have been organized in a manner which has more than once threatened to change the entire method of business previously adopted by retail traders in the metropolis.

It scarcely needs to be said that the actual or representative co-operative association includes not only a common interest in the sale and profits of necessary commodities required by the members, but in the industry in which the members are employed and by the success of which they live. Such a notion was in the minds of many men even after the acceleration of political progress and the folly and ignorance of self-elected leaders had put an end to Chartism. Among the people who had looked at the indefinite promises of communistic or socialistic leaders there were many who saw much possible reality in them. That some such experiments had failed long before, when they were associated with political agitation or with certain suspected philosophies or social vagaries, was no proof that the co-operative principle might not be commercially sound. As a matter of fact it already necessarily existed, where a number of people were engaged in different work and held different degrees of importance to promote the same enterprise. In 1873 Carlyle had given expression to the thought, or one might rather say the question which was being discussed elsewhere among a few serious men. "Whether," as he puts it, "in some ulterior, perhaps some not far distant stage of the 'chivalry of labour' your master worker may not find it possible, and needful, to grant his workers permanent *interest* in his enterprise and theirs? So that it become in practical result, what in essential fact and justice it ever is, a joint enterprise; all men, from the chief master down to the lowest overseer and operative, economically as well as loyally concerned for it? Which question I do not answer. The answer near, or else far, is perhaps: yes;—and yet we know the difficulties. Despotism is essential in most enterprises: I am told they do not tolerate 'freedom of debate' on board a seventy-four! Republican senate and *plébiscite* would not answer well in cotton mills. And yet observe there too, freedom, not nomad's or ape freedom, but man's freedom, this is indispensable. We must have it and will have it! To reconcile despotism with—well, is that such a mystery? Do you not already know the way? It is to make your despotism just. Rigorous as destiny; but just too as destiny and its laws. The laws of God: all men obey these, and have no freedom at all but in obeying them. The way is already known, part of the way; and courage and some qualities are needed for walking in it."

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This is Carlylese, but it needs little translation in reference to a movement, some of the permanent effects of which were apparent at the time of the cotton famine twenty years afterwards. That movement began in the latter part of 1843 in an association which had theoretically in view wider results than those that were to be effected by merely commercial or industrial co-operation. The first programme of the founders of the co-operative system at Rochdale included a provision "that as soon as practicable this society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education, and government; or in other words to establish a self-supporting home-colony of united interests to assist other societies in establishing such colonies." Some of this may seem visionary, but there was enough of sound and solid fact remaining after what was merely visionary had disappeared, and when this and other co-operative associations which had been established on its experiences were consolidated and working, but not too freely, under the "Friendly Societies Act" of 1852.

Various abortive attempts had been made from time to time to realize the ideas on which the co-operative societies were founded, but they had failed, chiefly through the moral and industrial defects of those by whom they were tried. At length an attempt was made at Rochdale by men who, though extremely poor and almost destitute of book-learning, were endowed with the qualifications necessary for carrying the enterprise they undertook to a successful issue.

The example thus set was followed in all the large towns of the manufacturing districts. But we shall best comprehend the nature of this great movement by fixing our attention on the origin and progress of the Rochdale society, which served as a pattern to the rest, by whom its rules and methods were almost exactly copied. It was, as we have noted, at the close of the year 1843 that the Rochdale Equitable Pioneer's Co-operative Store was first established. The new poor-law had prevented the working men of that town from looking, as they had previously been accustomed to do, to parochial relief as a resource on which, in case of loss of work, they might always fall back. The failure of the Rochdale savings-bank, recently plundered by its actuary to the extent of £70,000, had destroyed all faith in that hitherto popular institution. It was under these circumstances that twenty-eight Rochdale flannel-weavers managed to scrape together a sovereign each for the purpose of establishing a shop in which they might purchase genuine groceries and other necessaries at a moderate price, dividing among themselves whatever profits might remain at the end of the year. The views by which they were actuated are very clearly exhibited in an account which they afterwards published of the lofty aims with which they made this very humble experiment.

"The objects of this society are the social and intellectual advancement of its members. It provides them with groceries, butcher's-meat, drapery goods, clothes, shoes, clogs, &c. There are competent workmen on the premises to do the work of the members and execute all repairs. The capital is raised in one pound shares, each member being allowed to take not less than five and not more than a hundred, payable at once or by instalments of three shillings and threepence per quarter. The profits are divided quarterly as follows: first, interest at five per cent per annum on all paid-up shares; second, two and a half per cent off net profits for educational purposes; the remainder to be divided among the members in proportion to money expended. For the intellectual improvement of the members there is a library consisting of more than 3000 volumes. The librarian is in attendance every Wednesday and Saturday evening from seven to half-past eight o'clock. The news-room is well supplied with newspapers and periodicals, fitted up in a neat and careful manner, and furnished with maps, globes, microscope, telescope, &c. The news-room and library are free to all members. A branch reading-room has been opened at Oldham Road, the readers of which meet every second Monday in January, April, July, and October, to choose and sell the papers."

Whatever may have been the opinions of those who strongly objected to the system of

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co-operation, and who prophesied its ultimate failure, there could be no doubt that the endeavour to provide the means of education and of intellectual culture formed a promising feature in the work that was then undertaken.

It has been claimed for the Rochdale pioneers that one of the chief reasons why they became the advanced guard of a great and astonishing progress was that they neither desired to pull down other classes nor to raise themselves out of their own class, but to raise themselves by elevating the class to which they belonged. "They were men of courage and men of business. Their aim and ambition was that the working classes should be well fed, well clad, well housed, well washed, well educated; in a word, that in the highest and best sense of the term, they should be respectable. If any taint of the socialistic and communistic theories in which the society originated still adhered to them it was rapidly removed by the practical realities with which they had to deal. The prodigious and rapid growth of the establishment at the head of which they were placed required considerable administrative ability, and it was forthcoming. To their honour it should be mentioned that, far from being actuated by any desire to monopolize the advantages they enjoyed, they were animated by a generous spirit of proselytism, which led them to put themselves to considerable trouble and expense in communicating to inquirers from all parts of the kingdom the results of their experience, and aiding them in the formation of new societies." The following extract from a paper they printed at an early period of their history in order to send to all those who applied to them for information with a view to the formation of new societies, illustrates the spirit of generosity and wisdom by which they were animated:—

"1. Procure the authority and protection of the law by enrolment.

2. Let integrity, intelligence, and ability be the indispensable qualifications in the choice of officers and managers, and not wealth or distinction.

3. Let each member have only one vote, and make no distinction as regards the amount of wealth any member may contribute.

4. Let majorities rule in all matters of government.

5. Look well after money matters. Punish fraud, when duly established, by the immediate expulsion of the defrauder.

6. Buy your goods as much as possible in the first markets; or if you have the produce of your industry to sell contrive, if possible, to sell it in the best.

7. Never depart from the principle of buying and selling for ready money.

8. Beware of long reckonings. Quarterly accounts are the best, and should be adopted when practicable.

9. For the sake of security always have the accounted value of the 'fixed stock' at least one-fourth less than its marketable value.

10. Let the members take care that the accounts are properly audited by men of their own choosing.

11. Let committees of management al have the authority of the members l taking any important or expensive step.

12. Do not court opposition or publicit fear it when it comes.

13. Choose those only for your l whom you can trust, and then give the confidence."

As a proof of the rapid success wh tended the institution we may refer statistics compiled on the tables publi the almanacs of the Rochdale societie number of members in 1844 was 28, amount of the funds £28. In the fc year there were 74 members, the fu increased to £181; and out of £71(represented the amount of business do was £32 on the side of "profits." the members had increased to 600, tl to £2299, the business to £13,179, th to £889. In 1855 there were 1400 m £11,032 of funds; the business dc £44,902, and the profits £3106; and there were 3450 members, £37,710 i business to the amount of £152,083, a fits reaching £15,906.

After it had been carried on for sev it was found that more money was off investment than could be profitably en in the store. The directors, therefor

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forced to consider what was to be done with their surplus capital. They could not continue to pay five per cent on it, as they were obliged to do by their rules, when it was not yielding them anything like that amount. They must therefore either find profitable employment for it or refuse to receive it. They determined on adopting the former of these two alternatives, and as at the time great complaints were made of the quality of the flour that was sold in the shops, much of which was said to be adulterated, it was determined in 1850 to establish a new society, to be called the Rochdale Co-operative Corn-mill Society, for which a substantial mill was erected in Weir Street, Rochdale.

The spirit by which the first co-operators were animated is illustrated by the fact that they determined not to erect the building by

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balance always in the bank. It was universally admitted to be one of the largest, best-constructed, and best-fitted in the borough of Rochdale, a town which was by no means behind its neighbours in the size and excellence of its factories. This great work was scarcely finished when its owners found themselves in a position to commence another factory alongside of the first. These two establishments together cost nearly £100,000, besides the amount of capital required for their working. Before they were completed and filled with machinery the American civil war broke out and prevented the experiment of a co-operative manufactory from having the same fair trial that had been given to the other co-operative experiments, and which they had passed through so triumphantly. The cotton famine rendered the newly erected factories almost useless and entirely profitless. It compelled a great number of the shareholders to part with their shares to persons who were not so fully imbued as themselves with the original spirit of co-operation, and who purchased them simply as a speculation. One of the results of this change of proprietorship was, that a rule of the society which gave the operatives a share in the profits of the concern was abrogated, and was not afterwards restored.

But these works were far from absorbing the whole of the capital, which co-operation multiplied to an extent that seemed almost magical. In the year 1860, while the first factory was still incomplete, a co-operative sick and burial society, founded on thoroughly sound principles, and carrying on its operations upon the extended scale necessary to ensure the successful working of such institutions; a co-operative Turkish bath; and lastly, in the year 1861, a land and building society were established.

The capital of these various institutions in the year 1861 was thus estimated:—Co-operative store, £39,335; corn-mill, £29,962; manufacturing society, £71,695; land and building society, £1000; Turkish bath, £350; total, £142,342. Deducting loans from the store to other societies, £16,613, there was left a net capital of £125,729. This capital consisted of money or stock purchased by money,

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and worth considerably more than its cost price.

In the year 1844 the whole co-operative capital was £28. In the year 1850, which was the date of the commencement of the corn-mill, it was £2299; in the year 1854, in which the manufacturing society was founded, it had increased to £11,144; and in the year 1861 it had risen to £125,729.

At the time when the American war commenced the example so successfully set in Rochdale had been followed in almost all the great manufacturing towns. They had provided the working-classes who inhabited them with a safe investment for their savings, from which they received five per cent regularly paid to them besides profits; they had also taught them habits of frugality, temperance, patience, sobriety, and self-reliance, and to this it was in no small degree due that when the cotton famine did come upon the working-classes of the manufacturing districts it found them prepared to bear it with a firmness and resolution which extorted the admiration of the civilized world. During that famine the original society flourished in spite of the heavy drain caused by the withdrawal of their deposits by many of the members, who were compelled by want of work to fall back on these resources. They, of course, underwent some temporary inconvenience, and during these trying years there was a diminution in the amount of their business and their profits. But this was merely a temporary reverse, and as soon as the famine ceased, and indeed even before it had ceased, the societies resumed their onward course, doing more business, obtaining greater profits, and paying larger dividends than ever. During the severest distress, when there was a kind of run on them for money, there was never the slightest hesitation or delay in paying those who wished to withdraw their money in accordance with the rules of the societies. And this was the case, not in Rochdale only, but in almost every part of the manufacturing districts in which co-operative societies had been founded on the Rochdale model.

We have seen that in 1852 co-operative societies were enrolled under the Friendly Societies Act, which prevented them from dealing with any persons except their own members. In that year they obtained an act entitled the "Industrial and Provident Societies Act," giving power to such societies to carry on trade as general dealers, and to sell to non-members, but still maintaining certain disabilities, one of which prohibited them from occupying more than a single acre of land. In 1855 this act was amended by another, which, while it relieved them from some restrictions, still prevented their holding more than an acre of land. This was in force till 1862, when the prohibition as to land was removed; and it was not till after 1867, when the "Industrial and Provident Societies Act" was passed, chiefly to explain some of the clauses of the preceding act relating to the payment of income-tax by members, that remaining disabilities were removed, and the societies were placed on the same footing as individuals with regard to land, building, and mortgages, as well as to trade undertakings.[1]

Of course several attempts were made to bring cargoes of cotton from the Southern ports by ships breaking the blockade, and some of them were successful; but the difficulty experienced and the expense incurred in such enterprises made them of little service, and of course so increased the price of the comparatively small quantity of cotton they brought, that it produced little or no effect on the market, and only slightly increased the supply. On the other hand, numbers of vessels were fitted out in European ports as blockade runners, and several were equipped in our ship-yards for the purpose of breaking through the obstructions or evading the vigilance of the Federal war vessels, which prevented the ingress of goods, arms, and medicines to the South. Several of these succeeded, and the trade their owners were able to do, was so profitable that blockade-running became a kind of excitement among some of the merchant captains and adventurers, who shared

[1] William Nassau Molesworth (*History of England*), to whom every student of the features of this phase of social progress should be indebted.

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their risk. This it was next to impossible to prevent, for of course it was pretended that the voyage was to be to some foreign port or to the North; but worse than this system of private adventuring was the construction, by some of our large shipbuilders, of ships of war for the South, under the pretext that they were for foreign governments. This of course was in direct contravention of the proclamation of neutrality, and our government was bound to use every effort to prevent it. The Federals had already bitterly complained that we did not use ordinary vigilance, and that anything like a careful inquiry would prove that vessels to be armed for the Confederates, and almost undisguised as vessels of war were being built here under the shallowest pretences, of agents, who scarcely took the trouble to say more than that they were for a foreign order; while the contractors knew perfectly well for what service they were intended, and connived at, or even invented, means for concealing their destination.

Perhaps a more close investigation would have taken place but for the irritating demands made by the Federal minister. For instance, a strongly worded and angry remonstrance had represented that British subjects were being enlisted in the Southern ranks; and Earl Russell not unnaturally replied that it was not with the knowledge and was against the injunctions of the government, at the same time asking whether the Federal authorities had taken care to exclude sailors and other subjects of Great Britain from joining their forces.

All this was provoking, but such misunderstandings did not make it less the duty of our government to inquire keenly into the destination of every vessel above a certain tonnage and of a certain build—to say nothing of ships obviously intended for hostile purposes, which were in course of construction in private dockyards. The privateers which went out of Charleston scoured the seas and did some damage to Federal ships here and there, and one of them, the *Sumter*, under the command of Captain Semmes, was destroyed by a Northern war steamer after a short career of devastation; but the really formidable vessels of this kind appeared afterwards, and were furnished by shipbuilders in England to the order of any person who could pay for them; for, as was afterwards argued, the United States government had not abolished privateering, and there was certainly no law to prevent our shipbuilders, any more than those of foreign nations, from taking orders for such vessels. One of these, which was built at Birkenhead professedly for the Italian government, and was named the *Oreto*, was suspected by the American minister to be intended for the Confederates; but though our government was apprised of her probable destination there was no law to detain her, and soon after she left our shores she became the *Florida*, Confederate privateer. In three months she had destroyed thirteen and captured two vessels. Other privateers followed, and it was pretty well suspected that certain formidable rams and ironclad vessels of war which were being laid down were, in spite of prohibition and proclamations of neutrality, to be completed for the Southern States, on the probably safe speculation that they would be suffered to slip out of English jurisdiction with little inquiry and no demand for proofs of their real purpose.

It will be seen, of course, that the distinction between a privateer which *might* be supplied by a British firm of shipbuilders, and an acknowledged vessel of war which *might not*, was disappearing, and at last a case occurred which almost obliterated that distinction entirely, and made it necessary to enter into prolonged and difficult arbitrations as an alternative to actual hostilities.

In the latter part of 1862 a vessel was being completed in one of the dockyards of the Mersey, and there could be no doubt that it was intended for the Confederate service. The builders were the Messrs. Laird, a firm, the former head of which, represented Birkenhead in the House of Commons, and was urgent to induce the government to recognize the Southern States of America as an independent nationality. There was little if any attempt at concealment. The progress of the vessel, which was known by the somewhat mysterious name of the "290," was duly recorded

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in newspaper paragraphs, and nobody hesitated to speak of her as a Confederate cruiser.

There was perhaps no actual technical evidence, no absolute proof of it, and when Mr. Adams, the United States minister, called the attention of our government to the fact that this ship was obviously intended for the Confederate government, Earl Russell asked for proofs. Evidence was forwarded which was sufficient in the opinion of Mr. Adams to warrant the detention of the vessel, and it was accompanied by the opinion of Sir Robert Collier, an English lawyer of such eminence that his decision would have been regarded as having great weight in any court of national or international law. He declared that the vessel should be detained by the collector of customs at Liverpool, and said that it appeared difficult to make out a stronger case of infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, which, if not enforced on this occasion, would be little better than a dead letter. Earl Russell, however, still waited to ask the opinion of the law officers of the crown. The queen's advocate was unwell and more delay ensued, the end of which was that the vessel "290" had shipped off to sea before that opinion was obtained. Earl Russell long afterwards acknowledged that he ought to have been satisfied with the opinion of Sir Robert Collier, and there can be no doubt that our neutrality was nearly as much in question by the building of this vessel as it would have been by the construction of avowed ships of war for the Confederate service. Mr. Forster afterwards said she was built by British shipbuilders, and manned by a British crew. She drew prizes to destruction under a British flag, and was paid for by money borrowed from British capitalists. At all events she went on her destructive career. She went from Liverpool to Terceira, hoisted the Confederate flag, received on board Captain Semmes, the former commander of the *Sumter*, as her commander, and had her name changed to the *Alabama*. It was declared that this heavily armed privateer used the British flag to decoy unfortunate merchantmen of the Northern States to approach her, then ran up the Confederate colours and captured the prize, which was frequently burned. For nearly two years this went on, for the *Alabama* did not mean fighting and kept well away from the Federal ships of war. The system of Confederate privateering, aided by this last formidable example of British shipbuilding, went far to detain the American mercantile marine in its own ports, and to put an end for a time to American commerce. At length the Federal war steamer *Kearsarge* caught sight of her and started in pursuit. The *Alabama* went into Cherbourg harbour, whence she had to come out to fight her antagonist, which was waiting with steam up and guns ready. The two ships were not very unequal in size and armaments, and a naval duel ensued which lasted about an hour, with the result that the *Alabama* went down, her last gun being fired almost as its mouth touched the water's edge, and that the captain and those of the crew who survived then jumped overboard and were rescued by the crew of an English yacht in conjunction with the men of the *Kearsarge*.

The circumstances attending the building of the *Alabama*, while they seemed to give impunity to English firms to construct other privateers for the Confederates, were too flagrant an evasion of the laws of neutrality to be repeated. At the same time Earl Russell could not quite make up his mind to prompt and decided action. In fact the law was not altogether certain, and a more determined statesman would have acted without reference to the niceties of possible legal decisions, and would have had the law altered as soon as possible. Lord Palmerston probably would have done so, but Lord Palmerston, like most of his colleagues, probably had a notion that the South would soon achieve independence; and the tone which had been assumed by the Federal government in their despatches had, to use a common figure of speech, "put his back up." He had even declared in the House of Commons that it was not for this country to make any change in her laws for the convenience or at the requisition of another state. Rather a strange declaration from the minister who had actually been defeated over the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," which he had once been ready to adopt at the instigation, if not

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the dictation, of the French Emperor and his advisers. In 1863, however, two Confederate iron rams were almost ready to be launched from one of our dockyards for the purpose of forcing an entrance to the Southern ports. Again Mr. Adams urgently called the attention of the government to the matter. Again there was delay, until at length, on the 5th of September, just as they were ready to slip off as the *Alabama* had done, the American minister wrote another letter, in which he said plainly, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." Undoubtedly to connive by negligence and indifference to the issue of armed vessels of war to be used against a friendly state or after neutrality had been declared would surely be as near to war as anything short of actual hostilities; but the law was still uncertain, and Lord Russell was still balanced on the edge of a technical razor. But the two ironclads were detained. "I should have ordered the prosecution of the owners of the vessel," wrote Earl Russell in his *Recollections*, eleven years afterwards, "had not the principal law officer of the crown given me reason to think that it would fail in an English court of justice. I therefore obtained the sanction of the cabinet to purchase the two 'rams,' as they were called, which were intended for hostile purposes against the United States." So it would seem that instead of being prosecuted the builders of these ships, who had committed a national though a questionably illegal offence, made a good thing of it after all, and instead of being punished by the confiscation or the destruction of the vessels, profited handsomely by the speculation.

It happened not long after the completion of the *Alabama* that Mr. Gladstone, in speaking after a political banquet at Newcastle, expressed an opinion that Jefferson Davis had really succeeded in making the South an independent nation. It shows how much importance must have been attached to his utterances, that even at a time when armed Confederate ships were being built in English-dockyards this remark should have caused considerable comment and no little excitement. Perhaps another statesman, though he might have been a cabinet minister, could have said it with comparatively little notice, but every opinion of the chancellor of the exchequer was regarded as being of grave import.

The notion that the South would succeed in separating itself into an independent state was general. Almost everybody shared it except Mr. Bright and a very small knot of men who thought with him. Even Mr. Cobden held that opinion for some time, and Mr. Bright had a good deal of trouble to convince him to the contrary, and almost quarrelled with him because he was unable at first to yield to repeated arguments. In January, 1862, Cobden wrote to a correspondent, Mr. Paulton, who, with some others of his friends, did not sympathize with the Union:—

"I can't see my way through the American business. I don't believe the North and South can ever lie in the same bed again. Nor do I see how the military operations can be carried into the South, so as to inflict a crushing defeat. Unless something of the kind takes place, I predict that Europe will recognize the independence of the South. I tell Sumner this, and tell him that his only chance, if he wants time to fight it out, is to raise the blockade of the Mississippi voluntarily, and then Europe might look on.

"But our friend Bright will not hear of anything against the claims of the North. I admire his pluck, for when he goes with a side it is always to win. I tell him that it is possible to wish well to a cause without being sure that it will be successful. However, he will soon find in the house that we shall be on this question, as we were on China, Crimean, and Greek Pacifico wars, quite in a minority! There is no harm in that if you are right, but it is useless to deceive ourselves about the issue. Three-fourths of the house will be glad to find an excuse for voting for the dismemberment of the great Republic."

Cobden had already been in communication with Mr. Sumner, and his letters probably did much to mitigate any apparent tendency of the Federal government to reflect the suspicion and animosity displayed by the violent opponents of England in America. His letters

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are very interesting; in one of them upon the affair of the *Trent* he says:—

"Though I said in my other letter that I shall never care to utter a word about the merits of a war after it has begun, I do not the less feel it my duty to try to prevent hostilities occurring. Let me here remark, that I cannot understand how you should have thought it worth your while at Washington to have reopened this question of the right of search, by claiming to exercise it in a doubtful case and a doubtful manner, under circumstances which could be of so little advantage, and to have incurred the risk of greater disadvantages. The capture of Mason and Slidell can have little effect in discouraging the South, compared with the indirect encouragement and hope it may hold out to them of embroiling your government with England. . . . Your newspapers will not drive us into war. But when grave men (or men that should be grave), holding the highest posts in your cultivated State of Massachusetts, compliment Captain Wilkes for having given an affront to the British lion, it makes it very hard for Bright and me to contend against the 'British lion party' in this country. All I can say is that I hope you have taken Bright's advice, and offered unconditional arbitration. With that offer publicly made, the friends of peace could prevent our fire-eaters from assaulting you, always providing that your public speakers do not put it out of our power to keep the peace. I was sorry to see a report of an anti-English speech by your colleague at New York. Honestly speaking, and with no blind patriotism to mislead me, I don't think the nation here behaved badly under the terrible evil of loss of trade and danger of starving under your blockade. Of course all privileged classes and aristocracies hate your institutions—that is natural enough; but the mass of the people never went with the South. I am not pleased with your project of sinking stones to block up ports. That is barbarism. It is quite natural that, smarting as you do under an unprovoked aggression from the slave-owners, you should even be willing to smother them like hornets in their nest. But don't forget the outside world, and especially don't forget that the millions in Europe are more interested even than their princes in preserving the future commerce with the vast region of the Confederate States."

In January, 1862, he wrote:—"Be assured if you had offered to refer the question to arbitration, there could not have been a meeting called in England that would not have endorsed it. The only question was whether we ought to be the first to offer arbitration. I mean this was the only doubt in the popular mind. As regards our government, they are, of course, feeling the tendency of public opinion. A friend of mine in London, a little behind the scenes, wrote to me:—'They are busy at the Foreign Office hunting up precedents for arbitration, very much against their will.' I write all this because I wish you to know that we are not quite so bad as appeared at first on the surface."

In the following July, a month before Mr. Gladstone had made the remark about the probable independence of the South, which caused so much perturbation among the friends of, and believers in the North, Cobden, writing again to Mr. Sumner, said:—

"There is an all but unanimous belief that you *cannot* subject the South to the Union. Even they who are your partisans and advocates cannot see their way to any such issue. It is necessary that you should understand that this opinion is so widely and honestly entertained, because it is the key to the expression of views which might otherwise not be quite intelligible. Among some of the governing class in Europe the wish is father to this thought. But it is not so with the mass of the people. Nor is it so with our own government entirely. I *know* that Gladstone would restore your Union to-morrow if he could; yet he has steadily maintained from the first that unless there was a strong Union sentiment, it is impossible that the South can be subdued. Now the belief is all but universal that there is no Union feeling in the South; and this is founded latterly upon the fact that no cotton comes from New Orleans. It is said that if the instinct of gain, with cotton at double its usual price, do not induce the people to sell, it is a proof beyond dispute

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that the political resentment is overwhelming and unconquerable."

It was not very remarkable that Mr. Gladstone should in August, 1862, have spoken of the Southern States as though they were already independent. Injudicious it might have been, but it was an indiscretion shared with the great majority of the most prominent men of the country, and, as he explained five years afterwards, though he confessed that he was wrong and took too much upon himself in expressing such an opinion, the motive was not bad. His sympathies were with the whole American people. He probably, like many Europeans, did not understand the nature and working of the American Union. He had imbibed conscientiously, if erroneously, an opinion that twenty or twenty-five millions would be happier and would be stronger (of course assuming that they would hold together) without the South than with it, and also that the negroes would be much nearer to emancipation under a Southern government than under the old system of the Union, which had not at that time been abandoned, and which always appeared to him to place the whole power of the North at the command of the slaveholding interests of the South. As far as regarded the special or separate interest of England, he had always contended that it was best for our interest that the Union should be kept entire.

Mr. Cobden's letters to Mr. Sumner may be taken fairly to represent the prevailing feeling in England, and to indicate the growing disposition to recognize the true position of the Federal government, though, as he pointed out, there were considerable interests in favour of supporting the demands of the South in the early period of the struggle. A writer in a trade journal has recently stated that traditions yet linger in our manufacturing towns of the days when any speculative builder would run up a weaving-shed for Dick, Tom, or Harry, who had, or said he had, the slightest knowledge of manufacturing, or for any grocer, draper, currier, shoemaker, or publican who had saved up a couple of hundred pounds. Having become the tenant of a shed, machinists were never backward in putting in looms and preparation. Profits were known to be so great that both landlords and machinists could wait without anxiety for the first twelve months, knowing that much of their debts would be paid out of profits in that space of time. Having hired a shed and received credit for his looms, any penniless man could then go with assurance upon the Manchester exchange; and in the days when "long terms" were accorded to all who asked for them, could buy his yarns, take orders for cloth, make, deliver and get paid for it in time to meet his accounts, and this without much difficulty. In a couple of years a manufacturer commencing thus would often be clear of all liabilities, and on the highway to making a fortune.

These remarks refer to the decade from 1850 to 1860, and that state of things was, it is said, almost entirely changed, and the small manufacturers swept away by the cotton famine. Without entirely endorsing such representations it may safely be said that not only did the large mill-owners suffer deeply, but that the business of many of them was crippled for years afterwards, while the struggling men were ruined and the whole population of operatives might have perished but for the energetic action of those who administered the relief funds, or organized schemes for providing sewing for the women and other occupations for large numbers of the men.

Meanwhile the war continued. It was evident that the battle would be fought out to the bitter end, for the issues of it had changed; and though the Confederates continued to defeat the Federal troops, the determination of the North was aroused, and people began to discern that the result of the conflict was only a matter of endurance and of superior resources. The Northern troops soon began to acquire, by experience, the knowledge and the firmness which was necessary to enable them to cope with antagonists, considerable bodies of whom had entered on the first campaign already well drilled and accustomed to act together at the word of command.

On the 22d of January, 1862, President Lincoln had issued a proclamation that at the next meeting of congress he would recommend

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a bill enacting that on and after the 1st of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any state the people whereof should be in rebellion against the United States, should be thenceforward and for ever free, and the proclamation added that the executive would, in due time, recommend that all citizens of the United States who should have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion should, upon the restoration of peace, be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

On the 1st of January, 1863, it was proclaimed that all persons held as slaves within the Confederate States should thenceforward be free, and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, would recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons. The people so declared to be free were enjoined to abstain from violence, unless in necessary self-defence, and were recommended in all cases where they were allowed, to labour faithfully for reasonable wages. At the same time it was declared that such persons, of suitable condition, would be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts. Upon this, which he declared was sincerely believed to to be an act of justice warranted by the constitution upon military necessity, the president invoked the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favour of Almighty God.

Results showed that this was in effect an abolition of slavery throughout the States, but only the Confederate States were mentioned, and the declaration was received with dismay. Earl Russell pointed out to Lord Lyons, our representative at Washington, that the proclamation professed to emancipate all slaves in places where the United States could not exercise any jurisdiction or make emancipation a reality, but did not decree emancipation of slaves in any states or parts of states occupied by Federal troops and subject to United States jurisdiction, and where, therefore, emancipation might be carried out. There seemed to be no declaration of a principle adverse to slavery, and Earl Russell therefore said he did not think it could or should satisfy the friends of abolition, who looked for total and impartial freedom for the slave, and not for vengeance on the slave-owner.

The fear with many was that such a proclamation would cause a slave insurrection and the horrors that might accompany it if the negroes sought revenge and plunder as well as liberty, or if attempts were made to suppress any efforts to escape. The proclamation expressly deprecated any acts of violence, but what was the value of such deprecation where it could not be followed by legal restraint? These anticipations were not realized, and probably it was known on both sides that no general insurrection or attempts to make reprisals on the owners of slaves would be made. In numerous instances, it was said, the negroes remained to work on the estates, sometimes because they had been kindly treated, and were not indisposed to wait till terms of wages could be adjusted in case of the termination of the war, and in some cases because they were ignorant what steps to take to make use of their freedom, and preferred remaining where they were for a time, tolerably certain of food and clothes and shelter, to running to unknown troubles and vicissitudes in the border states, or joining the Federal army to fight against their old masters. At all events there was little disposition to armed and violent revolt, and though, of course, a large number of able-bodied negroes entered the Federal service, and a multitude of men, women, and children eventually found their way north, the fact that there was so frequently a strong desire to remain was afterwards cited, and in some respects was fairly cited, by the Southern planters as a proof that the atrocities with which the slave-owners were charged were not even general, much less universal.

That they had existed in too many instances was, however, capable of proof, and that they *might* exist without any real redress for the victim was argument enough against the perpetuation or the continued existence of the system.

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The proclamation of emancipation, defective as it was in its expression of intention, was a serious blow to the South. It changed the aspect of the war from that of an effort on the part of the North to maintain the Union to that of a struggle by the South to maintain negro slavery, and it can scarcely be denied that this was the true origin of the conflict. A new element of enthusiasm seemed to have been roused among the Federals, at the same time that they were profiting by the reverses that had been inflicted on them by the superior military skill of their opponents; while the South was already preparing for efforts which would necessitate the abandonment of the plantations from which they had derived their wealth, and the slave labourers on which, were now invited by the Federal government to migrate into free states, or to refuse to work except under entirely new conditions.

On the 10th of April (1863) Jefferson Davis issued a manifesto warning the people of the Confederate States against too sedulously cultivating their usually valuable cotton crops; to lay aside thoughts of gain and to devote themselves to securing their liberties, without which those gains would be valueless. The wheat harvest, which would be gathered in the following month, promised an abundant yield; but even if that promise should be fulfilled, the difficulty of transportation, enhanced by the previous rainy winter, would embarrass military operations and cause suffering among the people should the crops in the middle and northern portions of the Confederacy prove deficient. No uneasiness might be felt in regard to a mere supply of bread for men. It was to the supply of the large amount of corn and forage for live stock, and for the animals used in military operations that efforts should be directed. The fields should be devoted exclusively to the production of food for man and beast, and corn should be sown broadcast in proximity to canals, rivers, and railroads, while every endeavour should be directed to the prompt supply of districts where the armies were operating.

The Confederates were already beginning to feel that all their determination and courage would be needed to sustain the struggle against the enormous resources and the numerical superiority of the North. A few months afterwards they also became aware that the Federal government was discovering the weak points of its military organization, and had appointed more efficient generals to take command of its forces. Early in 1862 the large army which General M'Clellan had been occupied in organizing and disciplining was making ready to advance, and some successes had attended the Federals—one of them being the important operations of Commodore Farragut on the Mississippi, which led to the surrender of New Orleans, but in the first considerable battle General Sidney Johnston succeeded in surprising and defeating the Federal General Grant at Pittsburg Landing. Grant had, with his army and river fleet, taken some forts, and though he was beaten and a part of his camp was captured, he was able to hold his own by the assistance of some gun-boats which forced the Confederates to retire to their lines after losing their general. For some time after this a series of disasters occurred, apparently the result of the timidity and incompetency of some of the Federal commanders, and though some advantages were gained and the Confederates evidently could not hold the line of the Ohio, and on the Mississippi retained only the strong position of Vicksburg, the balance of the actual war appeared to be against the North, even their naval superiority having been rendered doubtful by the exploits of the Confederate *Merrimac*, a vessel which had been coated with iron rails and re-named the *Virginia*. This vessel destroyed two or three wooden men-of-war, scattered terror into a fleet of transport and store-ships, and threw shells into the lines of the Federal army in the neighbourhood of Norfolk. Being met by the iron-clad *Monitor*, which arrived on the scene of action from New York, a naval duel ensued, both vessels had to retire to repair damages, and the *Virginia* was so much injured that she was abandoned and blown up by her crew.

The efforts of the Federals were directed to the capture of Richmond, the Confederate capital, but the delays of General M'Clellan and the inefficiency of General Pope enabled

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the Confederate Generals Lee and Stonewall Jackson to frustrate their movements, and the latter took Harper Ferry, where the garrison of 12,000 men surrendered, giving up an enormous quantity of artillery and stores. M'Clellan was removed from the command and was succeeded by General Burnside, who sustained a severe defeat at Fredericksburg. General Hooker then took his place as commander of what was called the army of the Potomac, and he also was defeated. The Confederates gained some minor advantages until General Grant, who had displayed far greater military talent than his colleagues, laid siege to Vicksburg on the land side, and, with the assistance of the flotilla of Admiral Farragut, reduced the garrison to such extremities that it capitulated, and General Meade, who had succeeded General Hooker, took up a position at Gettysburg, from which the Confederates vainly endeavoured to dislodge him.

It is unnecessary to follow the changing fortunes of the combatants, "the vulgar and unscientific and senseless butchery" as Cobden had called it. The skill and daring of General Sherman, the calm pertinacity and determination of General Grant, began to tell on the side of the North. The Federal forces were concentrated against their opponents, and Grant was made lieutenant-general with the entire command of the forces. He appointed Sherman to the command of the western army, and himself kept the direction of the Virginian campaign with a determination to take Richmond at any odds. It became a struggle to the death, in which numbers added to improved generalship ultimately gave the victory to the North after another year of movements and counter-movements, and of battles, in which the number of the slain was appalling.

In 1864 Mr. Lincoln was re-elected as president by an overwhelming majority, and this meant the prosecution of the war. It was computed that at the end of that year the North had nearly a million men in arms, while the Southern forces probably amounted to not more than 200,000. Sherman had received the capitulation of Savannah, and was advancing with his army. Grant still threatened Richmond. On the 14th of January, 1865, Wilmington was taken, and the last communication of the Confederates with the sea was cut off. No more vessels could run the blockade, and Sherman had turned his victorious march northward, wasting the country as he went as one of the means of forcing the South to submission by depriving it of resources. The end was near. On the 1st of April, Petersburg and Richmond both capitulated to Grant. Lee was defeated in his last battle, and was allowed to surrender. The officers were placed on parole, and the troops were permitted to return to their homes on condition of submitting to the Federal authority. General Johnstone entered into similar conditions with Sherman, who had carried the war successfully through Georgia and North and South Carolina. There were no longer any Confederate forces in the Atlantic States, and the Southern commanders on either side of the Mississippi gave in their submission. Jefferson Davis, who had left Richmond when it capitulated, was arrested and placed in confinement in Fortress Monroe, from which he was allowed to depart when the war was at an end. The commanders of the Confederate armies were permitted to remain at liberty, and a few civilians who were for a short time imprisoned were soon released. Mr. Lincoln had prosecuted the war to the end for the purpose of restoring the constitution of the United States, and had effected it at enormous cost; but he had more than once endeavoured to negotiate a peace, and it was well known that the conclusion of hostilities would be followed by an amnesty if he had his will. Now that the war was really over there was no display of animosity. Not a single execution took place for political offences; not one victim was claimed for the purpose of satisfying vengeance against those whose crime had been that of secession, though secession had been designated treason to the state. The humanity and generosity of the American nation again asserted itself, and was displayed even after the perpetration of a horrible crime might have been made an excuse for measures of retaliation. For the man who throughout that long national

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crisis had kept in view what he believed to be his duty without animosity and without presumption; the man who had grieved over the rebellion, even while he set himself to suppress it; the man who had abstained from invective against England, and had understood better than his colleagues how little the noisy declamations of a violent and ignorant multitude really represent genuine national convictions, was not spared to see the complete restoration of the Union. On the 14th of April, 1865, Abraham Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin while he was witnessing a dramatic performance at Lord's theatre in Washington.

The president at about nine o'clock had accompanied Mrs. Lincoln to the theatre, and occupied a box in which another lady and gentleman were present. About half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, a man entered the box, the door of which was unguarded, and, hastily approaching the president from behind, discharged a pistol at his head. The bullet entered the back of the head and passed nearly through. The assassin then leaped from the box to the stage, brandishing a large knife or dagger, and exclaiming "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" and escaped at the back of the theatre. The screams of Mrs. Lincoln first disclosed the fact to the audience that the president had been shot. The report of the pistol, though it rang through the house, had not seemed to excite much attention; but when they knew what had happened the people rose, and numbers rushed towards the stage where the murderer was seen, and exclaimed, "Hang him! hang him!" There was a scene of wild excitement: the performance came to an end, and the "leading lady" of the piece, Miss Laura Keene, who stood at the side of the stage when the fatal shot had been fired, endeavoured in vain to restore the dying president to consciousness. He was removed to a private house opposite the theatre, and the surgeon-general of the army and other medical attendants were called, but death was inevitable. He had been shot through the head above and below the temporal bone, and though for several hours he continued to breathe, at first regularly and afterwards interruptedly, he died at about twenty minutes past seven the next morning.

The assassin had been recognized as one John Wilkes Booth (the son of an actor once well known in England as a rival of Edmund Kean), a man whose dramatic vanity, added to political fanaticism, led him to perpetrate the crime in this manner. He had two accomplices, one of whom it was discovered had, at the time that Mr. Lincoln was assassinated in the theatre, made his way to the residence of Mr. Seward, who was lying ill in bed. Having obtained admission by representing that he brought some medicine from Mr. Seward's physician, which he was to see administered, he hurried to the sleeping-room on the third floor where his intended victim was lying. Meeting Mr. Frederick Seward there he attacked him, striking him over the head with such force as to fracture his skull. He then rushed into the room where the daughter of the patient and a male attendant were sitting, and after stabbing the latter struck at Mr. Seward with a knife or dagger twice in the throat and twice in the face, inflicting terrible wounds. By this time Major Seward, the eldest son of the secretary, and another attendant, entered the room, but the desperado wounded both and contrived to make his escape. The victims of the assault afterwards recovered, but were for a long time in great danger; and it was found that a knot of conspirators were associated with Booth and premeditated the assassination of several prominent members of the government. Booth, with an accomplice named Harrold, who had probably kept the way open for him to escape from the theatre, had horses waiting, and fled from the capital, but they were afterwards tracked to a barn near Port Royal in Maryland, where Booth was seen moving with the aid of crutches, as he had broken his ankle in his leap from the president's box to the stage, his spur, it was said, having caught in the folds of the Union flag. After some parley Harrold surrendered, but Booth, being armed, refused to do so, and the barn was fired by the troops, one of whom shot him dead as he was endeavouring to extinguish the flames.

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Some of the other conspirators were afterwards arrested and executed.

The great conflict was at an end, and the now reunited States had to count the cost. The expenditure, according to the report presented to congress in the early part of 1864, had been raised from about £16,000,000 in 1860 to above £17,360,000 in 1861, £117,216,000 in 1862, and to nearly £184,000,000 in 1863, when 2,480,846 men had been called into military service on the Federal side. In the ensuing year (1864) an enormous addition was made to this already vast expenditure. Before the fall of Richmond it was computed that 252 battles had been fought, of which 17 were naval engagements. The whole country was suffering from the effects not only of the drain upon its resources, but of the terrible slaughter which had made so many homes desolate, and the devastation which had yet to be repaired. The fall of Richmond, after a siege which lasted for 1452 days, during which several desperate engagements took place, was itself less a triumph than an example of the relentless arbitration of the sword. When the Federal troops, under General Grant, entered the city it was a scene of utter wreck and wasteful destruction. The houses were deserted—furniture, merchandise, and the contents of shops and warehouses lay in promiscuous heaps in the streets, which were deep with mud; and at several points both the property that had thus been destroyed and the houses themselves had been set on fire, so that the flames spread, and but for prompt and strenuous exertions the whole place, or at any rate the larger portion of it, would have perished. Perhaps no other nation in the world could have sustained such a prolonged and destructive internal war; and it may be added that while none but a nation of immeasurable activity, vast extent of undeveloped territory, and superb reserves of material wealth, could so rapidly have recovered from exhausting calamities, history has presented no other example of the ready conciliation and generous forbearance which, within a brief period, reunited the hostile states under one wledged constitution.

As early as October, 1862, an announcement of the betrothal of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark had aroused the popular interest, and on the 7th of March, 1863, the public reception given to the princess on her arrival in this country was the occasion of a display of national enthusiasm which had probably never been equalled, since it was associated with a genuine and tender interest that quickly developed into a lasting regard for her to whom the magnificent welcome was accorded.

A vague but prevailing sentiment had determined the public mind that an alliance of the heir to the English throne with the daughter of the royal house of Denmark was natural and appropriate, and every one was already prepared to give the princess a right royal reception. Such preparations as could be made to give to the streets of the metropolis a festal aspect were adopted, with the usual rather incongruous result. Banners, flags, wreaths, triumphal arches, festoons, mottoes, and more or less significant devices adorned the whole route through miles of tortuous thoroughfares; and as much as could be done by various unconnected local authorities was achieved for the purpose of making an extra display in the main roads and open spaces of the metropolis. But the real spectacle was the vast multitude of people. Every avenue in which a glimpse of the procession could be obtained was filled with an orderly but enthusiastic assembly. Every house and shop-front on the route was converted into tiers of private boxes, from which smiling faces shone with hospitable greeting. From the ridges of the roofs to the very basements, people clustered. Even on steeples and the cornices and parapets of great buildings determined sightseers seemed to cling for hours during that keen March morning; and at every available point platforms were erected, where school children sat and sometimes sang, or where ladies' gala dresses added colour and brightness to the scene. It needed only the presence of the princess for whom the vast population waited, to make the occasion historical—and from the first moment of her appearance the hearts of the people seemed to go out to her.

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The Prince of Wales had been to Gravesend to meet his affianced bride, and the train that brought them and their suite to Bricklayers' Arms Station travelled slowly, that the people who assembled at every point of the line where a glimpse of the princess could be obtained might not be utterly disappointed. From the Old Kent Road, over London Bridge, through the city, along the Strand, Pall Mall, Piccadilly, to Hyde Park, and to the railway station at Paddington, where they took the train to Windsor, one great triumphant shout of happy and appreciative greeting to the royal pair outrang the bells that pealed in every steeple.

On the 10th the marriage was solemnized at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and the ceremony, with its brilliant surroundings, was exceedingly imposing, apart from the intense interest which was everywhere manifested on the occasion. Not in London only, but in every important town throughout the country the day was observed as a holiday. Official and social banquets were held, and the streets were illuminated. In London the illuminations were magnificent, and an enormous crowd of pedestrians and persons in vehicles filled all the great highways, the bridges, and the public squares, until the morning broke and the last lamps flickered in the dawn.

The injunction of the poet-laureate had been fully carried out by the nation. He had written an ode of welcome:—

Sea-kings' daughter from over the sea,
Alexandra!
Saxon and Norman and Dane are we,
But all of us Danes in our welcome of thee,
Alexandra!
Welcome her, thunders of fort and of fleet!
Welcome her, thundering cheer of the street!
Welcome her, all things youthful and sweet,
Scatter the blossom under her feet!
Break, happy land, into earlier flowers!
Make music, O bird, in the new-budded bowers!
Welcome her, welcome her, all that is ours!
Warble, O bugle, and trumpet blare!
Flags, flutter out upon turrets and towers!
Flames, on the windy headland, flare!
Utter your jubilee, steeple and spire!
Clash, ye bells, in the merry March air!
Flash, ye cities, in rivers of fire!
Welcome her, welcome the land's desire,
Alexandra!
Sea-kings' daughter as happy as fair,
Blissful bride of a blissful heir,
Bride of the heir of the kings of the sea,
O joy to the people and joy to the Throne,
Come to us, love us, and make us your own:
For Saxon or Dane or Norman we,
Teuton or Celt, or whatever we be,
We are each all Dane in our welcome of thee,
Alexandra!

The Princess Alexandra Caroline Mary Charlotte Louisa Julia, eldest daughter of Christian, Duke of Glucksburg, and Louise, the daughter of the Landgrave William of Hesse-Cassel, was only nineteen years of age, and was declared to be one of the most charming princesses in Europe, an opinion which was completely endorsed by public opinion in England. Her elder brother, Frederick, was a general in the Danish army, her younger brother, Prince William, who came next in age to herself, was a midshipman in the Danish navy; and then followed her sisters, the Princesses Maria and Thyra, and her younger brother Prince Waldemar.

At the time of the royal marriage the difficulties in Greece had nearly terminated. After the settlement of the cession of the Ionian Islands the Hellenic people became dissatisfied with a form of government which seemed destined to perpetuate confusion instead of securing a national constitution, and determined to elect a sovereign, and to follow the example of Great Britain and Belgium in establishing a limited monarchy. Several European princes were mentioned for the honour of acceding to the throne, but some hung back, and others were ineligible. Among them all the national choice seemed most firmly fixed on our own Prince Alfred, a nomination which her majesty and our government, while thanking the Greeks for the high compliment, felt compelled to decline, as it was contrary to the British constitution for an English prince to become sovereign of another independent nation. The election then ensued, and Prince William of Denmark, then about eighteen years of age, was unmistakably elected, and on the 31st of March, 1863, was made King of Greece by the Hellenic national assembly, under the title of George I.

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In the following November Christian, Duke of Glucksburg, himself succeeded to the throne of Denmark on the death of King Frederick VII., on the extinction of whose dynasty (the house of Oldenburg) Prince Christian took the sovereignty, in accordance with a treaty made in 1852, by which the great powers provided for the integrity of the Danish monarchy by settling the succession on Prince Christian of "Schleswig-Holstein-Glucksburg," whose wife, by virtue of certain family renunciations, became heiress of the royal crown of Denmark.

These particulars will presently suggest that "Schleswig-Holstein" difficulty, to which a brief reference will be made in another page.

Events in the parliamentary history of the year 1863 were neither very interesting nor remarkably important. The financial statement made by Mr. Gladstone excited considerable attention, but there was little scope for originality in the scheme of the budget. The American war and its effects upon English trade and manufacturing industry had left little room for the further remission of taxation on articles of general consumption, though the distress that still prevailed in the cotton districts made such reductions desirable.

At the same time, it was now well understood that the budget for the year would be skilfully designed to afford relief in some directions. The time had arrived when the chancellor of the exchequer had not only reached to the height of a great financial reputation, but had achieved a position where even his opponents acknowledged his consummate ability, and for a time forbore to assail his main proposals. It may be said that at this period Mr. Gladstone was the support of the government of which he was a member, and that had he failed it would have crumbled, not in slow decay, but in immediate ruin. Yet there were two proposals in the budget of 1863 which the house rejected. One was that of charging clubs with a license duty for the wines and spirits sold to members, the same as that imposed on taverns; the other was to include the property of corporate trusts and the endowments of charitable institutions in the assessments for income-tax.

It may be easily understood that in a house where the majority of the members probably belonged to more than one club, little regard was shown to the argument that the public-house was the club of the working-man, and that if places where people met for refreshment and for society were to be taxed, no exceptions should be made. The "club tax" was negatived.

In reference to the "tax on charities," as it was called, Mr. Gladstone contended that it would practically be no tax upon charities at all. An influential deputation waited on him, in which the Duke of Cambridge, representing the governors of Christ's Hospital, declared that the proposed scheme would mulct that institution of £2000 a year. The Archbishop of Canterbury urged objections against applying the tax to the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy and the Clergy Orphan Corporation; the Earl of Shaftesbury, several clergymen, and others interested in some of the larger charities, also strongly deprecated the intended application of the tax to the funds of those institutions.

Mr. Gladstone listened, received memorials, and heard what the deputation had to say, but would give them no reply, as the proposition was coming before the House of Commons the same evening. It was then that he entered into a long and closely argued defence of the scheme, which, though he made it no essential part of the budget, and was willing to leave it to the house to determine, he declared to be a just and politic measure. The question was not understood, and he desired to call attention to the nature of the exemptions it was proposed to remove. As to the character of the charities sought to be dealt with, nineteen-twentieths of them were death-bed bequests—a species of bequest which the law did not favour, and which were essentially different from charities, properly so called, which were subject to taxation. He objected to immunities which encouraged men to immortalize themselves as founders. The loss to the state of the exemptions in question was £216,000 a year, while there was a large and

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growing charge upon the public funds connected with the administration of charities, amounting to about £45,000 a year; and with other items, the whole loss to the state was nearly half a million per annum. He then analysed the charities in three groups—small, middle, and large—affirming that amongst the small there was hardly one which, in itself, was deserving of the toleration of the house, and which had not been condemned by three separate commissions of inquiry, as tending to pauperize people who sought it, and to compromise their independence and self-respect. The middle charities, which were distributed in money only, were in the main not charities in the strict sense of the term; while as regarded the larger charities, they were full of abuses, and often mere vehicles for patronage, and were not fit subjects for exemptions, which, in fact, amounted to grants of public money. It was not his intention to make any remarks on the management of endowed hospitals, which the house must regard with so much favour and respect; but when at every turn the threat was flung in his face that if the measure were carried out the number of patients must be diminished, he was obliged to give it particular consideration. He did not believe that the number of beds for patients would be reduced. Those who, in the case of the protected trades, declared that if protection were to be withdrawn they must dismiss so many of their workmen, were not men who told lies. They really believed what they said, but were not aware that more economical arrangements would enable them to keep those workmen, pursue their trade, and make larger profits than before. One of the great evils of the existing system was that, while public money was bestowed on these establishments all public control over them was dispensed with, and thus all effective motives for economy were annulled. Endowed institutions laughed at public opinion. The press knew nothing of their expenditure: Parliament knew nothing of it. It was too much to say that hospitals were managed by angels and archangels, and did not, like the rest of humanity, stand in need of supervision, criticism, and rebuke.

Mr. Gladstone seemed to speak with some asperity of the representation that the scope of the endowed charities would be seriously reduced by the imposition of income-tax; but the majority of his hearers evidently thought that to place a tax upon the income derived from charitable endowments would be in effect to tax the amount of relief that should be derived from such charities by the recipients of their bounty. Again, the inquisitorial character of the income-tax had made it, and must always make it, hateful, and the manner of its assessment and collection rendered it, and continue to render it, obnoxious. The great charities which, whatever may have been or may still be their corruptions and shortcomings, the public recognize as representing the larger proportion of beneficent work among the sick and the afflicted, had a pretty sure ground of appeal against their funds being subject to an impost which was for the most part regarded with detestation by their contributors and subscribers. The income-tax, people were always being told, could only be excused on the ground of its being imposed as a temporary necessity—and yet here was an attempt to fasten it upon the permanent public institutions of the country: while the representation that, should its exaction diminish the number of cases relieved by any charity, the loss would soon be repaired by public subscriptions—was only saying that it would be repaired by subscriptions from people whose incomes, from which these subscriptions would be taken, had already been subjected to the same execrable impost. The clauses of the financial project which related to the "taxing of charities" were rejected by the house, nor was there anything to show that they would have been favourably regarded outside Parliament, though the mismanagement and official extortions of some of the large charities were known and resented.

But the main scheme of the budget remained untouched, and though it offered no very striking financial features, it was accompanied by a lucid and interesting exposition of the condition of the country and the operations of its financial measures during some years. From 1858 to 1860–61 there had been an increase of over £8,000,000 in the ex-

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penditure. The average annual expenditure from 1859 to 1863, including the charge for fortifications, was £71,195,000. Excluding certain items which in their nature did not increase—namely, the interest for the national debt and the charge for collecting the revenue—the charge for the year 1858–59 was £31,621,000; but in 1860–61 it had risen to £42,125,000, or ten millions and a half in two years. Since 1853, or the time previous to the Russian war, the charge had increased by something like £18,000,000, and the increase had been called for by the public desire to strengthen the defences of the country. The estimates which now had to be made were hopeful, but must be considered with regard to special circumstances, such as the condition of Lancashire. "Towards that Lancashire," said Mr. Gladstone, "to which up to this time every Englishman has referred, if not with pride, yet with satisfaction and thankfulness, as among the most remarkable, or perhaps the most remarkable of all the symbols that could be presented of the power, the progress, and the prosperity of England—towards that Lancashire we feel now more warmly and more thankfully than ever in regard to every moral aspect of its condition. The lessons which within the last twelve months have been conveyed, if in one aspect they have been painful and even bitter, yet in other aspects, and in those, too, which more intimately and permanently relate to the condition and prospects of the country, have been lessons such as I will venture to say none of us could have hoped to learn. For however sanguine may have been the anticipations entertained as to the enduring power and pluck of the English people, I do not think that any one could have estimated that power of endurance, that patience, that true magnanimity in humble life, at a point as high as we now see that it has actually reached."

We have already seen what was the attitude of Lancashire during the period of the cotton famine, but there was also dreadful distress in Ireland.

The estimated expenditure amounted to £67,749,000 without the cost of fortifications. The revenue was estimated at £71,490,000, leaving a surplus of £3,741,000. The chief points of the proposed financial scheme were the reduction of the duty on tea to a shilling a pound, which would take £1,300,000 from the revenue, and a change in the incidence of the income-tax which would include a reduction. It was proposed to make £100 the lowest income which would be assessed for income-tax, and to allow persons whose incomes were below £200 to deduct £60 from the amount, the balance only to be liable to the tax. This involved the removal of the former rating on incomes of £150, and a reduction on incomes under £200. The reduction of the tea duty had been called for, ever since it was promised in a former budget of Mr. Disraeli, and the incidence of the income-tax was the cause of widely-spread dissatisfaction, pressing hardly as it did, and as it still does (and perhaps must), upon small professional or precarious earnings, as compared with settled incomes derived from certain classes of property.

The review of the financial and commercial position of the country which Mr. Gladstone brought before the house enlisted profound attention. The value of British goods exported to the United States in 1859 was £22,553,000; in 1862 it had fallen to £14,398,000, and thus exhibited a decrease of £8,154,000. The value of foreign and colonial goods exported to the United States from this country had during the same period increased. In 1859 it had been only £1,864,000; in 1862 it had increased to £4,052,000. The augmentation was as much as £2,188,000; but nearly the whole of it was represented by the single article of cotton-wool, which amounted in value to no less than £1,712,000. However, deducting the increase on our foreign and colonial goods from the decrease upon our own export of British goods, there remained an aggregate diminution in our export trade to the United States of about £6,000,000.

Taking next the case of our trade with France, it became Mr. Gladstone's pleasant duty to point to a very different state of things. The year 1859 was the last full natural year before the treaty of commerce. In that year the value of British commodities exported to

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France was £4,754,000. In the year 1860 the treaty was concluded, and it took effect almost wholly as regarded our imports, but on a very few articles as regarded our exports. The value of British goods exported to France in 1860 was £5,250,000; and thus showed an increase of about £500,000. In 1861 the treaty took effect: as regarded its provisions relating to the duties on imports into France it came into operation late in the year, namely, on the 1st of October. A very large augmentation appeared in our exports; but a part of this was due to the concurrence of a very bad harvest in France, with a large supply of corn in the markets of this country. In consequence we sent a great quantity of corn to France; but in order to a more just calculation, this article was not taken into account. After striking off the sum of £1,750,000 for excess in the export of corn, the value of British goods sent to France in 1851 rose to £7,145,000. It thus showed an increase of £2,391,000 over what it had been the last year anterior to the treaty. Then came the year 1862 with the treaty in operation from its beginning to its close. The value of British exports during the year now amounted to £9,210,000. It thus showed an increase of £4,456,000. In other words the amount of British goods sent to France had about doubled under the operation of the treaty of commerce.

But the figures thus named by no means set forth the whole extent of the advantage which the trade of England and France has derived from the treaty; for an augmentation of exports still more remarkable took place in foreign and colonial produce; and the committee were reminded that the foreign and colonial produce which we sent to France was something that we had ourselves obtained elsewhere in exchange for British produce. It therefore followed that every increase in the export of foreign and colonial produce from this country constituted or represented effectively a corresponding increase in the export of British manufactures. The value of foreign and colonial produce sent to France in 1859 was £4,800,000; whereas in 1862 it amounted to no less than £12,614,000. Accordingly the total amount of exports to France, which in 1859 was £9,561,000, had, in 1862, gone up to no less than £21,824,000. In fact, while we had a decrease in the total trade to the United States of £6,618,000, that decrease was a good deal more than made up by the increase in the trade to France, for the augmentation in the French trade was £12,268,000.

In a former page the name of Father Mathew and some particulars of the work that he accomplished in the cause of temperance, or rather of total abstinence, have been recorded.[1] At the date at which we have now arrived (1864–5) his successors in that cause had begun to make a determined effort to obtain distinct legislation for the purpose of forwarding their views and diminishing the vice of drunkenness by parliamentary interposition restricting the sale of intoxicating drinks, or rather giving the power of restriction to a majority of the inhabitants of any particular district.

Of course there were advocates of temperance and of total abstinence before Father Mathew gave to the movement an enormous impetus, the immediate effects of which seem to have diminished for a time after his death. He himself "signed the pledge" at a temperance tea-meeting at Cork, and nine years previously anti-spirituous and temperance societies had been formed in Belfast and Dublin on the plan of the "American Temperance Society," which was instituted at Boston in the United States in 1826. In 1831 the Dublin Society, which had then become the "National Hibernian," reported 15,000 members, and its secretary was Mr. Crampton, solicitor-general for Ireland, and afterwards Judge Crampton.

In Scotland the first society pledging its members to abstain from drinking spirits was formed at Greenock by John Dunlop, whose book on *Compulsory Drinking Usages*, published about that time, is itself sufficient to prove what enormous advances have been made during recent years with respect to temperance in the observance of social customs. In 1830 a society was formed at Glasgow, and

[1] Vol. i. p. 255.

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this soon developed into the more important association known as the Scottish Temperance Society. From the Scottish organization the first English societies are said to have been derived through a merchant of Bradford, Mr. Henry Forbes, who established an association in that town in 1830, and societies were soon afterwards started in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, and Warrington, one being formed at Preston in 1832. The movement then extended in a rather uncertain manner to London, where a temperance advocate, who was known as Boatswain Smith, carried on the work by speaking at meetings at the east end of London, and publishing temperance tracts against spirit-drinking, most of which had first been issued in America. In 1830, however, a "British and Foreign Temperance Society" was organized in London, and soon began to make considerable progress.

It should be remembered that these societies were really, as their names implied, "Temperance," and not total abstinence societies. They were opposed to the use of spirits, but permitted wine or beer to be taken in moderation. People had not then learned to declare that there is no such thing as moderation in the use of alcoholic beverages, as some of the advocates of total abstinence now put it. It scarcely needs to be said that in various ages there have been people or small associations of people—occasionally whole tribes like the Rechabites—who abstained from all intoxicating drinks, and in Ireland so early as 1817, in Scotland in 1830, and a little later in some other places, total abstinence societies existed, such as the "Paisley Youths" and the "Tradeston Glasgow Total Abstinence Society." It was at Preston, however, that this exclusive phase of the temperance question first took prominent public shape, and beer was prohibited first by a small section, and afterwards by all the members of the original society. Here, too, the name by which the whole body of total abstainers have since been known was adopted. One of the converts, using an old-fashioned homely expression, said that he was for "tee-total abstinence," meaning to emphasize the word total, or to make it more expressive by a capital "tee," or what in old days would have been equivalent to a capital, namely, a double t (ttotal). Probably the speaker did not know the derivation of his expression, but the name stuck, and the Preston total abstainers thereafter called themselves teetotallers, a title that has lasted for the whole body ever since.

The organization increased—societies and branch societies flourished, and beside issuing publications advocating their cause, started various provisions for mutual benefit, many of which have reached to very remarkable proportions, as such associations will if prudently conducted, whether they be founded by total abstainers, or others who think that they may be moderate partakers of wine or beer without intemperance. Many of these societies had in 1864–65 shown what could be achieved by establishing benefit societies for the relief of sick or disabled members, or friendly societies for mutual help; while the principle of life assurance was adopted, and a society of that kind started for the remarkable reason that a prominent abstainer, wishing to take out a policy of life assurance in one of the already existing offices, was informed that he would be charged an extra premium because of his total abstinence. So the movement went on till in 1856 the number of societies in the United Kingdom represented a great and important interest, and by no means a poor one. At that date the two great organizations, the National Temperance Society and the London Temperance League, were united in "the National Temperance League," of which Mr. Samuel Bowly of Gloucester was made president. There were, of course, other leagues and associations in the provinces, and branch societies in various districts. The movement had become widely representative, and it was thought that something more decided should be done to influence legislation and to compel people to abstain, by acts of parliament for suppressing the sale of intoxicating liquors. For this purpose the "United Kingdom Alliance" was formed at Manchester in 1853, with Sir Walter C. Trevelyan for its president. It set about a regular and continuous agitation of the question by means of local auxiliary branches, agents, district superintendents, and

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a complete flood of temperance literature, and at the present time its income is said to have reached £20,000 a year for the support of the effort to carry through parliament measures which it had in view nearly a quarter of a century ago. One result of their contemplated work has partly been achieved, since the sale of liquor on Sundays has been greatly restricted; but we may have to touch on this subject later on. When Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the member for Carlisle, succeeded the late Sir Walter Trevelyan as president of the Alliance, preparations were made for what is sometimes called a parliamentary campaign; and the result was that in 1864 the so-called "Permissive Bill" was introduced to the House of Commons, its original provisions having to some extent been founded on the liquor law which Neal Dow, Mayor of Portland, the capital of Maine, in the United States, had introduced there in 1851. As early as 1853, at a great meeting of the Alliance, the following propositions were adopted, and they became the basis of the representations by which the bill was afterwards supported:—

"1. That it is neither right nor politic for the state to afford legal protection and sanction to any traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.

"2. That the traffic in intoxicating liquors as common beverages is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought therefore to be prohibited.

"3. That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor traffic abundantly prove that it is impossible satisfactorily to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

"4. That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results as the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

"5. That the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

"6. That the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.

"7. That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording the most efficient aid in removing the appalling evils of intemperance."

The methods adopted by this body to promulgate its principles and promote its objects were:—1. Lectures and public meetings. 2. Essays, tracts, placards, hand-bills, and periodical publications, including a weekly organ, the *Alliance News* (price 1*d*.). 3. Petitions and memorials to parliament, to government, to local authorities, and to religious bodies. 4. House-to-house canvasses to ascertain the opinions of heads of families and other adult members. 5. Conference of electors, ministers of religion, Sunday-school teachers, the medical profession, and other important bodies.

At a meeting convened at Manchester by 400 clergymen and other ministers of religion —the circular convening the conference having received the written sanction of 11,000 such ministers — a declaration was adopted saying: "We, the undersigned ministers of the gospel, are convinced by personal observation, within our own sphere, and authentic testimony from beyond it, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors as drink for man is the immediate cause of most of the crime and pauperism, and much of the disease and insanity, that afflict the land; that everywhere, and in proportion to its prevalence, it deteriorates the moral character of the people, and is the chief outward obstruction to the progress of the gospel; that these are not its accidental attendants, but its natural fruits; that the benefit, if any, is very small in comparison with the bane; that all schemes of regulation and restriction, however good so far as they go, fall short of the nation's need and the nation's duty; and that, therefore, on the obvious principle of destroying the evil which cannot be controlled, the wisest course for those who fear God and regard man is to encourage legitimate efforts for the entire suppression of the trade, by the power of the

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national will, and through the force of a legislative enactment." This declaration received the adhesion in writing of upwards of 3000 ministers of religion.

During the years 1858 and 1859 a system of house-to-house canvass was adopted in numerous localities in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the result of which was declared to be as follows:—Favourable to the permissive prohibitory liquor law, 147,821; neutral, 32,140; opposed, 11,894.

At the annual council meeting of the Alliance in October, 1857, a draft of suggestions for a permissive prohibitory liquor law was adopted, and put into extensive circulation. At the council meeting in 1863 it was confirmed, and in the session that followed a bill founded on it was submitted to the House of Commons. The preamble of the bill set forth that, "Whereas the sale of intoxicating liquors is a fruitful source of crime, immorality, pauperism, disease, insanity, and premature death, whereby not only the individuals who give way to drinking habits are plunged into misery, but grievous wrong is done to the persons and property of her majesty's subjects at large, and the public rates and taxes are greatly augmented; and whereas it is right and expedient to confer upon the ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes, and townships the power to prohibit such common sale as aforesaid, let it be therefore enacted," &c.

The bill went on to provide that, on application of any district, the votes of the ratepayers shall be taken as to the propriety of adopting the provisions of the act; but that a majority of at least two-thirds of the votes shall be necessary in order to decide that question in the affirmative. The act itself would, when once adopted in any district, prohibit within that district all traffic in intoxicating liquor for common purposes.

The first reading of the bill, though strongly opposed, was carried by a large majority. The second reading was defeated by a large majority, but forty members voted and paired off in favour of it, a much larger number than had been expected by its promoters. Petitions in favour of the bill were sent in, bearing upwards of 482,000 signatures.

A large number of people, who were not prepared to go the full length of the Permissive Bill, felt that something needed to be done to reduce the immense amount of pauperism and crime which were distinctly traceable to drinking habits acquired by frequenting public-houses. Others were of opinion that the principle of local control which the Permissive Bill embodied was the only one calculated to contend with the gigantic evils which the liquor traffic was producing, and were willing that the bill should be read a second time, in the hope that amendments would be introduced in committee which would modify its too extreme features. The only distinct counter-plan suggested, however, was that of Mr. Bright, who, while approving the bill, stated what he thought would be a wiser way of dealing with the great distemper which it sought to remedy.

"You can make no change," he said, "from where you are, unless you intrust to the municipal council or some committee of the municipal council in the various boroughs the power of determining the number of licenses for the sale of wine, spirits, or beer. . . . I should not have brought such a question as this before the house, and I am not so sanguine of the result of these changes as what I may call the temperance party in the house. I have not that faith in any act of the legislature. I believe in the effect of the instruction of the people, and of the improvement that is gradually taking place among them. I think that drunkenness is not on the increase, but rather is declining; and I hope, whether the law be altered or not, we shall find our working-classes becoming more and more sober than in past times. But as I have on many occasions been before the public favouring the efforts of the advocates of temperance, I have felt bound to state the reasons why I cannot give my vote in favour of this bill, and to suggest what the house might do by way of giving to the people, through their municipal council, control over this question. By doing this you might promote temperance among the people, and at the same time avoid a great and manifest injustice to thousands of persons now engaged in the trade, whose property would be

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rendered uncertain, if not altogether destroyed, if the bill should receive the sanction of the house."

Two measures very advantageous to the working-classes were adopted in the course of 1864. The first, proposed by Lord Derby, provided that in every railway leading into the metropolis provision should be made for the accommodation of the working-classes by cheap trains. This proposal was made mainly on the ground that the railways to which it applied had destroyed a large number of the habitations of the labouring classes, compelling them to reside at greater distances than before from the places at which they worked. Lord Derby contended that it was only just that these railways should compensate the people thus disturbed by affording them increased facilities for going to and returning from their work. The measure was accepted by the government, and was the first step in a system which has been very useful to those for whose benefit it was adopted, and a source of profit to the railway companies themselves, who have since found it to their interest greatly to extend the principle on which this important enactment was based. The other boon granted to the working-classes was an act for applying to several other trades the regulations which already protected women and children working in factories.

Though at the close of 1863 England was not implicated in the disturbances which were brewing abroad, there was a feeling of uncertainty on the part of the government, with respect to the attitude that might be assumed by other powers in relation to the struggle which the Poles were making to regain their national liberty, and the hostilities which were threatened by Prussia against Denmark on account of the Schleswig-Holstein question.

"The wrongs of Poland" was no new phrase. Subscriptions for the distressed Poles—balls, concerts, conversaziones, for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of Polish exiles, had been familiar announcements years before; but it now appeared as though Poland itself was to be extinguished, its people either exterminated by slaughter or denationalized by the slower processes of torture, imprisonment, or exile. The plan adopted by Russia was, to order a conscription among the Poles for the purpose of recruiting the Russian army, or, as Lord Napier said, "to make a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth of Poland; to shut up the most energetic and dangerous spirits in the restraints of the Russian army; to kidnap the opposition and carry it off to Siberia or the Caucasus." But the Russian attempt was not confined to suppression or to the deportation of those persons who were known or even suspected to be revolutionary. Warsaw was placed under the control of soldiers and police agents. The houses, of which they had made a list, were surrounded, the men in them seized and carried off for military service. For those who were absent the parents were taken as guarantees for their return. On the first night of this inquisition 2500 men were taken away, and insults and wanton cruelties were inflicted. It was evident to the unhappy Poles that a reign of terror was approaching, and next day thousands of persons took to flight and prepared for resistance. In the previous year the Russian soldiers had fired on the people at Warsaw, and had committed ferocious cruelties. The Polish women, even ladies of high rank, had long worn mourning, had entirely given up dancing, and attended few public amusements, much to the mortification of the Russian military officers and civilians, who had ever found Warsaw a gay city, and Polish society brilliant and accomplished. The Russians resented the silent demonstration, many of them may have deplored the causes of it, but there was no longer any hesitation on the part of the government of the Grand-duke Constantine. The barbarous ferocity which was said to underlie the grand air of Nicholas and his progenitors seemed to remain. In a short time out of 184,000 persons only 683 were left to carry on the trade of the country; 14,000 men and women had been crowded into one dungeon at Warsaw, Count Zamoyski, for presenting a petition couched in the most respectful language, had been banished. Barracks and fortresses had been

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converted into political prisons—there seemed to be no limit to Russian fury against those who dared even to whisper the words liberty and justice. It was Mr. Pope Hennessey who brought the affairs of Poland before the House of Commons, that is to say he opened the debate on the subject in a speech which found an echo throughout England. Public indignation was aroused, not here alone, but in France, and even in Austria, by the atrocities of the Russians. Only Prussia appeared to follow the policy of sticking to her former allegiance to the Russian autocracy, and expressed approval by beginning to persecute the people of her own Polish provinces in a methodical manner. In our own parliament there were no uncertain denunciations of the course pursued at Warsaw. Prominent speakers on both sides of the house joined in the condemnation; but, except for the moral effect these declarations might have upon Russia, no step could be taken by the house itself, and it was left for the government to see what could be done in the way of remonstrance. This was not considered satisfactory by those people outside who were naturally burning with anger at the intelligence that continued to come from Poland, where all the provinces were roused to what, after all, must be a hopeless insurrection, in which the nation might be exterminated, but could never hope to secure ultimate victory against the overwhelming forces of Russia. A great meeting was called at the Guildhall in the city of London, where much earnest enthusiasm was exhibited, but the question of entering upon a war with Russia, even if we again had France for an ally, could not be reasonably entertained even by the enthusiasts. In such an event Russia would have had time to crush and utterly annihilate the people on whose behalf we interfered, before we could reach the scene of strife. Already the Poles were fighting desperately, and though an organized resistance had been made in various parts of Russian Poland, directed by a central committee sitting at Warsaw, Langiewicz, the general who had been fighting at the head of the national forces as "Dictator," was unable to maintain the unequal contest. The skirmishes, in which regiments of starving and hunted insurgents vanquished isolated bodies of their foes, only wore out the "liberators" and reduced their numbers, without leading to any permanent achievement on the side of freedom.

Earl Russell, however, wrote with commendable firmness to our minister at St. Petersburg, saying, that as a party to the treaty of 1815, Great Britain was entitled to express its opinions on the events then taking place. He went on to ask "why the emperor, whose benevolence was generally and cheerfully acknowledged, did not put an end to the bloody conflict, by proclaiming mercifully an immediate and unconditional amnesty to his revolted Polish subjects, and at the same time announce his intention to replace without delay his kingdom of Poland in possession of the political and civil privileges which were granted to it by the Emperor Alexander I. in execution of the stipulation of that treaty? If this were done, a national diet and a national administration would in all probability content the Poles, and satisfy European opinion."

What did Russia care about European opinion, while Prussia supported her by the stimulating flattery of imitation? It is true that the Polish peasantry were relieved from some of the oppressions which the landed proprietors had formerly exercised, but this relief, which had made part of the policy of the emperor on his coming to the throne, only seemed to identify Poland with Russia, at a time when ruthless tyranny was being exercised for the same object.

France had remonstrated with as little effect, and in May (1863) so obvious was the intention to force an amalgamation of the Poles with Russia, that the Polish central committee conducting the insurrection rejected the amnesty that was offered them, on conditions evidently intended to promote this object.

In Prussia Count Bismarck had begun a new career, and had made haste to assert that the Prussian government differed from that of England, inasmuch as the ministry was not that of the parliament but of the king. The corollary of this was soon apparent, for a month or so afterwards the king, replying to

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an address from the Chamber of Deputies, stated that as the ministry had his entire confidence, he intended to carry on the government without a parliament. The assembly of deputies was then dissolved, a proceeding which, it was said, called forth the remonstrances of the crown prince.

The note sent to Lord Napier, our representative at St. Petersburg, naming the points which should be observed towards Poland, in accordance with the treaty of 1815, was drawn up by our government, concurrently with France and Austria. To this Prince Gortschakoff replied, in the usual Russian manner: first, that if Earl Russell knew what was really taking place, he would know that the insurrection was crushed—that the peasantry and the trades'-people were opposed to it; that the insurgents were only endeavouring to raise a diplomatic intervention in the hope of armed interference; and finally, that nothing would be accepted by the emperor, but for the insurgents to lay down their arms unconditionally and submit to his majesty's clemency. They had had a long experience of what might be expected from Russian clemency, and the insurrection went on till it became hopeless, and then once more Poland fainted, and the Russian clemency came in by forbidding the women of Warsaw to wear mourning for those who had fallen in the struggle.

The attitude of Austria in supporting remonstrances to the Russian government against the oppression of the Poles was, perhaps, suggestive of the shadows that precede coming events. It should be remembered that at the time of the Crimean war Austria showed the same desire to secure an agreement with England and France in view of the subserviency of Prussia to the Czar Nicholas and the probable results of an alliance between the cousins. Assuredly Austria assumed a very different policy in relation to the Polish question to that which she adopted towards Italy. The Poles in Galicia probably had to thank the Austrian jealousy of Russia and distrust of Prussia for the comparatively impartial conduct of the power which had previously had so dark a reputation among oppressed nations.

The Emperor of the French was no more inclined than the English government to go to war with Russia for the problematic relief of Poland. At that moment Napoleon III. had his hands pretty well full of an enterprise upon which he had entered with an almost reckless determination to achieve some startling effects and show how far the arms and influence of France might reach under imperial guidance.

In 1861, after a long series of revolutions and disturbances, some sort of government had been temporarily established in Mexico by the election of Juarez as president of the Mexican Republic. But Juarez was regarded as an usurper, the country was still in disorder, the struggles of the various factions continued, and the new government, like most of its predecessors, was uncertain, while the action which it took to establish its authority consisted rather of threats against personal safety and property than efforts to protect either. At all events so little were the rights of Europeans respected that it was judged advisable for a convention to be entered into between Great Britain, France, and Spain, to demand from the authorities in Mexico more efficient protection as well as a fulfilment of the obligations that had been contracted. The convention signed in London provided that a sufficient force should be sent to seize upon the Mexican fortresses on the coast and to uphold the demands made, but that neither power should make use of the expedition for acquiring territory or other advantage, that the people of Mexico should not be interfered with in their right to elect what government they pleased, that each of the powers concerned should be represented by a commissioner, and that though any delay might prevent the accomplishment of the purpose of the convention—the claims of the United States of America to be also represented on the convention should be regarded, and an "identic" of the agreement should be despatched to that government for its acceptance. The United States government, however, wisely refused to join the convention. The expedition consisted of 6000 men sent by France and Spain, while our contribution was

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a line-of-battle ship, two frigates, and 700 supernumerary marines.

The probability of the necessity for hostilities in Mexico had, for some time past, been the cause of uneasiness both in France and England. Strong representations had been made of the injustice and even the barbarity displayed to European residents in that country, and it was therefore important that the commissioners should seek redress with an expeditionary force, which was considered sufficient to add authority to their demands.

These demands were accompanied by an invitation to the Mexicans to put an end to their long anarchy and confusion, from which they had suffered through the factions of rival pretenders to government, by electing their own ruler, with the support of the allied representatives.

On the 10th of January the commissioners of the allied powers issued at Vera Cruz a proclamation, in which they adverted to the frequent breach of treaties and agreements, claimed the right of their citizens to reside in the country without being molested, and exhorted the people to establish a government and put an end to their devastating civil wars. To this proclamation was attached a despatch from the plenipotentiaries of each of the allied powers, stating the nature of their respective demands.

Among those who accompanied the French expeditionary force was a Mexican émigré named General Almonte, whose presence was intensely objectionable to the Mexican government, since it was believed that the true reason of his presence was to excite a civil war for some ulterior object, which was afterwards suspected to be the promotion of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria to the throne of the country, with the connivance of France. Maximilian was brother to the Emperor of Austria and had married the Princess Charlotte, the youngest daughter of the King of Belgium by Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe. Both Maximilian and his archduchess were good amiable people, and much beloved by our queen and by Prince Albert.

It is difficult even now to see by what strange process of self-deception Napoleon III. could have come to the conclusion that he would be able to impose a European archduke on the Mexican people; or what advantage he could ultimately gain for France or for himself by such an attempt. It is equally astonishing that Maximilian should have been permitted by his friends and counsellors to undertake such a responsibility, even though he relied on the promise of a sufficient force being left in Mexico to support and protect him. Whatever may have been the foundation for the suspicion of Almonte's mission, it was certainly confirmed by M. Billault's remarks in reply to the subsequent discussion on the subject in the Corps Législatif. He then said it was "false to assert that France had sent Almonte to excite a civil war. He was only to arrive in the city of Mexico when the ballot had been opened, to consult the national will. He arrived in Mexico under the protection of the French flag, and committed no hostile act before the rupture of negotiations." This seems to admit that the archduke, being known to France as a candidate whose interests Napoleon III. desired to promote, Almonte, as his agent, was permitted to be present, with the danger of being suspected to influence the elections in favour of a foreign ruler, designed to seek an empire by a plebiscite.

At all events the Mexican government demanded that Almonte should be sent back to France. A conference with commissioners appointed by the Juarez government had been appointed to take place at Orizaba on the 15th of April, but the French commissioner, M. Dubois de Saligny, refused to join it, alleging that the real and principal object of the convention was to obtain satisfaction for outrages heaped upon foreigners by the Mexican government, and to enforce its observance of treaties; that the temporizing and conciliatory system hitherto pursued was condemned by what was daily occurring, inasmuch as the reign of extortion, tyranny, and violence had been made doubly oppressive, and rendered the situation of foreigners intolerable; that proofs of this were daily afforded by the complaints sent to him; that

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the attitude of the allied forces appeared to stimulate the government to redoubled audacity; that, for his part, he formally declared he would not treat with that government, and that his well-matured opinion was that it was necessary to march upon Mexico.

For this the commissioners of England and Spain, Sir C. Wyke and General Prim, were in no way prepared. They thought that the conference should take place, and at length, as they could not induce M. de Saligny to alter his determination, the English and Spanish governments relinquished their co-operation, and their troops were withdrawn from Mexico.

The consequence was that the French army, under General Lorencez, was left to prosecute the enterprise alone. On the 16th of April the French commissioners issued a proclamation saying, "We are not here to take part in your discussions, but to settle them. . . . Let men who have been too long divided rally round us. In their hands are the destinies of Mexico. The French flag has been planted on Mexican soil; that flag will not retire: let wise men hail it as a friendly flag; only madmen will dare to fight it."

The Mexican troops, under General Zarazoga, had retired from Orizaba, which was occupied by the French about the middle of April. Puebla had been represented as the town most hostile to Juarez, and yet, after a desperate attempt, the French general failed to take the two forts by which it was protected.

The news of the repulse of the troops caused great dissatisfaction in France, but it was then too late to accept the disaster and retire from any further attempt. The government had been deceived as to the state of public feeling in Mexico, but it was necessary to support their flag energetically on every point where it was engaged.

This was the expressed determination of the committee, who passed the bill granting supplementary credits, to enable General Forey to go out at the head of the reinforcements, which reached Vera Cruz at the end of the year.

The French army in Mexico then amounted to not less than 30,000 men.

In 1863 the treaty of commerce with England had, it was said, tended still further to develop the resources of France. The exports increased from those of the previous year by the amount of 233,000,000 francs, while during the same period 175,000 tons of shipping had been added to the mercantile marine, of which 136,000 tons were under the French flag. The harvest was abundant, public works were carried on with great enterprise, and considerable prosperity was manifest, notwithstanding the expenses required for carrying on the war.

General Forey had taken Puebla. The garrison defending it suffered severely from hunger, and General Ortega, who commanded the place, proposed to capitulate, but asked to be allowed to leave with the honours of war, and with arms, baggage, and artillery to withdraw to Mexico. This was refused, General Forey demanding that his army should march past the French army, lay down their arms, and remain prisoners of war. These proposals were not accepted, and on the night of the 16th of May General Ortega disbanded his army, destroyed the weapons, spiked his guns, blew up the powder magazines, and sent an envoy to the French general to say that the garrison had completed its defence, and surrendered at discretion. By daylight 12,000 men, mostly without arms or ammunition, surrendered as prisoners, and about 1000 officers of different grades awaited the orders of General Forey at the palace of the government.

On the 10th of June the French army made its triumphal entry into the city of Mexico. The throne was then at the disposal of the conquerors. General Forey issued a proclamation, in which he said: "I invoke the support of all classes; I demand of all parties to lay down their arms, and to employ henceforth all their strength, not in destroying, but in constructing. I proclaim oblivion of the past, and a complete amnesty for all those who will rally in good faith round the government which the nation, by its own free-will, shall impose upon itself." These were excellent words, but there was nobody left who was strong enough to oppose the method of obtaining the plebiscite.

Juarez and the members of his government

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had already evacuated the city and retired to San Luis Potosi, and no attempt was made to disturb the French occupation. "An assembly of notables," 215 in number, was constituted, the members of which, it was carefully represented, were taken from all classes. They were to determine what form of government should be established in Mexico; their vote on this question was to unite two-thirds of their suffrages.

On the 10th of July they resolved that Mexico should be an empire, and that the throne should be offered to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. In the event of his refusal to accept the crown, the Emperor of the French was to be requested to select a candidate for the imperial dignity. The archduke was therefore solemnly proclaimed emperor, and a deputation of "notables" proceeded to Europe to offer him the throne.

He received them at his residence near Trieste, and, in answer to their offer, accepted the trust, on the condition that there should be a spontaneous expression of the wishes of the whole nation; that he should obtain guarantees securing Mexico against the dangers that threatened her integrity and independence. He also declared that it was his intention to open the path of progress by a constitution, as was done by Napoleon III., and, "after the complete pacification of the country, to seal the fundamental law with an oath."

It was not till May, 1864, that he assumed the empire, after the expression of that "spontaneous desire of the majority" which he had demanded. He then issued an imperial proclamation at Vera Cruz, and became the ruler of Mexico, under the partial protection of France.

The unhappy result of the French intervention in Mexico is one of the saddest records of history during that period. After his accession the Emperor Maximilian discovered that the French government had been entirely mistaken in their estimate of the Mexican character, and that he had been grossly deceived in the assurances he had received of the stability of the population, and their desire for European intervention. A series of conflicts, which partook of the characteristics of a continued intestine war, joined to insurrectionary troubles, kept his throne insecure and gave him only the shadow of empire. Juarez was again in arms, and his followers were active, numerous, and fighting in a kind of guerilla warfare, which perpetually harassed the regular forces, and yet gave them none of the advantages of such victories as they were able to gain.

At the beginning of February, 1867, the Emperor Maximilian left the city of Mexico at the head of his army, and marched northwards, where the adherents of Juarez were in force. He occupied the town of Queretaro with about 10,000 troops, and then had to sustain the attacks of General Escobedo, which were generally defeated, but without such a decided victory as to crush the revolt.

The whole of the French troops quitted Mexico in the early part of 1867, leaving him to carry on the conflict. In the beginning of April his reverses began. Puebla was captured by the Juarists, who at once prepared to lay siege to the city of Mexico, and surrounded Queretaro, then held by the emperor, and the garrison of which was reduced to desperate straits. The place becoming at last untenable, Maximilian determined to make an attempt to cut through the enemy's lines, but it was too late. On the 14th of May the Juarists, under Escobedo, forced their way into the town, and after a short resistance the emperor surrendered, and was taken prisoner with all his staff. In the following month Maximilian, who bore his reverses with great dignity and resignation, was brought before a council of war at Queretaro, and with his generals, Miramon and Mejia, was condemned to death. On the morning of the 19th they were led out to the place of execution and shot. The following official notice was published to the Mexican people:—"Ferdinand Maximilian von Hapsburg, a grandduke of Austria and an ally of Napoleon III. of France, came to Mexico to rob the country of its independence and its institutions, and although a mere usurper of the national sovereignty, assumed the title of emperor. This usurper having been captured by the republican forces at Queretaro, on the 15th of May, 1867, he was

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sentenced to death by a military court-martial, with the concurrence of the nation, and was shot for his crimes against the independence of the nation at Queretaro, on the 9th of June, 1867, in company with Generals Miramon and Mejia. Peace be to his ashes!"

A few days afterwards the city of Mexico surrendered, and Juarez became once more absolute master of the kingdom, or rather of a republic, which, in the space of less than fifty years, had been the scene of upwards of thirty changes of government. At the close of the year he was elected president.

The Archduchess Charlotte, ex-Empress of Mexico, contrived to escape from the country, and returned to Europe in a condition of mind which aroused the respectful sympathy of all who knew her sad history.

She continued in a state of mental derangement for two or three years, and by the advice of her physicians travelled from place to place, but with little hope of complete restoration of her physical health, or cure for the mental malady which had ensued from the grief she had undergone and the terrible scenes she had witnessed.

The policy of Napoleon III. seems to have been to combine the development of the internal material resources of France with such a degree of foreign influence as would make his opinion, supported by the nation, a power not only in Europe but in distant countries. In Syria, where French arms vindicated the rights of the Christian population; in Montenegro, where the national desire to become part of a single government, including all the principalities, was upheld by French influence; in Cochin China, where an expedition had been organized for promoting French colonial interests; in Spain, where the questions of the frontier line and the debt of 1823 were settled without further misunderstanding; and in Switzerland, where the differences arising from disputes about the valley of the Dappes were explained and remedied, this prompt and aggressively conciliatory intervention was exercised. France was powerful and respected even where suspicion still existed as to the probable intentions of her ruler; for nearly all the world seems to have agreed to give Napoleon III. credit for subtle statecraft, while he himself assumed to be the least secret and the least combinative of European sovereigns. He claimed credit for frankness, and professed to pursue a candid and easily estimated policy. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the promptitude of action, combined with the liberal sentiments which characterized the whole policy of the emperor, had placed the country high in the rank of nations with reference to all questions affecting peace and mutual understanding between European states. It was with this assurance that, on the 4th of November, 1863, the emperor proposed to the other powers to regulate the condition of Europe, and to secure its future by a congress of nations or an international council. This proposition was accompanied by an invitation, which said:—

"In case the princes, allies and friends of France, should think proper to heighten by their presence the authority of the deliberations, I shall be proud to offer them my cordial hospitality. Europe would see, perhaps, some advantage in the capital from which the signal for subversion has so often been given, becoming the seat of the conferences destined to lay the basis of a general pacification."

After some diplomatic correspondence, in which it was stated that the emperor had already indicated the questions of Poland, Denmark, and Germany, the Danubian Principalities, Austria and Italy, and the occupation of Rome, to be those which would demand discussion; Earl Russell, on the part of the English government, declined participation in the congress, on the ground that those questions could not be decided by the mere utterance of opinions, while if the mere expression of wishes and opinions would accomplish no positive results, it appeared certain that the deliberations of a congress would consist of demands and pretensions put forward by some and resisted by others. That there being no supreme authority in such an assembly to enforce the decisions of the majority, the congress would probably separate leaving many of its members on worse terms with each other than they had been when they met; while if this

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would be the probable result, it followed that no decrease of armaments would be likely to be effected by the proposed congress.

The Emperor of Russia gave his entire adhesion to the principle of settling the peace of Europe by such a representative meeting of the sovereigns, but thought it essential that Napoleon III., who initiated the proposal, should define clearly the questions which, in his opinion, should be the subject of an understanding, and the bases upon which this understanding would have to be established.

The Queen of Spain gave her ready adhesion to the proposal, and promised cordial co-operation.

The Emperor of Austria considered it essential to have a clear understanding upon the point of departure, to define the object and means of action held in view, and to determine beforehand the line of conduct that would be followed.

The King of Prussia considered the measures to be discussed should first be submitted to the responsible ministers of the respective states.

The pope accepted the proposition with the utmost gratification, only reserving, with satirical caution, the power to sustain with the greatest rigour the rights of the Romish Church.

The Swiss Confederation, the new King of Greece, and the King of Denmark accepted the proposal without reserve; and the replies of the King of Hanover and the King of Bavaria were equally favourable. It was evident, however, that the English minister had stated the true difficulty; the objections of Prussia, Russia, and Austria were proofs that this difficulty was sufficient to prevent any lasting advantage from a deliberative assembly to which each member would go with the view rather of confirming than relinquishing the demands of his policy.

It would have been well, indeed, if some of the questions then arising in Europe could have been settled by pacific discussion. The effusion of blood during the Polish insurrection would then have been stayed; the question of the claims of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein might have been so settled as to avert the events that led to the dreadful war between Austria and Prussia; the liberty of Italy might have penetrated Rome, set free from the threatenings of French bayonets. But the very statement of these subjects of discussion is almost sufficient to show that no decision was likely to be come to, involving the satisfactory arrangement of affairs which had already been made of vital importance by the states which included them in their most unyielding demands.

Small war clouds gathering and bursting in other places challenged comparatively little attention while the roar of the great tempest of strife continued in America. The sufferings of Poland excited much emotion, the expedition to Mexico aroused curiosity not unmixed with apprehension of the result. The archduke consented to take his cue from an actor who had written only his own part in the drama which ended in a tragedy, not for Maximilian only, but as some thoughtful statesmen believed, for the French emperor also. There were forewarnings that the prestige of Napoleon III. would
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clear to people who heard of them for the first time, nor was it by any means to be concluded that the King of Prussia had any just claim to make such an easy display of the growing power of his authority, by commencing hostilities against a small state in defiance of European opinion. He had become strong enough to refuse the urgent invitation of the Emperor of Austria to attend a congress of the German sovereigns at Frankfort for the purpose of forming a Bund or confederation of all their states. The dream of "United Germany" must be realized, if it were to be realized at all, by the domination of Prussia —and thus it was realized years afterward; but not till Austria had been temporarily crushed by a war which, for a time, crippled her resources and left her German scarcely even in name.

There is no need to go into the remote history of the relations between the German states, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and the kingdom of Denmark.

The dispute which menaced the peace of Europe was, as the *Times* said, not calculated to inspire implicit confidence in the arrangements of governments assembled in congresses or in conferences. The chronic difficulty of the duchies attached to the Danish crown had been unexpectedly rendered urgent by the death of Frederick VII., the last king of the house of Oldenburg. As long as the kings were absolute in Denmark their ducal sovereignty in Schleswig and Holstein involved no subordination of their German subjects to the Danes of the kingdom. It was only when a representative constitution was granted in 1846 that the conflict of races seriously commenced, and in 1848 it produced civil war. With the aid of Prussia the Germans of Holstein and Schleswig expelled the Danish forces from both duchies, but on the withdrawal of the Prussian troops the Danes recovered the greater part of Schleswig; and finally, the authority of Frederick VII. was re-established in both duchies by various conventions in 1850 and 1851. Austria and Prussia, on behalf of Germany, assented to the dissolution of the ancient union between Holstein and Schleswig, and, in return, Denmark undertook to perform the federal engagements which were due in Holstein, and to maintain various privileges and immunities which were claimed by the German inhabitants of Schleswig. In 1852 the great powers thought it expedient, in anticipation of the extinction of the dynasty, to provide for the integrity of the Danish monarchy, including the ancient dependencies of the crown. By the Treaty of London, executed by the five powers and by Denmark and Sweden, the succession was settled on Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, whose wife became, by aid of certain family renunciations, the heiress of the royal crown of Denmark. The Duke of Augustenburg, who was heir of Holstein and claimant of Schleswig, was induced to relinquish his pretensions; and the King of Prussia, who was head of the ducal house of Holstein-Gottorp, agreed to postpone any hereditary claim which he might have asserted. All the principal German states, except Bavaria and Baden, afterwards adhered to the treaty; and on the death of Frederick VII. Prince Christian possessed an undisputed diplomatic title. In the interval, however, extreme irritation had existed between Germany and Denmark, especially when Frederick VII. was said to have encroached on federal rights by a patent establishing a constitution in Holstein, issued in the spring of the year 1863. Federal execution in the duchy was imminent, when the accession of King Christian IX. in Denmark afforded an excuse for opening the question of his right to the duchies. Prince Frederick, son of the Duke of Augustenburg, disputed the validity of his father's renunciation, and nearly every legislative assembly in the German states urged their respective governments to recognize his title.

But the points actually in dispute, the concessions in regard to which Prussia and the diet had at one stage of the negotiations virtually agreed to accept, may be all summed up in a single question—that of the budget. The duchy and the diet had rejected any plan for a constitution of the whole monarchy by Frederick VII., and any reasonable plan for a provisional government of the duchy alone. As the government had to be carried

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on, however, the only way that remained was through the King of Denmark as absolute Duke of Holstein and the old assembly of estates. It was quite obvious, also, that while any connection remained between the government of Denmark and Holstein, the latter must contribute to the expenses of that government. It was on the budget, therefore, that the dispute between the king and the duchy arose. The Holstein estates made the demand that they themselves should decide the amount of their contribution to the revenue, and that the budget of the duchy should be submitted to their consideration. This the Danish government had refused, but as the diet had actually urged the extravagant demand that the budget for the whole monarchy should be submitted to the deliberate vote of the Holstein estates, the three great powers—Russia, France, and England—had recommended Denmark to make concessions enabling the estates to deliberate on the budget for the duchy. In a new provisional constitution for the duchy these concessions were granted on the advice of the great powers who were parties to the original treaty, in order to preserve the peace of Europe; but the estates, supported by Prussia and the diet, continued to reject the proposals though they included the demands which had formerly been made. It was therefore not unnaturally concluded by Denmark that the great powers would address a firm, united, and urgent remonstrance to the diet and Prussia, and would support Denmark by protesting against any federal execution being attempted. But the very proposal of the constitution, in which the concessions were included, was resented as an unauthorized assumption of power. On the accession of King Christian IX. Austria and Prussia were for demanding the repeal of the constitution of the kingdom, which included Schleswig, and proposed to the diet that the duchy should be occupied till the concession was made. They did not desire to proceed to actual war, and the Prussian minister did not recognize the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, while Austria was believed to be not unwilling to yield to "moral" intervention. Bismarck and the Prussian sovereign were probably averse to take a position in hostilities against a small state when they could only do so by acting in conjunction with those other German states, the congress of which, under Austrian influence, they had refused to attend. Austria had perhaps no relish for measuring her military efficiency with that of Prussia at such a time. But the minor states, under the direction of the Saxon minister, Baron Beust, outvoted Austria and Prussia in the diet, and insisted on immediate war.

Not till the 2d of December, 1863, did the Prussian chambers, by a majority of 231 to 63, pass a resolution "that the honour and interests of Germany demand that all the German states should preserve the rights of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, that they should recognize the hereditary prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and should lend him assistance in vindication of his rights." Probably this was a timely diversion of the attention of the Prussian assemblies from the autocratic contempt which Count Bismarck and the king had constantly shown for popular demands and parliamentary representations. The King of Denmark declared that he would resist all revolutionary movements in Holstein. The Danish foreign minister afterwards addressed the ministers of Prussia, Austria, Saxony, and Hanover, pronouncing the decree of the federal diet for giving effect to procedure of execution in the duchies to be devoid of binding force because of the exclusion of the plenipotentiary of Denmark from the assembly. He also announced that the mediation which had been proffered by the British government had been accepted. His representations were made on the 19th of December. On the 23d a detachment of Saxon and Hanoverian troops entered Holstein.

Of course neither Prussia nor Austria could hold back on an occasion when it was necessary for them to assert their importance as chief states in the German Confederation. Circumstances had imposed on them the condition that they should only be able to assert their rivalry by becoming allies. On the 16th of January, 1864, the federal commission

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having supressed the administration of Holstein and established a ducal government at Kiel, Austria and Prussia demanded of Denmark that the constitution of November, 1863, should be suppressed within forty-eight hours. This was refused, and an Austro-Prussian army under Marshal Wrangel, entered Holstein on the 21st.

England had remonstrated. Earl Russell had spoken with considerable plainness. On the 31st of December, 1863, he had addressed a note to the federal diet demanding in the interests of peace that a conference of the powers that signed the Treaty of London should, in conjunction with a representative from the German Confederation, meet in Paris or London to settle the differences between Germany and Denmark, and that the status quo should be maintained till the conference had concluded its work. The "status quo," as we have seen, had been changed before anything was done. Even if Austria and Prussia had been inclined to hold their hands after the serious representations of England, they were urged on by the smaller confederated states, by which Prussia had previously been accused of a want of a national spirit for hesitating to break the treaties which secured the Danish monarchy. It was a juncture when the state that must take the lead in a possibly united Germany of the future would have to sacrifice some scruples, and even risk the disfavour of the other powers of Europe.

Was the risk so very great? The queen's speech at the opening of the English parliament in 1864 set forth that the death of the late King of Denmark brought into immediate application the stipulation of the treaty of 1852 which declared that it was conducive to the preservation of the balance of power and to the peace of Europe that the integrity of the Danish monarchy should be maintained; but this speech was delivered four days after Austria and Prussia had told the Diet of Frankfort that they should take the occupation of Schleswig into their own hands as parties to the treaty of 1852; and had summoned Denmark to annul the constitution by which Schleswig was incorporated with the kingdom, and to surrender the duchy which General de Meza, the Danish commander, said he had orders to defend.

The very day before the opening of the British parliament the Prussians had bombarded and begun to burn Missunde; three days afterward the Danes had retreated from the Dannewerke, leaving behind all the heavy artillery which defended the forts; in less than a week the Austro-Prussian army had occupied North Schleswig. Then the Danes quitted the place, declaring both duchies in a state of blockade, and before the end of the month (February, 1864) Denmark had first opposed the proposal of Earl Russell to leave the settlement of the question of succession to a conference of the powers concerned in the former treaty. It was not unnatural that Denmark should hope for material aid from England, or from England and France together; but the English government declined to enter into a conflict alone, with the probability of finding that their action had produced a war which would alter the relative disposition of all the powers of Europe. France, Russia, and Sweden showed no alacrity in joining to force the hand of Prussia and defeat the demands of the German Confederation. Denmark was obstinately deaf to the advice that by yielding to certain claims which had been interpreted into engagements to Germany, her own undoubted claims might be more effectually supported. Earl Russell argued that England was not bound to act alone while there were other parties to the treaty, and therefore the honour of England was not involved because the Danes had formed expectations of our assistance while refusing to accept advice. At all events the Emperor of the French did not seem disposed to propose any joint action with this country. He had been piqued at the refusals to join in a general congress of nations, and he had himself received no overtures from us when he was supposed to be willing to intervene on behalf of Poland. On the other hand, Russia was shy of both France and England. The Polish insurrection had been put down in fire, in carnage, and in banishment; and the element of religious persecution had been imported into it till the cruelties against the Roman Catholics of

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Poland had actually aroused the remonstrances of the pope, whose voice had not been heard in denouncing the cruelties of tyranny while it had the name of being merely secular. Russia, too, probably recognized its obligations to Prussia in this matter, and though willing to add grave remonstrances to the representations of other powers against the breach of treaty obligations and the duty of abstaining from demands which would imperil the peace of Europe, was not at all likely to repay aid against Poland by hostilities to preserve Denmark.

It may have seemed good for Denmark that the conference in London was at length agreed to, but it is scarcely to be wondered at that Prussia and Austria, flushed with success and perceiving little probability of provoking hostilities by refusal, obstinately declined to accept the boundary line which was suggested as the reasonable division of the duchies from Denmark, and demanded the cession, not only of Schleswig and Holstein, but of Lauenburg, which had been an acknowledged part of the Danish monarchy. In fact no agreement was come to. Denmark had in effect accepted the concessions proposed, but Prussia and Austria, unwilling now to recede, and supported in their demands by the persistent and convenient agitation of Baron Beust, the envoy of the diet (who had no claim to be at the congress, since the diet had no hand in the treaty of 1852), refused to abandon their position. The conference broke up on the 22d of June; hostilities were resumed next day, and Denmark, finding that no support could be obtained, was obliged to end a brave resistance against vastly superior forces by retiring from the island of Alsen and abandoning further resistance. Overtures for peace were made and preliminaries signed. On the first of August a treaty was concluded; and the two powers, triumphant with military successes, enforced the cession of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, and the payment of a large proportion of the expenses of the war.

There can be no doubt that during the period from 1864 to 1868 the opposition members of the chamber in France were utterly opposed to war, and that the whole country regarded the Mexican expedition as a disaster from which France had scarcely escaped with honour. In the course of a debate on supplemental credits, on the opening of the chamber in 1864, M. Berryer and M. Emile Ollivier spoke of the necessity of disarming; M. Berryer denouncing the idea of France, oppressed with financial difficulties, embarking needlessly in any European war.

M. Ollivier, a distinguished leader of the opposition, said: "There are two modes of always endangering influence with other nations. The one is to be too weak, the other is to be too strong. The nation that is too weak is despised, and its opinion has no weight. The nation that is too strong is feared, and then those who would naturally be disunited, by a feeling of prudence approach each other and unite against those they fear. The danger of France in Europe at this moment comes from her being too strong. The consequence is that every time she treats, every time she acts, whatever proposal she makes, people suppose that she has personal objects in view, and they do not believe in her disinterestedness. Try to convince them of the disinterestedness of France, and all difficulties will vanish; our influence will no more encounter opposition, and, while you increase our prestige in the world, you will have found the only real remedy for our embarrassed finances. But I warn you, you will be condemned to a last sacrifice, for neither economy, nor grace, nor disarming will suffice if you do not grant liberty to France."

These words were vaguely suggestive of the conditions that were soon to be experienced. The war between Prussia and Austria, which afterwards arose out of the dispute with Denmark and the seizure of Schleswig by Prussia, remained uninfluenced by French representations. In that tremendous conflict it was seen that Prussia, intent on internal development, and silently organizing resources and consolidating her national strength, had attained to a position previously unsuspected, with a great and perfectly appointed army and material of war, that gave her at once the rank of a first-rate power in Europe.

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There were indications in France by that time that the national expenditure was excessive, while the condition of the public finances was most unsatisfactory. Added to this there were symptoms of disaffection, which, while they did not reach to public disturbances, kept society in a state of subdued excitement, and made the demand for an extension of political freedom deep, if not loud.

In England, parliament intervened to call ministers to account for their conduct in the Danish question. During the whole of the session there had been frequent interpellations and fragmentary debates upon this Dano-German struggle; but in the beginning of July a simultaneous attack was made in both houses upon the policy of the government. In the House of Lords, a resolution against the government, moved by Lord Malmesbury, was carried by a majority of nine; and in the House of Commons Mr. Disraeli proposed a similar resolution:—"To thank her majesty for having directed the correspondence on Denmark and Germany, and the protocol of the conference recently held in London, to be laid before parliament; to assure her majesty that we have heard with deep concern that the sittings of the conference have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important purpose for which it was convened; and to express to her majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her majesty's government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the capitals of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace." As an amendment to the last sentence of the resolution Mr. Kinglake proposed to substitute the words:—"To express the satisfaction with which we have learned that at this conjuncture her majesty has been advised to abstain from armed interference in the war now going on between Denmark and the German powers." "It is not for us," said Mr. Disraeli, "it is not for any man in this house, to indicate to the ministers what should be the foreign policy of the country. The most we can do is to tell the noble lord what is not our policy. We will not threaten and then refuse to act, we will not lead on our allies with expectations we do not intend to fulfil. And, sir, if it ever be the lot of myself, and of those with whom I act, to carry on important negotiations of this country, as the noble lord and his colleagues have done, I trust we shall not, at least, carry them on in such a manner as that it will be our duty to come to parliament and announce that we have no ally, and then to declare that England can never act alone. Sir, these are words that ought never to have escaped the lips of any British minister. They are sentiments which ought never to have entered his heart. I repudiate them and reject them. I remember that there was a time when England had not a tithe of our resources, when, inspired by a patriotic cause, she triumphantly encountered a world in arms. And, sir, I believe, now, if the occasion were fitting, and our independence and our honour were attacked and assailed, if our empire were endangered, I believe that England would arise in the magnificence of her might and struggle triumphantly for those objects for which men live and nations flourish. But, sir, I for one will never consent to go to war to extricate British ministers from the consequences of their own indiscretion, and it is in this spirit that I have drawn up this address to the crown. I have drawn it up in the spirit in which the royal speech was delivered at the commencement of this session. I am ready to vindicate the honour of this country when it is necessary, but I have drawn it up in the interests of peace."

Mr. Gladstone at once replied: "This is the very first occasion that the British House of Commons has been called upon, for the sake of displacing a government, to record the degradation of its country. Why cannot the right honourable gentleman speak plainly in his motion? Why does he not adopt the language of our forefathers, who, when they were dissatisfied with the government, addressed the crown, and prayed that the government might be dismissed? They said boldly that the conduct of the government was open to such and such charges, and they

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prayed that other men might be put in their places. But the right honourable gentleman was afraid to raise that issue. He has, indeed, plucked up courage to propose this motion; but why has he not done it in the proper constitutional form in which votes of want of confidence have hitherto been drawn? Never before, as far as I know, has party spirit led gentlemen in this country to frame a motion which places on record that which must be regarded as dishonourable to the nation. I go back to the time of Sir R. Walpole, of Lord North and Mr. Fox, but nowhere do we find such a sterile and jejune affair as this resolution. Those charges were written in legible and plain terms; but the right honourable gentleman substitutes language which might, indeed, be sufficient for the purpose of rendering it impossible for the government to continue in office, but which cannot transfix them without its sting first passing through the honour of England. For the reasons I have stated, I look forward with cheerfulness to the issue which has been raised with regard to our conduct. Nay, more, I feel the most confident anticipation that both the house and the country will approve of the course taken in this difficult negotiation by her majesty's government, and that they will reject a motion which both prudence and patriotism must alike emphatically condemn." In the course of a subsequent debate great amusement was caused by Mr. Bernal Osborne's peculiar sallies against the government. The cabinet he described as a museum of curiosities. "There are some birds of rare and noble plumage, both alive and stuffed. But, sir, unfortunately there is a difficulty in keeping up the breed, and it was found necessary to cross it with the famous Peelites. I will do them the justice to say that they have a very great and able minister amongst them in the chancellor of the exchequer, and it is to his measures alone that they owe the little popularity and the little support they get from this Liberal party. But it cannot be said by their enemies or friends that they have been prolific in measures since they have been in office. Then there is my right hon. friend who is not connected with the Whigs by family (Mr. Gibson). He is like some fly in amber, and the wonder is how the devil he got there. The honourable member for Rochdale (Mr. Cobden) and the honourable member for Birmingham must have been disappointed, I think, in this 'young man from the country.' When he married into the family we expected some liberal measures from him; but the right honourable gentleman has become insolent and almost quarrelsome under the guidance of the noble lord. Well, what are we to expect? We know by the traditions of the great Whig party that they will cling to the vessel, if not like shipwrecked sailors, at least like those testaceous marine fish which adhere to the bottom, thereby clogging the engines and impeding the progress. Should this parliament decide on terminating its own and their existence, they will find consolation that the funeral oration will be pronounced by the honourable member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), and that some friendly hand will inscribe on the mausoleum 'Rest and be thankful.'"

The ministry arranged to accept a division on Mr. Kinglake's amendment. After a discussion lasting over three nights, the numbers were found to be:—For Mr. Disraeli's motion, 295: for the amendment, 313. The debate aroused much public interest, because the strength of parties was pretty nearly equal, and on the result of the vote depended the continuance or retirement of Lord Palmerston's administration. Each afternoon, as Lord Palmerston went down to the house, he was cheered by the crowd assembled in Palace Yard. He spoke on the last night. As the successful winding-up of a great party debate, involving the fall of a ministry, his speech on this occasion was his last triumph, and showed that though he spoke at the end of a night of long and weary sitting his old vigour and cunning of fence had not deserted him. He had, in truth, a difficult task. There had been a conspicuous failure; of that there could be no doubt. Allies, colleagues, and circumstances had proved adverse; yet the excuses for failure could not be laid on any of them. So, with the exception of a dexterous allusion to the words of the resolution as "a gratuitous libel upon the

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country by a great party who hoped to rule it," he did not detain the house for long on the points immediately at issue, but, dropping the Danish matter altogether, went straight into a history of the financial triumphs of his government. What has this to do with the question? asked impatiently the Tories. But it had all to do with the party question, for it decided the votes of doubting men who, caring little about Schleswig-Holstein, cared a great deal about English finance. Anyhow, it commanded success, for the government got a majority of eighteen, and this renewed their lease of power.

To the King of the Belgians Lord Palmerston shortly afterwards wrote (August 28, 1864):—

"I have many apologies to make to your majesty for not having sooner thanked you for your letter of the 15th June. We were at that time in the midst of an engrossing session of parliament, and the unequal contest between Denmark and Germany was still undecided, though with little hope that right could prevail over might. The Danish government, both under the late and under the present king, undoubtedly committed many mistakes, both of commission and omission, and they showed throughout these affairs, from beginning to end, that inaptitude to deal with great concerns which might, perhaps, have been expected from a nation shut up in a remote corner of Europe, and not mixed up or practised with the general politics of the world. It was, however, an unworthy abuse of power by Austria and Prussia to take advantage of their superior enlightenment and strength to crush an antagonist utterly incapable of successful resistance; and the events of this Danish war do not form a page in German history which any honourable or generous German hereafter will look back upon without a blush. I wish that France and Russia had consented to join with us in giving a different direction to those affairs; and I am convinced that words from three such powers would have been sufficient without a recourse to blows. One consequence is clear and certain, namely, that if our good friend and neighbour at Paris were to take it into his head to deprive Prussia of her Rhenish provinces, not a finger in England would be stirred, nor a voice raised, nor a man nor a shilling voted to resist such retribution upon the Prussian monarch; and when France and Italy shall be prepared to deliver Venetia from the Austrian yoke, the joy with which the success of such an undertaking will be hailed throughout England will be doubled by the recollection of Holstein, Lauenburg, Sleswig, and Jutland."

That autumn Lord Palmerston became eighty years old. He was endowed, as one of his biographers tells us,[1] with an excellent constitution, and had been very temperate both in eating and drinking; but he maintained his freshness, both of mind and body, to a great degree by the exercise of his will. He never gave anything up on the score of age. At anyrate, he never owned to that as a reason. He used to go out partridge-shooting long after his eyesight was too dim to take a correct aim, and he persevered in his other outdoor pursuits. Twice during this year, starting at nine o'clock and not getting back till two, he rode over from Broadlands to the training stables at Littleton, to see his horses take a gallop on Winchester race-course. He rode down in June to Harrow speeches, and timed himself to trot the distance from Piccadilly to the head-master's door, nearly twelve miles, within the hour, and accomplished it. On his eightieth birth-day, in October, he started at half-past eight from Broadlands, taking his horses by train to Fareham, was met by engineer officers, and rode along the Portsdown and Hilsea lines of forts, getting off his horse and inspecting some of them, crossing over to Anglesey forts and Gosport, and not reaching home till six in the evening—an instance of such combined energy both of mind and body as cannot in the nature of things be very common at fourscore.

The government was not likely to be condémned by the nation for having refused to embroil itself in a foreign war. English

[1] The Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

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sympathy with the Danes was genuine, and took the form of contributions to a fund for the wounded, and of meetings at which much indignation was expressed against the bullies of Europe who joined in oppressing a small nation unable to maintain its rights in the unequal conflict.

Though the war in America had seriously affected more than one branch of industry, and there was still great distress in various parts of the country, the comparative repose from any great military or naval operations had left a good national balance-sheet to be presented to parliament.

The sessions of 1863 and 1864 had not, it is true, been marked by striking examples of legislation, but there were some attempts and also some achievements which indicated a distinct line of social and political progress. A troublesome conflict had for some time been carried on against the rebellious and hostile Maori chiefs in New Zealand, but this was finally concluded in 1864, and the course of legislation was only interrupted by rumours and anticipations of probable entanglements with the Polish or the Danish or some other question.

It is well at this stage of our inquiries to note that among the proposals brought before parliament, but failing to achieve any immediate legislative result, were some that had a very definite relation to the rapid advances which were shortly to follow, and to the position which Mr. Gladstone was soon to occupy at the head of the Liberal party. The measure brought forward by Lord Westbury, the lord-chancellor, to consolidate the statute law of the kingdom was one important alike to all parties and entailed a vast amount of labour, so that it had to be divided and made the subject of separate proposals for succeeding sessions in which the laws of successive historical periods were to be dealt with. The laws as they stood were contained in forty-four thick folio volumes of acts of parliament, all of which required to be carefully and critically examined, digested, and summarized. Probably not six men in England would have been as competent to undertake the work as Lord Westbury, who was scarcely less famous for his keen judgment and wide attainments than for the power of incisive sarcasm and stinging invective often delivered in tones so smooth that they for a moment covered the barb which afterwards rankled all the more for the momentary concealment. Another proposition, to commence a similar consolidation of the common law by examining and briefing the enormous mass of judicial decisions contained in the records from the time of Edward II., extending to something like twelve hundred volumes, opened an almost appalling prospect, and, of course, could only be dealt with by considering arrangements for employing a large number of specially qualified persons to compare, revise, and finally reduce the tedious and often contradictory reports to a series of consistent accounts. The plan had been considered, and doubtless, unless the lawyers in parliament had succeeded in their opposition to such an attempt at simplification, the lord-chancellor would have urged it in later sessions until he carried the scheme into effect; but before that time arrived he had given occasion to his political and official enemies (of whom he had many, and perhaps a few personal ones also), and had retired from the high office which he had so ably sustained and yet in which he had done nothing that became him better than his leaving of it. But this subject we shall presently glance at in another aspect. Among other topics of agitation in relation to changes in the law, that of the abolition of capital punishment had for some time been made prominent by its advocates, and though the government was not prepared to bring in a measure that would put an end to sentences of death, the necessity for some inquiry into the subject was obvious enough. A commission was appointed in 1864 composed of men who had devoted attention to the question, and though they did not all hold the same opinions on other points, they mostly agreed that some change was required in providing for greater distinctions between the crime of manslaughter and that of murder in order to prevent juries from acquitting per-

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sons accused of the capital offence rather than that they should be sentenced to death when there were circumstances which, pleaded in extenuation, made such a punishment too severe. Some alterations designed to meet the demands of justice were introduced, and in reference to that part of the inquiry dealing with the method of inflicting capital punishment, it was decided that executions of criminals should take place within the walls of the prison, and in the presence of a small number of witnesses, so that the horrible and demoralizing scenes which were presented at public executions might be avoided. This latter recommendation was adopted and became law in 1868.

The claims of education were not altogether neglected amidst other demands during the session of 1864. There had been a commission of inquiry into the condition of public schools, and in 1864 the report was presented. Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Shrewsbury, Harrow, and Rugby schools had been under examination, and the conclusion come to by the commissioners was, that while the course of study pursued in these institutions was sound and valuable in its main element, it was wanting in breadth and flexibility—defects which in many cases destroyed, and in all cases impaired its value as an education of the mind. These schools, though in a different degree, were too indulgent to idleness, or at least struggled ineffectually against it, and consequently they sent out a large proportion of men of idle habits and empty uncultivated minds. The commission, however, highly praised the discipline and moral training afforded in these establishments. The report called direct attention to the alleged defects in education, and this led to many improvements being made both in those which, like Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's, were under the direction of a corporate body, and to the institutions which were capable of being directly controlled by the government through the action of the revised code of education, which, however, was long in passing through parliament, in consequence of the alterations made in the original measure which was in 1862 introduced into the House of Lords by Earl Granville and into the Commons by Mr. Lowe. The original code gave aid by way of government grants to voluntary efforts to educate the children of the labouring part of the population. The grants were capitation grants, grants to certificated teachers and to pupil-teachers. Many schools were supported by the united aid of charitable subscriptions, the school-pence paid by the children, and the government grants; but it was found that the schools which received the largest amount in grants were by no means the most efficient, and it was proposed to make the government aid by capitation grants only, some of them to depend on examinations, and others on the reports of inspectors. There were of course considerable difficulties in the way of those who had the administration of the code, and, as Mr. Lowe was vice-president of the council of education, it fell to him to place the various religious bodies of the country under equal advantages as regarded the distribution of grants. In 1864 this difficulty was increased by the hostility of the opposition in parliament, and by the continued jealousies of those outside who were advocates of the voluntary system, or the support of schools without any government grant whatever, as the only way of avoiding the support of the authority of the state to teach religion in schools. Mr. Lowe was not likely to be charged with want of vigour in administering his office, nor could he justly be charged with want of efficiency. Some of those who were associated with him thought him rather too vigorous, nor was he remarkable for that amiability of temper which could brook contradiction. His speeches were often exhaustive, displayed thorough knowledge of the subject under discussion, and were not unfrequently rather cantankerous. He was the very man to carry out, with effect, the provisions of such a measure as the revised code under its new aspect, and those members of the Conservative party who were opposed to those provisions disliked him accordingly. Among them was Lord Robert Cecil, whose abusive style of criticism too often found its readiest expression in accusations, preferred in the most acrid terms with which constitu-

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tional ill-humour and some reading supplied him. Lord Robert Cecil was, so to speak, an anachronism. With the temper (which, it had more than once been declared, he inherited from his ancestor, the famous treasurer of Queen Elizabeth), and a manner of exhibiting it which, if he had lived in the times to which it was more appropriate, would have rendered him liable to a "countercheck quarrelsome" not in vogue in the present age, he had entered political life with qualifications that the extreme Conservatives regarded with interest and with some expectations. It was soon discovered, however, that he was of too intractable a disposition to submit to the discipline which is essential to one who aspires to lead. Afterwards, when he had by a certain prestige and by his personal abilities attained distinction, it was painfully obvious that his reckless declarations and angry but deliberately offensive expressions were more likely to be mischievous to his avowed comrades than to those whom he intended to injure. It may have been that his peculiarly uncontrollable temper was the more alarming to his friends, because it was a smouldering and not a fiery one. "Lord Robert's acrid temper is not explosive," wrote an observer on the occasion we are now referring to; "there are no eruptions; it is, if we may so say, a sort of chronic low fever."

It would only be charitable to say that this fever was at a height when Lord Robert Cecil rose to bring against Mr. Lowe a charge so serious that it could only have been justified by investigations which could not fail to establish some foundation for it. It was: "That in the opinion of this house the mutilation (mutilation was the acrid word) of the reports of her majesty's inspectors of schools, and the exclusion from them of statements and opinions adverse to the educational views entertained by the committee of council, while matters favourable to them are admitted, are violations of the understanding under which the appointment of inspectors was originally sanctioned by parliament, and tend entirely to destroy the value of their reports." This charge, which was made in a tone and manner that gave sinister emphasis to words in themselves insulting, was not the result of knowledge or of reasonable inquiry. There were comparatively few members in the house, for many on the ministerial side had gone out thinking there would be a couple of hours' debate before a division; but the opposition pushed for an early decision, and the motion was carried by 101 to 93—a result which, as Mr. Disraeli afterwards said, showed that Mr. Lowe had not been supported by his government as he should have been. It was with natural indignation that, a few days afterwards, he announced that he regarded the vote as a direct charge against him of want of veracity, and that he had resigned his office. He had by that time learned that the so-called "mutilated" reports shown to members were some reports, attached to which were certain marks made by a clerk entirely without his (Mr. Lowe's) knowledge. Lord Robert Cecil thereupon observed, that "if this explanation had been given on the night when the vote was taken the result would have been different." It is not pleasant to dwell upon the tone of mind and temper which could lead a man to say this without any expression of regret that an accusation so injurious, and preferred apparently with such inveterate animosity, should have rested only at most on a surmise which a few words would have refuted. At anyrate Mr. Lowe abandoned his office, which was worth £2000 a year, and a committee of inquiry, the appointment of which he demanded, so entirely exonerated him that the resolution voted by the house was rescinded. It was not quite unnatural that the man who had been thus left unsupported by his colleagues should retire with some bitter feelings, nor that he should afterwards, on some important occasions, be found independently opposing the government which had neglected him.

It may be seen that the events, and the disposition of forces, so to speak, which took place during the period now under our view, distinctly indicated that some striking changes and rapid advances must be soon expected. It is for this reason that more space than might seem properly to belong to them has been devoted to a narrative of occurrences which at this

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GEORGE DOUGLAS GLASSELL-CAMPBELL

EIGHTH DUKE OF ARGYLE

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time were immediately suggestive, if not of those "leaps and bounds" by which in some respects progress was afterward achieved, at least of extensions in what many cautious politicians regarded as doubtful and dangerous directions.

As we have already hinted, there were probably no more significant manifestations of the "new departure," as it would now be called, than the attitude of Mr. Gladstone in relation to three measures which had been proposed, but had not been adopted by parliament.

One of these was the introduction by Sir Morton Peto of what was known as "The Dissenters' Burial Bill," which was intended to enable Nonconformists to observe their own ceremonies and religious services at the funerals of members of their own communion in the "consecrated" graveyards of the Church of England. Mr. Disraeli was against it. Lord Robert Cecil was in the front to oppose it, and so was Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who was afterwards to be the chosen representative of Oxford when Mr. Gladstone had gone beyond the political ring-fence of the venerable university. Did Mr. Gladstone, when he rose to support that bill, foresee the probability of his being deserted by the constituency to represent whom had been his high ambition and his just pride? There can be little doubt that he did. He could not, however, oppose the second reading of the proposed measure. Some parts of it were open to objection, "but," said he, "I do not see that there is sufficient reason, or indeed any reason at all, why, after having granted, and most properly granted, to the entire community the power of professing and practising what form of religion they please during life, you should say to themselves or their relatives when dead, 'We will at the last lay our hands upon you, and not permit you to enjoy the privilege of being buried in the churchyard, where, perhaps, the ashes of your ancestors repose, or at anyrate in the place of which you are parishioners, unless you appear there as members of the Church of England, and as members of that church have her service read over your remains.' That appears to me an inconsistency and an anomaly in the present state of the law, and is in the nature of a grievance."

If a season of prosperity and comparative tranquillity is favourable to the promotion of those measures which are mostly associated with social and political progress, the years 1864 and 1865 were remarkable as offering peculiar opportunities for the introduction of reforms, which, however, were not realized for some time afterwards when the conditions were less assuring. It would seem that political advances, at anyrate, are not to be decided without the impetus which is derived from public agitation, and popular agitation is scarcely to be incited except by the goad that is furnished by suffering or by indignation. In 1864 and the following year attempts to introduce measures of reform in the representation of the country in parliament were not successful. It was known that there must soon be a dissolution of parliament, and neither inside nor outside the house was it thought probable that the Palmerston government would be defeated before that event. The Palmerston ministry would in all likelihood carry on the work till 1865 was provided for, and then—well, perhaps some people said "then the deluge," of course without foreseeing that in some sort the following year, 1866, was to be marked by turmoil, loss, outrage, and such general disturbance of the commercial and social fabric, as may stand for deluge when the language of metaphor is employed. But in the opening of the sessions of 1864 and 1865 the most interesting subjects for consideration were still the financial schemes and statements of the chancellor of the exchequer. Palmerston himself had referred to them at the critical moment when he sought to shelter the ministry from hostile attacks on its foreign policy, and the country looked forward to them with genuine interest as expositions of its commercial stability and indications of future prosperity. And there was reason for taking this view of the statements made by a financier who, even under adverse circumstances, had on former occasions brought assurance to the public mind, and had now to point to increasing benefits derived

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from a policy of which he had been one of the strongest supporters. The budget of 1864 showed that "the effect of twenty years of free-trade legislation, inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, and carried on by his successors in office, had been such that, concurrently with the repeal of a long catalogue of duties and imposts which had previously fettered manufacturers, and excluded most valuable foreign products, the finances of the country presented an aspect of abundance and stability almost without precedent in our history, and to which no foreign country could offer a comparison. In point of wealth and national credit, indeed, England stood almost alone at this time amongst the nations of the world."

In the two previous years we had been suffering from a deficient harvest, and much distress prevailed both in Ireland and in Lancashire. There had been considerable improvement, but not enough to make the outlook entirely favourable. Still the figures which had to be submitted were encouraging. The revenue of the year was £70,003,561, showing a surplus of nearly £3,000,000; but from this was to be taken the expenditure on fortifications, viz. £800,000. Deducting this from the surplus, it still stood at a large figure. The real diminution of taxes in the three last years had been £6,638,000. The revenue had decreased by only £1,760,000, so that, taking reduction of taxation into consideration, it had actually increased, in round numbers, by £5,000,000. The revenue had grown since the year 1859 at the rate of £1,200,000, and since 1853 still over the rate of a million per annum. With regard to the liquidation of debt, a million of exchequer bonds had been paid off, and other liquidations of the capital of the debt had been effected, which amounted to upwards of three millions. For terminable annuities in liquidation of debt £1,400,000 had been paid. The decrease in the national debt since 1855 had been £69,000,000. Imports and exports had so enormously increased that they were about three times the amount which they had reached in 1842, when the great financial reform of Sir Robert Peel had commenced. The total exports had been £195,000,000—the exports and imports together represented a gross sum of £444,905,000, and it was shown that the increase in various years corresponded with the adoption of measures for the promotion of free-trade. Our total imports from France had more than doubled since 1859, while our exports thither had risen from about £9,000,000 to about £22,000,000. It was well to hear that this was the financial condition of the country during the time that one of our great industries was feeling the pinch of the American war, and the estimates were all reassuring; the total calculated revenue was £69,460,000, and the total expenditure £66,890,000—yielding a surplus of £2,570,000. A sum of £10,000, however, would be required for various minor changes and modifications; and the surplus left to dispose of would be £2,560,000. With this Mr. Gladstone proposed to take off a penny a pound from the income-tax, the existence of which as a permanent duty he believed was inconsistent with the achievement of a judicious public economy. With the remaining surplus the duty on fire insurance would be reduced from three shillings to one and sixpence so far as stock in trade was concerned. It was afterwards agreed to remit so much of the duty on malt as had hitherto been levied upon malt used as food for cattle.

In the same year Mr. Gladstone succeeded in introducing a measure which was well worthy of his financial ability, and has since been of immense benefit to that thrifty and prudent class among the population, which quickly learns how to profit by any real facilities afforded them for making some provision for the future. The scheme for enabling persons to purchase small annuities through the post-office savings-banks, and also to take out policies of life assurance with the government, aroused remarkable opposition, especially among the friendly societies and those who supported their claims. As a matter of fact it offered to the poor the advantage of a safe investment, though the rates for life insurance were not such as to compete with those of many of the insurance companies. The bill passed amidst the approval of a large number

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of those for whom its benefits were intended, and the continued success of the scheme was afterwards shown by the steadily increasing applications for life-policies and the purchase of small deferred annuities by people who, but for the assurance of government security, might never have made an effort to obtain these advantages.

The commercial prosperity of the country continued to be so satisfactory that the chancellor of the exchequer was able to make a still more satisfactory statement when introducing the budget in 1865, the last year of that parliament, and therefore a time of general excitement in view of the coming elections. When that parliament first met (as Mr. Gladstone said in his introductory remarks upon the financial condition of the country) we had been engaged in a costly and difficult war with China—the harvest of the succeeding year was the worst that had been known for half a century—the recent experience of war had led to costly, extensive, and somewhat uncertain reconstructions; and the condition of the Continent and the manner in which the Italian war had terminated had occasioned vague but serious alarms in the public mind, which was now tranquil and reassured. The financial history of the parliament had been a remarkable one. It had raised a larger revenue than at any period, whether of peace or war, was ever raised by taxation. After taking into account the changes in the value of money within an equal time, the expenditure of the parliament had been upon a scale that had never before been reached in time of peace. The amount and variety of the changes introduced into our financial legislation had been greater than within a like number of years at any former time. The assembly also enjoyed the distinction that, although no parliament ever completed the full term of its legal existence, yet this was the seventh time on which that house had been called upon to make provision for the financial exigencies of the country.

The expenditure for the financial year was estimated at £66,139,000, which was considerably less than that of the previous year; while the estimated revenue was £70,170,000, thus leaving a surplus of £4,031,000. This provided not only for some minor changes, but for the two important reductions of the tea duty and the income-tax. The former was reduced to sixpence in the pound, which would reduce the price to the consumer by 20 per cent, a loss to the revenue of about £2,375,000, so much of which would be recouped by the probable increase of consumption that the falling off of revenue from that source would be computed at £1,808,000.

The income-tax was already at the lowest point it had ever reached, but it was proposed to reduce it from sixpence to fourpence in the pound. This would reduce the tax to £5,200,000, and its final adjustment, Mr. Gladstone observed, might be dealt with by the new parliament, but if it was thought desirable to retain the income-tax, fourpence in the pound was the rate at which it might well be kept in time of peace. The reductions on tea and income-tax represented £3,518,000, which left a margin for the reduction of the duty on fire insurance to one and sixpence, while the shilling duty on policies would be replaced by a penny stamp, and a penny stamp for the receipt. The total reduction of taxation would be £5,420,000.

These statements were regarded with general satisfaction throughout the country, especially as the expenditure on the army and navy had been sensibly diminished; nor was any serious opposition offered by the house, so that the bill passed with very little delay. It was a fitting conclusion to a series of brilliant financial measures by a minister who was soon to occupy a more prominent position in regard to the views with which "advanced Liberals" had become identified.

The County Franchise Bill proposed by Mr. Locke King in April, 1864, was thrown out on the second reading, having been opposed by Lord Palmerston, who resisted what he called organic changes, for which he declared there did not exist the same anxiety that had been observable some time before. Organic changes, he said, were introduced more as a means than as an end, the end being great improvements in the whole of our commercial legislation. All such changes as were desirable had been effected as the result of our organic re-

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forms, and there was therefore much less desire for further innovations. The events which were taking place in other countries, being to a great extent the result of their constitutional systems, had made the people of this country much less anxious for change.

Lord Palmerston had undoubtedly reached the stage when "rest and be thankful," though not quite in the sense that Mr. Bernal Osborne afterwards used it, is the motto most likely to be adopted; but his opinions on the subject of further measures of reform were not shared by some of his colleagues—certainly not by Mr. Gladstone. About a month afterwards this was made conspicuously evident during the debate on Mr. Baines's bill for lowering the franchise in boroughs. This, like the proposal of Mr. Locke King, had frequently been before the house, and though it had not been accepted, there was a general feeling that it indicated reform in a direction to which attention must soon be turned. That Mr. Gladstone should already be looking that way was not surprising, but few members of the house had expected that he would give so decided a support to the proposed measure, or that he would so unmistakably express his dissent from the propositions laid down by Lord Palmerston. He was of opinion that there should be a considerable addition to the numbers of the working-classes who were in possession of the franchise.

"We are told," he said, "that the working-classes don't agitate; but is it desirable that we should wait until they do agitate? In my opinion agitation by the working-classes upon any political subject whatever is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any parliamentary movement, but, on the contrary, is to be deprecated, and, if possible, prevented by wise and provident measures. An agitation by the working-classes is not like an agitation by the classes above them having leisure. The agitation of the classes having leisure is easily conducted. Every hour of their time has not a money value; their wives and children are not dependent on the application of those hours of labour. When a working man finds himself in such a condition that he must abandon that daily labour on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread, it is only because then, in railway language, the danger signal is turned on, and because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust of the rulers who have driven him to that necessity. The present state of things, I rejoice to say, does not indicate that distrust; but if we admit that, we must not allege the absence of agitation on the part of the working-classes as a reason why the parliament of England and the public mind of England should be indisposed to entertain the discussion of this question." Mr. Gladstone denied that there was any essential reason for drawing a marked distinction between the middle class and a select portion of the working-classes, so far as related to the exercise of the franchise. He advocated the extension of the franchise on the ground that it would tend to advance that unity of classes which was now in progress throughout the country.

This speech caused a flutter among half-hearted Liberals, and it was felt that such a decided expression of opinion denoted approaching changes, in spite of Lord Palmerston's declarations. The effect on the country was considerable, while among the electors at Oxford a large number began to regard such utterances with a degree of distrust, which was deepened when in the following year their representative, instead of denouncing any interference with the Established Episcopal Church in Ireland, seemed to admit that the time would arrive when some interposition of the government would be necessary.

The country at large did not, perhaps, attach much immediate importance to the remarks made by the chancellor of the exchequer in the debate which arose at the end of March, 1865, on Mr. Dillwyn's motion; but the electors of the university regarded these utterances with grave suspicion.

Mr. Dillwyn had proposed "that the present position of the Irish Church establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of her majesty's government." The motion was opposed by Sir George Grey, who declared that the government was not prepared to bring forward a measure calculated to produce the

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result that Mr. Dillwyn desired, namely, the entire abolition of the Irish establishment. Mr. Gathorne Hardy also spoke strongly against the proposition. When Mr. Gladstone rose he at once entered frankly into the question, and admitted that the position of the church in Ireland was unsatisfactory.

"There is not the slightest doubt," he said, "that if the Church of England is a national church, and that if the conditions upon which the ecclesiastical endowments are held were altered at the Reformation, that alteration was made mainly with the view that these endowments should be intrusted to a body ministering to the wants of a great majority of the people. I am bound to add my belief that those who directed the government of this country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth acted in the firm conviction that that which had happened in England would happen in Ireland; and they would probably be not a little surprised if they could look down the vista of time, and see that in the year 1865 the result of all their labours had been that, after 300 years, the church which they had endowed and established ministered to the religious wants of only one-eighth or one-ninth part of the community." Thus, although the government were unable to agree to the resolution, they were not prepared to deny the abstract truth of the former part of it. They could not assert that the present position of the establishment was satisfactory. The Irish Church, as she then stood, was in a false position. It was much more difficult, however, to decide upon the practical aspect of the question, and no one had ventured to propose the remedy required for the existing state of things. This question raised a whole nest of political problems; for while the vast majority of the Irish people were opposed to the maintenance of large and liberal endowments for a fragment of the population, they repudiated any desire to appropriate these endowments, and firmly rejected all idea of receiving a state provision for themselves. How could the government, in view of these facts, substitute a satisfactory for an admittedly unsatisfactory state of things? They were unable to do so. Consequently "we feel that we ought to decline to follow the honourable gentleman into the lobby, and declare that it is the duty of the government to give their early attention to the subject; because if we gave a vote to that effect we should be committing one of the gravest offences of which a government could be guilty—namely, giving a deliberate and solemn promise to the country, which promise it would be out of our power to fulfil."

Mr. Whiteside, who had been the Conservative attorney-general for Ireland, violently opposed Mr. Gladstone's opinions, and the debate was adjourned not to be renewed in that parliament. Mr. Gladstone, some time afterwards, in writing to Dr. Hannah, warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, reviewed the position as he regarded it, and explained his own action or want of action in relation to it:—

"Because the question is remote, and apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day, I think it would be for me worse than superfluous to determine upon any scheme or basis of a scheme, with respect to it. Secondly, because it is difficult; even if I anticipated any likelihood of being called upon to deal with it, I should think it right to take no decision beforehand on the mode of dealing with the difficulties. . . . I think I have stated strongly my sense of the responsibility attaching to the opening of such a question, except in a state of things which gave promise of satisfactorily closing it. For this reason it is that I have been so silent about the matter, and may probably be so again; but I could not, as a minister and as member for Oxford University, allow it to be debated an indefinite number of times and remain silent. One thing, however, I may add, because I think it a clear landmark. In any measure dealing with the Irish Church, I think (though I scarcely expect ever to be called on to share in such a measure) the act of Union must be recognized, and must have important consequences, especially with reference to the position of the hierarchy."

He evidently had little idea that he would so soon be called upon to deal with the disestablishment of the Irish Church as a "burning" question, nor did many other people

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think so at that time. But some of his constituents at Oxford took alarm; others, who had for some time been watching him with suspicion, announced their intention of abandoning him at the general election. A large number who were firm and faithful, and who admired his determined freedom of opinion, supported him with marked enthusiasm. They were not numerous enough to carry his election, however. He was opposed by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, a pronounced Conservative, who, as we have seen, was a strong advocate for maintaining the Established Church in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone's former colleague, Sir William Heathcote, was unopposed, and it was arranged that the supporters of both the other candidates should give him their second vote. By an act passed in the previous parliament, elections for the universities might be conducted by voting-papers sent to the vice-chancellors, and the poll was kept open for five days; but many distinguished men went up personally to accord their vote for the chancellor of the exchequer. There was a general feeling that to discard him would be a disgrace if not a calamity to the university, and as a matter of fact it was not by the lack of real university votes that he lost the election. His defeat was due to the opposition of the non-residents. Of the 250 residents 155 voted or paired in his favour; those who voted against him were the men who had left the university, and had no sympathy with its advances or its changed mode of thought since they had ceased to be connected with it.

With a majority in the important colleges, Mr. Gladstone received 1724 votes, Mr. Hardy, 1904; and Sir W. Heathcote, 3236—a large number of electors plumping for Mr. Gladstone, and the total number of votes being larger than had been registered at any previous election. Among the distinguished men who voted for the chancellor of the exchequer were the Bishops of Durham, Oxford, and Chester, Earl Cowper, the Dean of Westminster, the Dean of Christchurch, Professors Farrar, Rolleston, and Max Müller, the Dean of Lichfield, Sir J. T. Coleridge, Sir Henry Thompson, the Rev. Dr. Jelf, the Bodleian Librarian, Sir F. T. Palgrave, the Right Hon. S. Lushington, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Rev. John Keble, the Principal of Brasenose, the Dean of Peterborough, Professor Conington, the Rev. J. B. Mozley, Mr. E. A. Freeman, Chief Justice Erle, Dr. Pusey, Professor Jowett, Mr. Cardwell, the Marquis of Kildare, and the Rector of Lincoln.

"After an arduous connection of eighteen years I bid you respectfully farewell," wrote Mr. Gladstone to the members of convocation. "My earnest purpose to serve you, my many faults and shortcomings, the incidents of the political relations between the university and myself, established in 1847, so often questioned in vain, and now at length finally dissolved, I leave to the judgment of the future. It is one imperative duty, and one alone, which induces me to trouble you with these few parting words—the duty of expressing my profound and lasting gratitude for indulgence as generous and support as warm and enthusiastic in itself, and as honourable from the character and distinctions of those who have given it, as has, in my belief, ever been accorded by any constituency to any representative."

Whatever may have been the regrets of those thoughtful churchmen who regarded Mr. Gladstone as the representative of opinions which must prevail if the church itself were to be at once free and truly authoritative, the Liberals outside Oxford and all over the country felt no little satisfaction when they heard that the chancellor of the exchequer was cut loose from the trammels of a representation which necessarily often restrained him from fully expressing his convictions on points of Liberal policy. There was nothing unworthy in this reticence, for his association with Oxford had been a sentimental as well as a practical one; and the deep regard he entertained for the university, as well as the honour which he felt it to be to represent it in parliament, made him careful to avoid giving needless offence to those who were already watching him with something like suspicion.

The regrets of many eminent men of various shades of opinion may be well exemplified by the few words of remonstrance addressed by

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Dr. Pusey to the editor of a periodical professing to represent the views of churchmen, and delighting in Mr. Gladstone's defeat and the return of his opponent. "You are naturally rejoicing," said the letter, "over the rejection of Mr. Gladstone, which I mourn. Some of those who concurred in that election, or who stood aloof, will, I fear, mourn hereafter with a double sorrow because they were the cause of that rejection. I, of course, speak only for myself, with whatever degree of anticipation may be the privilege of years. Yet, on the very ground that I may very probably not live to see the issue of the momentous future now hanging over the church, let me, through you, express to those friends through whom I have been separated, who love the church in itself, and not the accident of establishment, my conviction that we should do ill to identify the interests of the church with any political party; that we have questions before us, compared with which that of the establishment (important as it is in respect to the possession of our parish churches) is as nothing. The grounds alleged against Mr. Gladstone bore at the utmost upon the establishment. The establishment might perish, and the church but come forth the purer. If the church were corrupted, the establishment would become a curse in proportion to its influence. As that conflict will thicken, Oxford, I think, will learn to regret her rude severance from one so loyal to the church, to the faith, and to God."

These were weighty words; and it was not alone men who held views similar to those of the regius professor of Hebrew who saw in Mr. Gladstone a faithful representative of the church, as we have seen by the names already mentioned of those who were among his determined supporters.

Mr. Gladstone's own feeling was one of relief. He had a sense of freedom. The time had come when he felt impelled to speak out—the time had come, and with it the opportunity. In South Lancashire his name had been proposed to the Liberal electors directly it was seen that the election in Oxford might go against him; and to South Lancashire he hastened after having closed his political association with Oxford. He issued his address from Manchester on the 18th of July. It was short and effective.

"You are conversant—few so much so—with the legislation of the last thirty-five years. You have seen—you have felt its results. You cannot fail to have observed the verdict which the country generally has, within the last eight days, pronounced upon the relative claims and positions of the two great political parties with respect to that legislation in the past and to the prospective administration of public affairs. I humbly, but confidently—without the least disparagement to many excellent persons from whom I have the misfortune frequently to differ—ask you to give your powerful voice in confirmation of that verdict, and to pronounce with significance as to the direction in which you desire the wheels of the state to move. Before these words can be read I hope to be among you in the hives of your teeming enterprise."

Mr. Gladstone made his appearance in Manchester in the afternoon of the same day, and addressed a crowded meeting in the Free-trade Hall. "At last, my friends," he said, "I am come among you—and I am come, to use an expression which has become very famous, and is not likely to be forgotten, I am come among you 'unmuzzled.' After an anxious struggle of eighteen years, during which the unbounded devotion and indulgence of my friends maintained me in the arduous position of representative of the University of Oxford, I have been driven from my seat. I have no complaint to make of the party which has refused to me the resumption of that place. I cannot say that I am glad of it; but they are the majority, and they have used their power. As they have used it, I appeal to you, the men of my native county, to know whether that which has disqualified me from representing the University of Oxford has also disabled me from representing you. But, gentlemen, do not let me come among you under false colours or with false pretences. I have loved the University of Oxford with a deep and passionate love, and as long as I breathe that attachment will continue; if my affection is of the smallest advantage to that great, that

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ancient, that noble institution, that advantage, such as it is, and it is most insignificant, Oxford will possess as long as I live. But don't mistake the issue which has been raised. The university has at length, after eighteen years of self-denial, been drawn by what I might, perhaps, call an overweening exercise of power, into the vortex of mere politics. Well, you will readily understand why, as long as I had a hope that the zeal and kindness of my friends might keep me in my place, it was impossible for me to abandon them. Could they have returned me by a majority of one, painful as it is to a man of my time of life, and feeling the weight of public cares, to be incessantly struggling for his seat, nothing could have induced me to quit that university to which I had so long ago devoted my best care and attachment. But by no act of mine I am free to come among you. And having been thus set free, I need hardly tell you that it is with joy, with thankfulness, and enthusiasm that I now, at this eleventh hour, a candidate without an address, make my appeal to the heart and the mind of South Lancashire, and ask you to pronounce upon that appeal. As I have said, I am aware of no cause for the votes which have given a majority against me in the University of Oxford, except the fact that the strongest conviction that the human mind can receive, that an overpowering sense of the public interests, that the practical teachings of experience, to which from my youth Oxford herself taught me to lay open my mind—all these had shown me the folly and, I will say, the madness of refusing to join in the generous sympathies of my countrymen by adopting what I must call an obstructive policy."

The sense of freedom spoke in these words—and they were responded to with exuberant enthusiasm by those who heard them. A mighty shout that rang through the vast hall, densely crowded with thousands of listeners, greeted the phrase that he had come there unmuzzled, and showed that he was understood and appreciated. At that moment he must have felt that he was now taking a step that would place him in the front of the party to which he had hitherto seemed sometimes to give only an incomplete support.

In Manchester, Liverpool, and all the large towns he was returned at the head of the poll; in the total polling he came third, two Conservative candidates, Messrs. Egerton and Turner, preceding him, the fourth candidate, who would have been returned but for Mr. Gladstone's election, was Mr. Leigh, also a Conservative, the fifth and sixth on the poll, who were also defeated, were Mr. Thompson and Mr. Heywood, both Liberals.

The result of the elections throughout the country was a considerable gain to the Liberal party. The city of London returned Messrs. Goschen, Crawford, Lawrence, and Rothschild, all Liberals; in Westminster John Stuart Mill was at the head of the poll, and he had not failed to pronounce pretty clearly what were his views on electoral reform. He said:—

"With regard to reform bills, I should vote at once both for Mr. Baines's bill and for Mr. Locke King's, and for measures going far beyond either of them. I would open the suffrage to all grown persons, both men and women, who can read, write, and perform a sum in the rule of three, and who have not, within some small number of years, received parish relief. At the same time, utterly abominating all class ascendency, I would not vote for giving the suffrage in such a manner that any class, even though it be the most numerous, could swamp all other classes taken together. In the first place, I think that all considerable minorities in the country or in a locality should be represented in proportion to their numbers. I should be prepared to support a measure which would give to the labouring classes a clear half of the national representation."

Altogether it became evident that a new Reform Bill was at least among the probabilities of the next parliament. Of the 657 members returned during the elections 367 were recorded as Liberals and 290 as Conservatives.

It was an exciting contest, and the speeches of candidates, especially those of well-known statesmen and orators, were eagerly read. But the sound of one earnest and well-known voice was still. Early in the spring of the year Richard Cobden had gone to his rest.

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In the winter of the previous year the state of his health, never very strong, was such as to cause some apprehension. In November he had been on his annual visit to Rochdale, to address his constituents, and was in a weak and depressed condition. The meeting was a large one, and he spoke at unusual length and with much earnestness, dwelling especially on the condition of the peasantry of England in relation to the land, and advocating what may be called free-trade in land. On several other subjects he touched with his usual emphasis and effect, so that the exertion was considerable. Instead of being able at once to retire and to enjoy complete repose, he was obliged to attend an evening reception of the principal Liberals and to undergo some hours of talking and hand-shaking. He suffered much, on his journey home, from what was called nervous asthma, and the debility which accompanied the disorder, added to the exhaustion caused by his exertions. Being afraid to rest in London lest he should be detained there by an increase of illness, he continued his journey, reaching home almost helpless. An attack of bronchitis followed, and he was obliged to be treated as an invalid during the inclement winter. By the end of January he had rallied, and he never lost his keen interest in or hold upon public affairs, though he regarded with doubt the prospect of obtaining a wide measure of reform in the face of the opposition of "the privileged classes." On the 10th of February (1865) he received a letter from Mr. Gladstone, written on behalf of the government and at the desire of Lord Palmerston, offering him the chairmanship of the Board of Audit, about to be vacated by Mr. Romilly, an office which was to be reconstituted and united to the comptrollership of the exchequer. The salary was to be £2000 a year, and although the duties of the office, Mr. Gladstone said, would require very high qualities for their proper discharge, they would not be very laborious. The tender of such an office was not to be taken as an adequate acknowledgment of his distinguished and long-continued public services, but it was the highest civil office which the government had it in their power to give.

Cobden felt that he could no more readily accept this office than he could the former one which was offered him. He did not reply to the letter till the 13th, though probably he had decided immediately what course he would take. The offer was kind, the terms in which it was made were most gratifying, as in his reply to Mr. Gladstone he acknowledged, but the state of his health, he said, precluded him from taking any office which involved the performance of stated duties at all seasons of the year, or left a sense of responsibility for the fulfilment of those duties by others. These he considered were good and sufficient reasons for his exemption from the cares of salaried official life; but these were not all, he could not conceal the real reason, and the latter half of his reply to Mr. Gladstone is remarkably illustrative of the single nature of the man:—

"Were my case different, still, while sensible of the kind intentions which prompted the offer, it would assuredly not be consulting my welfare to place me in the post in question, with my known views respecting the nature of our finance. Believing, as I do, that while the income of the government is derived in a greater proportion than in any other country from the taxation of the humblest classes, its expenditure is to the last degree wasteful and indefensible, it would be almost a penal appointment to consign me for the remainder of my life to the task of passively auditing our finance accounts. I fear my health would sicken and my days be shortened by the nauseous ordeal. It will be better that I retain my seat in parliament as long as I am able in any tolerable degree to perform its duties, where I have at least the opportunity of protesting, however unavailingly, against the government expenditure."

By the early part of March Cobden was able to walk out a little on bright, genial days, and Mr. Bright went down to Midhurst to see him. He seemed to feel that his work here was nearly done. Once when they were out together he looked towards the church and said quietly, "My boy is buried there, and it will not be long before I am there with him." It was not long. In the following month they lay side by side

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The subject of fortifications in Canada was to be brought before the house, and Mr. Bright was anxious that Cobden should, if possible, be present during the discussion. It seemed scarcely probable that the state of his health would allow him to make the journey to London; but on the 21st of March his desire to be present when the Canadian fortification scheme had to be opposed, induced him to undertake it, though the weather was bleak and cold. He was accompanied by Mrs. Cobden and his eldest daughter, and they had taken lodgings in Suffolk Street, that he might be near to the Athenæum Club, and not far from the House of Commons. He had only just arrived, and was writing letters to some of his friends, when he was prostrated by an attack of asthma. An east wind continued to blow, and he lay watching the smoke as it was carried from the chimneys of the houses opposite. In a few days he appeared to be so much better that he was allowed to see one or two of his friends; but the recovery was only apparent, and a relapse occurred, which on the 1st of April became worse, and another attack of bronchitis made his recovery almost impossible. Even Mr. Bright was not allowed to see him on that evening; but early the following morning (Sunday, the 2d of April) he was admitted. Alas! all hope of Cobden's recovery was then over. Mr. Bright remained beside him, and another old and sincere friend, Mr. George Moffatt, was also there. The end was very near. As the bells of St. Martin's Church were ringing for the morning service, that simple, earnest, faithful brother and comrade was no longer with them. The funeral was at Lavington Churchyard, where, on the slope of the hill among the pine woods, the body of Richard Cobden, and that of the son whose early death he had so long mourned, are buried. His biographer[1] relates that one afternoon in the summer of 1856, Cobden and a friend took it into their heads, as there was nothing of importance going on in the house, to stroll into Westminster Abbey. His friend had never been inside before, as he confessed that he had never been inside St. Paul's Cathedral, though he had passed it every day of his life for fifteen years. They strolled about among the monuments for a couple of hours, and the natural remark fell from his companion that perhaps one day the name of Cobden too would figure among the heroes. "I hope not," said Cobden, "I hope not. My spirit could not rest in peace among these men of war. No, no, cathedrals are not meant to contain the remains of such men as Bright and me."

At the time of his death Cobden was within two months of the completion of his sixty-first year.

On the day after the sad event, when the House of Commons met, the prime minister spoke kindly, but without much tact, of the loss which the country and every man in it had sustained. The best sentence in the speech was that which said: "That same disinterested spirit which regulated all his private and public conduct led him to decline those honours which might most properly have recognized and acknowledged his public services." Mr. Disraeli, speaking for the opposition, struck a deeper note. "There is this consolation," he said, "remaining to us when we remember our unequalled and irreparable losses, that these great men are not altogether lost to us, that their words will be often quoted in this house, that their examples will often be referred to and appealed to, and that even their expressions may form a part of our discussions. There are, indeed, I may say, some members of parliament who, though they may not be present, are still members of this house, are independent of dissolutions, of the caprices of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think that Mr. Cobden was one of these men; and I believe that when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that he was without doubt the greatest politician that the upper middle class of this country has as yet produced, and that he was not only an ornament to the House of Commons, but an honour to England."

The house was hushed and silent, but there was such an evident expectation that Mr. Bright should say something that, deeply

[1] Mr. John Morley.

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affected as he evidently was, he rose and endeavoured to say how every expression of sympathy that he had heard had been most grateful to his heart. "But the time," he went on in broken accents, "which has elapsed since in my presence the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever quitted or tenanted a human form took its flight is so short that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of speaking before some portion of my countrymen, the lesson which I think may be learned from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say that after twenty years of most intimate and almost brotherly friendship, I little knew how much I loved him until I had lost him."

About a twelfth of the members of the House of Commons attended the funeral at Lavington. Mr. Gladstone was there, and a large number of the old free-traders of the Anti-Corn-law League. The French government and the French press offered their respectful tributes to the memory of the man who had done so much to promote international good-will.

The year was only just nearing its close when the death of the prime minister caused a change in the immediate political aspect. People had said that he would never sit in another parliament, but the remark pointed rather to his probable retirement. Others, though they saw the signs of age and coming infirmity, declared that he would never give in while he could get down to the house.

In July, 1865, parliament being dissolved, there was a contest at Tiverton, and Lord Palmerston went there and was re-elected.

During the latter part of the preceding session he had suffered continuously from gout and disturbed sleep. He never abandoned his duties as leader of the house; but without doubt they were, under the circumstances, performed with much physical difficulty, and greatly aggravated his disorder. Immediately after the Tiverton election he retired to Brocket, in Hertfordshire—the place Lady Palmerston had inherited from her brother, Lord Melbourne—selecting this in preference to Broadlands as being more within reach of medical advice. The gout had affected an internal part owing to his having ridden on horseback before he was sufficiently recovered, and, although all his bodily organs were sound, and there was no reason why, with proper care, he should not have lived for several years longer, those around him could not fail to feel anxiety about his evident state of weakness, not only for the moment, but at the prospect of his again meeting parliament as prime minister. That he himself felt the same anxiety for the future was clear. "One morning about a fortnight before he died," says the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, "I witnessed an incident which was both evidence of this and also very characteristic of the man. There were some high railings immediately opposite the front door, and Lord Palmerston, coming out of the house without his hat, went straight up to them after casting a look all round to see that no one was looking. He then climbed deliberately over the top rail down to the ground on the other side, turned round, climbed back again, and then went indoors. It was clear that he had come out to test his strength and to find out for himself in a practical way how far he was gaining or losing ground. Not that he had any excessive dread of death, for, as he put it one day, in homely fashion, to his doctor, when pressing for a frank opinion as to his state, 'When a man's time is up there is no use in repining.' The most touching and characteristic feature of his bearing at this time was his solicitude to avoid adding to Lady Palmerston's anxiety, and the cheerfulness which he assumed in her presence. Indeed consideration for others was, as in life so in death, one of his finest qualities. I remember that, only a few days before his end, when, so far as the aspect of his face could betoken illness, he appeared as ill as a man could be when about and at work, Lady Palmerston, at breakfast, alluded to the cattle plague, which was then making great havoc in England. He at once remarked that all the symptoms of the disorder were described by Virgil, and repeated to me some eight

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lines out of the *Georgics* descriptive of the disease. He then told us a story of a scrape he got into at Harrow for throwing stones; and the excess of laughter, which he was unable to restrain, with which he recalled the incident, was the only token that could have betrayed to Lady Palmerston how weak he was. . . . A chill caught while out driving brought on internal inflammation, and on the 18th of October, 1865, within two days of completing his eighty-first year, he closed his earthly career, the half-opened cabinet-box on his table, and the unfinished letter on his desk, testified that he was at his post to the last."

The death of Lord Palmerston practically left no alternative but for the queen again to recognize the position and long public services of Earl Russell, by calling on him to form a ministry, which was in effect a reconstruction of the former one, with Mr. Gladstone as leader in the House of Commons. There were very serious doubts in many minds whether the chancellor of the exchequer, with his grave, serious ways, and the absence in his temperament of anything like the jaunty, bantering humour which had been so marked a characteristic of the late premier, would be able to sustain the position of leader with Earl Russell in the upper house. Gladstone was, it was said, too much in earnest. Every question was treated as though it were of grave and momentous interest. How would such a leader deal with a house which contained men of all dispositions, and a good many of whom were inclined to treat political questions with levity or with indifference, except when they could be turned to party purposes?

It so happened that the session then approaching turned out to be one, the aspect of which demanded the exercise of those qualities which the chancellor of the exchequer possessed; and though Earl Russell's government was defeated before the close of the year, the measures and even the views of the ministry, or at all events of Mr. Gladstone and those of his colleagues who were in front of the demands of the public, so impressed the nation that the succeeding ministry found themselves not only able, but impelled, to abandon their traditional policy, and to adopt measures which disturbed, if it did not alarm Lord Derby, who described the action he was obliged to endorse as "a leap in the dark," and intimated that he yielded for the purpose of supporting the Conservative party and continuing in office. Mr. Disraeli, on the other hand, spoke of having "educated" his party to the point where they seemed to have so far given up their previous convictions as to frame a measure of parliamentary reform in which what they had just before called "radical" measures were included, and even household suffrage was approached without much hesitation.

But we must now close this long chapter, and after a brief review of some of the lights and shadows of the time preceding the session of 1866,—lights and shadows which had presaged important changes and striking examples of progress,—will pass on to a period which may well be called one of "leaps and bounds."

Public regret for the loss of Lord Palmerston was sincere and general. Parliament was not sitting and therefore the official and ministerial tributes to his memory were not uttered till the following year, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved for an address to the queen, praying that an order might be given to erect a monument in Westminster Abbey to the memory of the late premier. Both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli spoke with effect in their remarks upon the loss which the country had sustained. Mr. Gladstone had already publicly referred to other recent losses which the country had sustained.

On the 1st of November, 1865, he had been in Glasgow, where he was presented with the freedom of the city, and it was in his reply on that occasion that he said:—"It has been my lot to follow to the grave several of those distinguished men who have been called away from the scene of their honourable labours—not, indeed, before they had acquired the esteem and confidence of the country, but still at a period when the minds and expectations of their fellow-countrymen were fondly fixed upon the thought of what they might yet achieve for the public good. Two of your

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own countrymen—Lord Elgin and Lord Dalhousie—Lord Canning, Lord Herbert, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and the Duke of Newcastle, by some singular dispensation of Providence, have been swept away in the full maturity of their faculties and in the early stages of middle life—a body of men strong enough of themselves in all the gifts of wisdom and of knowledge, of experience and of eloquence, to have equipped a cabinet for the service of the country. And therefore, my lord, when I look back upon the years that have passed, though they have been joyful years in many respects, because they have been years in which the parliament of this country has earned fresh and numerous titles to the augmented confidence of its citizens, they are also mournful in that I seem to see the long procession of the figures of the dead, and I feel that those who are left behind are, in one sense, solitary upon the stage of public life." Two days after having visited Glasgow, Mr. Gladstone was at Edinburgh, where he delivered to the students his valedictory address as rector of the university, the subject selected for illustration being, "The Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order of the World," an oration which is to be read in his printed works, and may be said to be one of the most remarkable and attractive addresses he ever delivered, interesting alike for its subject and because of the lucidity of its statements and the admirable construction of its balanced sentences.

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CHAPTER XI.

"LEAPS AND BOUNDS."

Shadows of Past Events—Accidents—Disaster—Crime—The Jamaica Riots—Losses—Thackeray—John Leech—Aytoun—Brougham—Speke—Discoveries—Improvements—Progressive Legislation—The Church—Colenso—Jowett—Disraeli on the Side of the Angels—"Essays and Reviews"—Lord Westbury—The New Reform Bill—Lowe, Horsman, Bright, and Gladstone—"The Cave of Adullam"—Defeat of Earl Russell's Ministry—Mr. Beales—Reform Demonstrations—Reform Bill of 1867—Irish Assassins—The Fenians—Trades Union Murders and Outrages—Disraeli Premier—Ritualism—The Irish Church—Election of 1868—Gladstone Premier—Irish Church Bill—Education Act of 1870—Alabama Claims—Treaty of Washington—Judicature Bill—General Election, 1873—Conservative Reaction—Church Dissensions—Gladstone on Ritualism and the Church—Resignation of the Leadership of the Liberal Party—1875.

Any historical narrative of social and political progress, if it is to be both interesting and intelligible, must frequently go to and fro: must carry on the story of one or other important event or episode to a point beyond that to which the main current of the record would have brought it, if the journey had been broken by a subordination of continuity to mere dates. No one can make a profitable journey on the stream of history if the raft that carries him is only chronological. In other words:—history is not an almanac.

We may, therefore, go back, or at least take a backward glance at some occurrences which have not been chronicled in these pages, but reference to which may be useful, or even necessary, for the due appreciation of the social and political conditions of the country at the commencement of what may be called a new period, if not a new era, in national experience.

It would be beyond the limits of these pages to refer, however briefly, to ordinary accidents and calamities which had moved the public interest during the years with which we have just been concerned; but one or two exceptional occurrences demand a word of notice, for they were associated with important interests and with deep public feeling. One of these was the bursting of the Bradfield reservoir, eight miles above the town of Sheffield, and the fearful inundation which followed. This terrible calamity occurred on the 11th of March, 1864, and the memory of those who witnessed it, or heard the particulars, at once went back to a date twelve years before, when, on the 5th of February, 1852, the Bilberry reservoir above the village of Holmfirth, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, burst upon a narrow pass in which the town stood. On that occasion the whole enormous volume of water from a reservoir 150 yards long and 90 feet high, rushed down the narrow gorges leading to the valley in the direction of the plain—crashing into ruin mills, dye-houses, barns, stables, and cottages, and sweeping before it trees which it tore up by the roots, as well as the carts, waggons, and wreckage, which, being stopped on their course by the bridges over a stream in the valley, formed obstacles behind which the mass of water accumulated till it burst onward with irresistible force sweeping through the village, destroying whole streets of cottages, shops, and factories, and overwhelming many of the inhabitants. Nearly a hundred lives were lost, and in some instances it was found that whole families were drowned. The damage to property was estimated at £600,000, and nearly 5000 adults and above 2000 children were left destitute. Above £45,000 was subscribed in England and the colonies for the relief of the sufferers, and it

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was found by the coroner's jury that the calamity had been occasioned by the gross negligence of those who had the care of the construction of the reservoir, and whose duty it had been to prevent it from falling into decay or becoming ineffectual in case of an unusual strain. The commissioners, who were the persons originally responsible, however, were a corporate body and therefore could neither be found guilty of nor punished for manslaughter.

In 1862 another inundation had taken place through the bursting or blowing up of a great sluice made for the drainage of the middle level between Lynn and Wisbeach. About 700,000 acres of the most productive land in the kingdom lay below the high-water level of the Wash depending for their existence as land, upon great embankments and self-acting sluice-gates. Four miles south of King's Lynn was a sluice-gate through which the waters of one of the huge drains emptied themselves at low water into the River Ouse, thus passing out to sea with the receding tide, the gates closing of their own accord to the pressure of the rising tide. These works were, unfortunately, allowed to fall into disrepair. The natural consequence followed. The German Ocean, with a high spring tide, came up the river and toppled down the defences. The waters continued pouring through that gap. Every tide necessarily increased the breach. Day by day the floods crept on, covering farm after farm and homestead after homestead; swallowing up flocks and herds, and driving back yeoman families, who retreated as paupers. The water spread over 10,000 acres; and for long afterwards it required all the engineering skill of experts to remedy some part of the damage.

The disaster at Sheffield in 1864 was even more terrible than either of those that had preceded it. The Bradfield reservoir was about seven miles from Sheffield in the hills, and would contain millions of cubic feet of water. Suspicions existed as to the strength of the embankment, and on the night of the catastrophe, about nine o'clock, a farm labourer had noticed a crack in it as he went over it, as a short cut on his way home across the valley. The engineers in charge had just left, but he overtook them and they returned, though they thought the crack of little importance. Presently other signs of danger were noticed, and an attempt was made to blow up a weir that crossed the dam, and so to allow the water to escape. It was too late. Even as the engineer and his assistant crossed the slight fissure while the men were laying the charge, the crack became a chasm, an enormous crevasse, a portion of the embankment, 110 feet long and 70 feet deep, gave way at once, and the tremendous volume of water rushed with an awful roar into the valley below.

Down the hill-side it poured with a sound like thunder, deluging the cottages and sweeping away substantial buildings, bridges, workshops, rows of houses, as though they were mere heaps of rubble. Messengers carrying the dread news enabled some of the cottiers to escape for their lives; but the water nearly overtook the messengers themselves, and they had to run before they could reach the head of the valley. Rushing on towards Sheffield the flood literally swept from off the face of the earth several entire villages, including Little Matlock and Malinbridge. Whole families were carried away with their dwellings, and not a trace remained of the thriving and industrious artisans who had sought their beds unconscious of the dreadful fate that so suddenly befell them. Between Hillsborough Bridge and Malinbridge there stood several long rows of cottage-houses, inhabited by the workmen of the mills and forges on the adjacent streams, with their families. With a few exceptions, the flood wholly demolished all those rows of dwellings. In many instances even their foundations were obliterated. At the junction of the Loxley and the Rivelin only a few scattered houses, the walls and windows burst in by the flood, stood to mark the site of the once populous village. The enormous volume of water debouching from the gorge at the foot of Loxley valley seemed to have divided itself into two streams, which swept with resistless force over the hamlets of Malinbridge and Hillsborough. The bridges that formerly crossed the stream were swept away to their foundation-stones, and the districts which the

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streams divided were separated by a rushing torrent of water.

It reached Sheffield at a quarter past twelve. From six to eight feet of water soon flooded some of the most populous thoroughfares. The rushing of the torrent was like the noise of an express train in a railway cutting. Against the piers of Lady Bridge an enormous mass of timber, rafters, flooring, broken furniture, straw, and other articles had been flung in inextricable confusion by the force of the stream which had borne them onward in its overpowering course. In the fields and by the road-side, families had been drowned in their cottages before they could escape; people had been overtaken and swept away—swept from their houses, some of them. Many bodies were found quite naked, the force of the water having stripped off such clothing as they had on. The timber dashed against the Lady Bridge and threatened to batter it down; the arches were choked with rubbish, and the water overflowed the parapet. The streets were rivers in which drowned animals, timber, trees, and the debris of machinery, furniture, and buildings floated hither and thither. At the height of the inundation the Wicker was said to be like an immense river. When it had somewhat subsided the causeways and carriage-ways resembled the furrowed sea-shore; gas-lamps lay on the pavements; one of the arches of the viaduct was nearly stopped by a large ash-tree that had been uprooted and carried thither by the stream. The Midland Railway station was flooded; shop-windows and doors had been forced in and broken; the shops and cellars were filled with the sand and mud left by the flood, and their contents were destroyed. At Hillfoot, Neepsend, Kelham, Philadelphia, Bacon Island, and the other adjacent suburbs, the ruin was complete, and the spectacle when the water had subsided, was strange and sad. A number of dead bodies were found at Rotherham, and along the valleys of the Loxley and Rivelin. The scene was appalling, and showed how awful had been the calamity to those who, overtaken in their efforts to escape, or before they could make that effort, were overwhelmed in the streets or the fields, or in their houses. Children had been drowned beside their mothers almost before either could have been awakened. In other places families had got out, and were lost amidst the darkness in the advancing and surrounding flood. In the lower part of the town of Sheffield many lives were lost. Around the Malin's Bridge farther up the valley neither a living person nor the vestige of a house was to be seen.

When the great basin had nearly emptied itself the whole structure was laid bare. It was almost a natural tank. Nature had done so much in some of its convulsions as to have left comparatively little for art to accomplish. The deep valley had been seized upon by the practical engineer, and there required but little to be done artificially beyond the construction of an embankment at the end of the valley to inclose the basin on three sides, leaving open the rear for the free ingress of the water, which poured down there in a hundred greater or less tributary streams. The capacity of the reservoir was seventy-eight acres, and it was said to have held at the time when the embankment burst 691,000,000 gallons. The intention was to have given from this reservoir a supply to the millowners of ten cubic feet per second every day Sundays excepted. The embankment was composed of 400,000 cubic yards of stone, earth, &c., and was 500 feet wide at its base, tapering to a very narrow apex. On the south side a waste weir, a foot below the water line, was supposed to provide for safety under all ordinary circumstances.

After a long inquiry it was understood that the original construction had been defective, and that the reservoir had not been properly inspected and attended to. Altogether it was believed that 270 lives had been lost by the flood. The coroner's jury found that there had not been such engineering skill and attention in the construction of the works as their magnitude and importance demanded, and that the legislature ought to provide for a frequent regular and sufficient government inspection of all works of that character.

Public subscriptions were raised for the sufferers, the queen heading the list, and a special act of parliament was passed appointing commissioners to ascertain what were the claims against the Sheffield Water Works

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Company by persons whose property had been injured or destroyed.

Of loss and danger by fire there had been so many instances that public attention in London was drawn to the improvement of the fire-brigades and the adoption of increased means for promptly extinguishing fires occurring in the metropolis, and especially for securing a better and more immediate supply of water. The question of water supply was being discussed in more ways than one, for the London companies exercised their monopolies in a manner which called forth frequent complaints, not only because of the manner in which their rates were charged without any reference to the quantity of water consumed by the inmates of the houses supplied, but because that method of rating was supplemented by extra charges, which, together with the manner of supplying poor neighbourhoods, operated to prevent the practice of cleanliness and decency.

There had been no fire in London of any very startling magnitude since that which occurred at the wharves adjoining London Bridge, in Tooley Street, on the 22d of June, 1861. And on that occasion the large steam fire-engines and the floating engines did remarkable service, though the inflammable nature of the materials stored in the vast warehouses, which chiefly contained oils, Russian tallow, tar, saltpetre, hemp, rice, and sugar, prevented the extinction of the flames, the petroleum actually floating alight on the surface of the water. The spectacle of this great range of lofty warehouses, extending for a great distance along the river, and all burning with a tremendous glare, which lighted up the whole of that part of London from what seemed to be a vast pile or furnace of red and glowing fire, was one never to be forgotten. For some time it was feared that, as the barrels of oil, tar, and saltpetre exploded and poured their contents into the river, where they floated in islands of flame, the fire would be carried to the shipping lower down the Thames, or that the sparks, flying landward, would be blown afar and set some other part of the metropolis in a blaze. Several persons lost their lives in the attempt to go out in boats to recover the floating tallow and other material, while Mr. Braidwood, the famous chief of the London fire-brigade, perished in the ruins, from which his body was afterwards recovered to be interred in Abney Park Cemetery, amidst a great concourse of people who had admired his calm courage and experience.

Of railway accidents there had been some appalling examples, one of which, that took place on the 9th of June, 1865, on the Shrewsbury and Chester line, caused a great sensation in the country, both because of the horrible circumstances attending it and because Mr. Charles Dickens was one of the passengers who escaped, and gave aid to those who were more or less seriously injured.

A fast tidal train had left Folkestone in the afternoon with 110 passengers, and proceeded in safety as far as Staplehurst, where the railway bridge crosses a narrow stream in a kind of ravine. The line on the bridge was under repair, the rails had been lifted, and a wide opening made in the earth. The train, going at full speed, rushed on to the gap, and eight out of fourteen carriages were thrown into the ravine beneath, and there dashed to fragments, the passengers sustaining horrible injuries. Ten persons were either killed by their wounds and bruises or were drowned in the stream, from which they were dragged, and twenty others were so terribly maimed that there was much difficulty in removing them. Mr. Dickens rendered such prompt and efficient service as he could give to persons so seriously hurt, and afterwards wrote some account of the accident, the effects of which upon his own highly-strung nervous organization may have been more serious than appeared at the time. There was an inquest, of course, and a verdict of manslaughter was returned against the district inspector and the foreman platelayer of the line. These verdicts are matters of course, but attention was then, as it is now, strongly called to the neglect of proper precautions by the railway authorities themselves, and to the difference constantly discovered between the severity with which en-

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deavours are made to enforce the provisions of bye-laws against passengers, and the indifference of the companies to the regulations, by strictly observing which, accidents might be prevented.

The discussion on this subject was painfully emphasized at a later date in what was known as the Abergele accident, where to the ordinary terror of a collision was added the dreadful element of fire in its most appalling form. The event, though it did not occur until the 19th of August, 1868, may be mentioned here as illustrating the topic which we are now considering. It happened to the Irish limited mail train on the journey from Chester to North Wales. The train was running at its usual high speed, when, just as it was nearing Abergele, it came into collision with some trucks which had broken off a goods train at the station and had run down, over the points, on to the line on which the mail was approaching. The result was a tremendous collision, which shattered the engine and flung several of the foremost carriages across the line, killing or injuring several of the passengers who occupied them. A few extricated themselves from the carriages and were endeavouring to assist those who were most hurt, when to the horror of everyone it was discovered that the front carriages were on fire and burning fiercely. The trucks which had struck them were loaded with petroleum, and the collision having broken up the casks or other receptacles in which it was inclosed, it had been dashed on to the engine and the front of the train, which was now enveloped in the liquid flame. Death to many must have been almost instantaneous. Not even a cry was heard from them, not even the semblance of humanity still less identity was left, nothing but a few heaps of charred remains were conveyed to Abergele Church. Thirty-three persons were killed, among them Lord and Lady Farnham and an attendant who accompanied them. The Duchess of Abercorn and her family were in the train, but occupied an end carriage and escaped unhurt. In one grave in the churchyard to which they had been carried the mere ashes of the dead were buried.

The public excitement was very great, the usual censure was given, the usual remonstrance that precautions had been neglected. An inquiry was ordered by the Board of Trade, and Colonel Rich made his report on the 16th of April, saying, "I fear that it is only too true that the rules printed and issued by railway companies to their servants, and which are generally very good, are made principally with the object of being produced when accidents happen from the breach of them, and that the companies systematically allow many of them to be broken daily, without taking the slightest notice of the disobedience." He also spoke strongly against the practice of locking railway-carriages, and also against the treating or bribing of railway officials by the public. The "accident" at Abergele was one among numerous examples of the danger that must always attend the traffic of goods trains and passenger trains on the same lines of rails, and since that time other accidents have pointed to this defect in our railway system, especially on short or suburban lines where the passenger trains are frequent and the so-called "block" system is but a name.

By this terrible accident a new danger seemed to be added to railway travelling; but a year later the public imagination was again startled by the horrible story of a murder perpetrated in a railway-carriage during a short journey from Fenchurch Street to Hackney, near London. The victim of this outrage—a gentleman well known to some of the officials of the line, was chief clerk to Messrs. Robarts, the bankers of Lombard Street, and was in the habit of travelling on the line from the city to Hackney, where he resided. On the night of the 9th of July, 1864, the 9-54 train from Fenchurch Street had arrived at Hackney station when a gentleman called the attention of the guard to the condition of a first-class compartment, the door of which he had just opened for the purpose of entering the carriage. He had placed his hand on one of the cushions and found it to be covered with blood. On further examination it was seen that the floor, the window, and the side of the carriage were also smeared and spattered with blood.

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A small leather bag, a stick, and a hat were found in the compartment.

At about the time that this discovery was made, the driver and stoker of an engine which had been working the trains of the Hackney-Wick and Stratford line, found a man lying on the space between the two lines of rail at a spot close to Hackney-Wick, the station before Hackney. The person so discovered was still living, but was covered with blood, and had evidently received severe blows on the head with some blunt instrument; his watch and chain were gone, the latter having been broken off close to the link which attached it to the button-hole of the waistcoat; but money and a silver snuff-box were found in his pockets. He only survived a few minutes after being removed to a neighbouring tavern, and had not regained consciousness before his death. The body was soon identified by friends and relatives, and it was found that a pair of gold eye-glasses which the deceased had worn were missing; but his diamond ring was still on his finger. The little leather bag had apparently been opened by some one after the assault, which probably took place between the stations of Bow and Hackney-Wick; it appeared that the body had been dragged to the door of the railway-carriage and thrown out; and that the murderer had escaped while the train was in motion. It was at first supposed that there must have been some other motive than robbery for the attack, which might, it was thought, have been made suddenly, while the deceased was dozing, and therefore only half conscious. Still the short time occupied in the journey between the stations might have accounted for the trivial nature of the robbery achieved by such horrible means, and there was no suspicion of any one who was likely to make such an attack for revenge. No clue was to be obtained, and the government, Messrs. Robarts, and the gentleman's family, offered respectively £100, making altogether £300 reward for the discovery of the murderer. Only one starting-point was afforded to the police. No hat was found near the body of the murdered man, and the hat which was found in the railway-carriage was known not to belong to him. For a week no information was obtained which seemed likely to lead to a discovery of the perpetrator of the crime. Then link by link of evidence fixed the guilt upon a German named Franz Müller. The watch-chain taken from the murdered man, had been taken to a jeweller in Cheapside named Death, who had exchanged it for another, and the person who had left it had the appearance of a foreigner. Then a cabman came forward to examine the hat found in the railway-carriage, and declared it to be one which he had bought for an acquaintance of his, a native of Cologne, who once lodged in his house, and was, or had been, courting his sister. A photograph which Müller had given to the sister was identified by Mr. Death as a likeness of the person who had exchanged the chain; and to complete this part of the evidence, Müller had given to one of the cabman's children a card-board box, such as jewellers use, with the name of Mr. Death upon it. Before this, shortly after the murder, Müller was at the cabman's house wearing a gold chain such as he had not previously possessed, and it was remembered that it resembled that said to have belonged to the murdered man. On the police going to Müller's lodgings at Old Ford, Bow, it was found that he had been there about eleven o'clock on the night of the murder, and was in a very confused or agitated state. When at the cabman's he had seemed to walk lame, and explained it by saying he had sprained his ankle. He could not be found at his lodgings, and, from a letter posted at Worthing, it was discovered that he had sailed for New York in a ship named the *Victoria*. Two detective officers, accompanied by Mr. Death and the cabman, started in pursuit, in a steamer, which, it was calculated, would reach New York four days before the arrival of the *Victoria*. This turned out to be the case, and Müller was arrested. The circumstantial evidence was complete, and was confirmed by the fact that the hat of the murdered man was in Müller's possession, and had been cut down or reduced in height and altered, so that he could wear it. Müller was tried, sentenced to death, and executed. Two results followed the crime, and the apprehension and execution of the criminal. First, the detective-

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police, who had for a long time been falling into disrepute because of several crimes, and two or three murders, the perpetrators of which had not been discovered, obtained some renewal of credit for having helped to put together the very easy and obvious items of evidence; secondly, a great outcry was heard, demanding that some improvement should be made in railway compartments, that means of communication with the guard and with other passengers should be provided to every compartment, so that an alarm might readily be given in case of assault or danger. Some improvements were tried in the way of experiments on means of communication, and in some instances it was made possible to convey an alarm to passengers in another compartment through small openings or glass partitions in the upper part of the carriage above the seats. What did *not* happen was that really effectual measures were taken either to communicate with the guard or to give an immediate alarm, or to ensure the stopping of the train under pressure of any great emergency. The carriages of most of the railways having been built on a regular plan which enables passengers to secure a certain degree of privacy, the companies were not inclined to incur the expense of a change of construction. Several serious and savage assaults, and certainly one brutal murder like that perpetrated by Müller, have occurred since, and yet little or no important change has been effected for the security of passengers against robbery and violence in the carriages of many of our lines of railway.

It will be seen that the instances here given of crimes which called for public attention are such as point to the necessity for progressive legislation. Unhappily there were also many offences committed during the period now under review which served to contradict the assumption that social progress had been very marked, or had extended very far; but making allowance for the vastly greater publicity given to all classes of offences against the law, it must be admitted that there had been a considerable diminution in crimes of brutal violence, taking into account the returns from all parts of the country. At the same time there were far too many evidences of a want of commercial morality. Several fraudulent schemes were discovered only through the loss or ruin which they had wrought, and more than one large financial concern was already trembling on the verge of insolvency, and was yet carrying on operations which those who were directing them should have known could end only in widely spread calamity. Many large undertakings had been carried on by risky speculation, and those who were responsible had become desperate gamesters, wildly fancying that fortune might yet be retrieved by some lucky throw of the die.

The conduct of Governor Eyre, the execution of George William Gordon, and the whole story of the riots in Jamaica formed an exciting episode in the history of the years 1865 and 1866. Public opinion had scarcely been so completely divided, public feeling had probably not run so high, since the outbreak of the war in America, as it did on the question of the treatment of the negroes and the summary execution of the alleged ringleaders of the disturbances in Jamaica in 1865. The origin of these riots, which were said to have been intended as the beginning of a complete insurrection, was by no means easy to discover.

The first serious disturbance took place in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, Morant Bay, and nearly all the accounts agree in representing that it was attended with horrible atrocities committed by the negroes.

There can be no doubt that the outbreak was a very serious one: the negroes, who were suffering greatly from want of remunerative employment, had been aroused by seditious speeches and printed notices calling on them to band together against the whites. Their necessities were attributed to the heavy taxation imposed on them, and to the increase of import duties, which raised the prices of food and clothing. There had been a drought in the island for two seasons, and some districts were in so impoverished a state that there was no employment for the labourers on plantations which yielded a bare maintenance for their owners. Meanwhile the horses, donkeys, and carts of the small proprietors were

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taxed, and the import duties were increased, or at all events maintained at a high rate, on nearly all necessary articles of consumption.

The negroes who had to live by cultivating their own small patches of land were many of them half starved and half clad, and the labourers were in great distress. Two or three years before it had been represented that there was not sufficient labour on the island to cultivate the plantations, and a system of immigration had been commenced. Labourers were brought from India and from China, and in this scheme £400,000 had been expended out of the taxes. Here were smouldering elements of discontent which might soon be fanned into a flame of insurrection; and though it had been declared, on the other hand, that the idleness of the emancipated negroes was the chief cause of their own poverty and of the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in general, such an explanation required a good deal of proof before it was likely to meet with general acceptance in this country. In fact the old battle of opinions about the character and claims of the negro, and the necessity for keeping him in subjection, began over again and with additional emphasis derived from the struggle which had led to the emancipation of the slaves in the Southern States of America. It can scarcely be denied that most of those who had had personal acquaintance with the negro himself, either in the plantations or in those places where he had found employment among other labourers in large towns, declared that he would never, as a rule, be a profitable member of any community unless he worked under the control of a master. That among the surviving characteristics of his race was indisposition to work except under the pressure of immediate necessity. That he would never, if left to himself, do more work than would suffice to earn his daily ration of common food and such scanty attire as might be necessary to enable him to appear among civilized beings. At best he was a clumsy, laughing, careless, grotesque, grown-up child, over whom it was sometimes necessary to exercise severe control. At worst, along with the incurable idleness, or the very fitful industry, which was a heritage of the savagery from which he sprang, there existed a latent unreasoning passion which might be roused to ferocity whenever he fancied he had some cause for revenge or reprisal. Such are the opinions held to-day by numbers of persons in the South, even in the towns where free negroes have been among the lower class of labourers and domestics ever since the close of the American war. Nor is it by any means certain that the condition of "coloured persons" in the North is not regulated by the survival of a similar impression among those who were, and are still, the unflinching advocates of equal personal and political liberty for black and white alike.

The negroes in Jamaica, and especially about Morant Bay district, had evidently an organization which enabled them to make a formidable display of force. They had for some time held meetings under leaders who were at all events capable of arousing them to rebellion. Their grievances were such as demanded redress, and the conditions which caused them had been set forth in a letter addressed to Mr. Cardwell, the colonial secretary, by Dr. Underhill, a gentleman who was associated with the Baptist mission. This letter, which was on the whole a temperate statement, plainly referred to the want of just government in Jamaica; to the unjust taxation of the coloured population; to the refusal of just tribunals; to the denial of political rights to the emancipated negroes; to the want of remunerative employment, which would in time remedy the evils complained of by increasing the strength and intelligence of the people. It was forwarded by Mr. Cardwell to Governor Eyre, who, it was afterwards asserted, published it in the local newspapers, where it appeared with an invitation to the residents of Jamaica to furnish information on which to found an answer to it.

It was this letter, and the meetings called in consequence of it, that Mr. Eyre regarded as among the chief causes of the rebellion; but it was to George William Gordon, a man of colour, a Baptist preacher, and a member of the assembly at Kingston, and to a negro named Paul Bogle, who was a leader at some of the seditious meetings, that he attributed active mischief.

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There seemed to have been preparations for a general insurrection which was to extend to Kingston and other places beside Morant Bay; but the arrest,—for some trifling offence,—of a negro who, perhaps, was one of the more active agents in the latter place, led to an attempt to rescue him, in which the court-house was attacked, and a serious riot was the consequence. It was on the 7th of October, 1865, and the official report of it stated that about 150 men, armed with sticks, went that day (Saturday) to Morant Bay with the avowed purpose of rescuing a person who was to be tried there for some trifling offence. The apprehension of one of their number for disorderly conduct in the court-house led to great fighting and confusion, and compelled the custos of the district, Baron von Ketelholdt, to issue warrants for the apprehension of twenty-eight of the more prominent of the rioters. On endeavouring to take one Paul Bogle into custody he was surrounded and protected by a large company of armed blacks, who seized the policemen and compelled them to take an oath that they would act against the government. On the 11th an encounter took place in the square of the court-house, the rioters overpowering the few volunteers present, and setting fire to the building. They then commenced a wild murderous onslaught on the white people, killing and mutilating in the most shocking manner all whom they came across, and even extending the area of their excesses to the plantations bordering on Morant Bay.

This seemed to have precipitated the proposed insurrection. Some steps were taken to quell the rioters and punish the ringleaders, and it is very likely, from what afterwards transpired, that the negroes had little hope of consideration.

"Skin for skin," wrote Paul Bogle; "the iron bars is now broken in this parish; the white people send a proclamation to the governor to make war against us, which we all must put our shoulders to the wheels and pull together. The Maroons sent the proclamation to meet them at Hayfield at once without delay that they will put us in a way how to act. Every one of you must leave your house; take your guns. Who don't have guns, take your cutlasses down at once. Come over to Stony Gut that we might march over to meet the Maroons at once without delay. Blow your shells! Roll your drums; house to house take out every man. March them down to Stony Gut. Any that you find, take them in the way; take them down with their arms. War is at us, my black skins! War is at hand from to-day till to-morrow. Every black man must turn at once, for the oppression is too great. The white people are now cleaning up their guns for us, which we must prepare to meet them too. Chear, men, chear, in heart we looking for you a part of the night or before daybreak."

In considering the course pursued by Governor Eyre it must be remembered that there was already an insurrection in Hayti, in the suppression of which an English vessel had been engaged; that Governor Eyre had only a small force at his disposal and only one vessel of any importance, the *Wolverine;* and that he was necessarily obliged to leave much power in the hands of the military officers. A number of Maroons, who had before served in a military capacity, came down from Mooretown, and were now armed and placed under their former captain, the Hon. A. G. Fyfe, with whom they acted loyally in helping to suppress the rebellion, but probably with about as much cruelty as the rebels had shown to the whites.

When the news of the rebellion reached Governor Eyre at Spanish Town he caused a body of troops to be sent by sea to Morant Bay, and issued a proclamation declaring that martial law prevailed throughout the entire county of Surrey, except in the city of Kingston. He proceeded to Morant Bay himself in the *Cornwall*, and saw the commanding officers mete out summary justice to the persons concerned most prominently in the revolt. Short trials, followed in most instances by shooting or hanging, went on for many days in succession. Five tried on board the *Wolverine* were hanged on the stone archway of the burnt court-house, where the worst of the massacres had taken place. Concerning his journey the governor wrote: "I found everywhere the most un-

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mistakable evidence that George William Gordon, a coloured member of the House of Assembly, had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion. Mr. Gordon was now in Kingston, and it became necessary to decide what action should be taken with regard to him. Having obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the post-office directed in his handwriting to the parties who had been leaders in the rebellion, I at once called upon the custos to issue a warrant and capture him. For some little time he managed to evade capture; but finding that sooner or later it was inevitable, he proceeded to the house of General O'Connor and there gave himself up. I at once had him placed on board the *Wolverine* for safe custody and conveyance to Morant Bay." Gordon was tried by court-martial there, and hanged on the morning of the 23d. "I have seen," wrote Governor Eyre," the proceeding of the court, and concur both in the justice of the sentence and the policy of carrying it out." The governor wrote that besides Gordon, the persons prominently concerned in the outbreak were black people of the Baptist persuasion connected with him, political demagogues and agitators; a few Baptist missionaries, and a portion of the press. Humanly speaking, he said he believed that the promptitude and vigour of action which had at once grappled with and punished the rebellion had been the saving of Jamaica. Although the steps taken by Governor Eyre met with the entire approval of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, it was thought by many persons in this country that he had shown unnecessary haste and severity in his treatment of the rebels. This opinion can scarcely be wondered at when we read the accounts that came here of the wholesale punishment and slaughter. For it should have been remembered that the persons punished were none the less entitled to proper trial and regular sentences properly executed because they were black. They were emancipated or free-born negroes or coloured people, the subjects of her majesty the queen, and had therefore a right to the same treatment as would have been accorded to insurgents in the United Kingdom, to rebel Fenians, or riotous "unionists" bent on murder.

Writing from Morant Bay Lieutenant Adcock reported to Brigadier-general Nelson the result of his pursuit of the insurgents:—

"I have the honour to inform you that on the morning of the 23d instant I started with thirty men for Duckinfield, and visited several estates and villages. I burned seven houses in all, but did not even see a rebel. On returning to Golden Grove in the evening sixty-seven prisoners had been sent in by the Maroons. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark. On the morning of the 24th I started for Morant Bay, having first flogged four and hung six rebels. I beg to state that I did not meet a single man upon the road up to Keith Hall; there were a few prisoners here, all of whom I flogged, and then proceeded to John's-town and Beckford. At the latter place I burned seven houses and one meeting-house; in the former four houses. We came so suddenly upon these two villages that the rebels had no time to retire with their plunder; nearly 300 rushed down into a gully, but I could not get a single shot, the bushes being so thick. We could all distinctly hear their voices in the wood all round; but after the first rush not a man was to be seen, and to follow them with any advantage was impossible." Captain Ford writes on the same subject:—"We made a raid with thirty men, flogging nine men and burning their negro-houses. We held a court-martial on the prisoners, who amounted to about fifty or sixty. Several were flogged without court-martial, from a simple examination. . . . This is a picture of martial law. The soldiers enjoy it; the inhabitants here dread it. If they run on their approach they are shot dead for running away."

The execution of Gordon was regarded with extreme disapproval by a large number of people, probably the great majority of people in England. He had denied all complicity with Bogle's insurrectionary plans; he declared that at the trial the evidence he could have

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brought was not heard, either through the want of time or the determination of the judges. He bade farewell to his wife, his mother, and his friends in a cheerful letter full of fervid declarations that he should die in the cause of religion, and expressing his hopes and sentiments in the language of St. Paul. The question was asked here, By what right had the governor ordered a man who was a British subject and entitled to the protection of the law, to be arrested, conveyed to a place where martial law had been proclaimed, tried by court-martial, and immediately executed? If speaking at public meetings, even if the language held were seditious or calculated to lead to riotous proceedings and rebellion, should be an excuse for such a course of proceeding, there were people here, and even members of the British parliament, who might be liable to the same treatment. Of course an answer—a sort of answer to this was that in a place like Jamaica, and among people such as those with whom the governor had to deal, prompt and stern repression of rebellion was necessary; and violence had to be met with violence, sedition with immediate and unrelenting punishment. But this did not meet the particular case of Gordon, even if it could be urged as some excuse for proclaiming military law. There were people who were ready to say, we had to put down rebellion that would soon have issued in massacre. We have heard before now of the gentle, the child-like Hindoo, and yet there was a Sepoy rebellion, an Indian mutiny, a well of Cawnpore, a massacre of Delhi. In the same way there might have been equal atrocities in Jamaica, and there was evidence at the very beginning to show that unless the rebellion were stamped out sternly and fiercely, without hesitation, the indolent, good-natured, faithful negro, as some of you think him, would have been wrought up to the pitch of frenzy, in which he would have committed atrocities that would have almost meant extermination, either of the blacks or the whites, in a great part of the island.

After making full allowance for these representations, however, the reports from Jamaica showed such recklessness—we might almost say such gleesome alacrity—on the part of some of the officers in carrying fire and slaughter and the hangman's rope among the wretched blacks that public feeling was revolted. The friends of emancipation and the haters of oppression and of military rule looked with horror upon these narratives, and their disgust was increased when an officer who had sat in one of the courts-martial addressed an abusive letter to Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., who had written calling attention to the proceedings. The tone of this letter was so offensive, and it contained such an undisguised threat of a challenge to fight or of a resort to physical arguments, that the government of Lord Derby (this was in 1866, after the defeat of Earl Russell's administration) suspended the officer, and recalled him from his duties in Jamaica. He afterwards apologized very fully, and in gentlemanly terms. But the impression was not diminished that men like him should never have been placed in authority to try for their lives, persons whom they regarded as "niggers," which meant individuals scarcely within the pale of ordinary humanity.

In Gordon's case, too, there was not even the excuse that an attempt might have been made to rescue him but for decisive measures. He was a prisoner on board a government ship, which carried him to the district where martial law had been hastily proclaimed. He might easily have been detained long enough to give him time to prepare a proper defence, to call witnesses, and to secure a regular trial. It was not that the opponents of Governor Eyre sympathized with the insurgents as such, or had any excuses for "miserable, mad seditions, especially of this inhuman and half-brutish type," as Carlyle described it to be; but it was felt that numbers of innocent persons had been included in an indiscriminate execution without any just form of trial or any proper understanding of the reasons for the terrible punishment inflicted on them. Mr. Carlyle was not among those who demanded inquiry or denounced the proceedings which had been taken in Jamaica. He was ready to give his name to a committee which was formed for

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Mr. Eyre's defence, and wrote a very characteristic letter to say so. Nobody who remembered Carlyle's former utterances on the negro question, or his leaning towards autocratic authority, could be much surprised. He probably thought little more of "Quashee" than many of the West Indian officers did, and he expressed his hope that "by wise effort and persistence a blind and disgraceful act of public injustice may be prevented, and an egregious folly as well: not to say, for none can say or compute, what a vital detriment throughout the British Empire is such an example set to all colonies and governors the British Empire has."

At the end of 1865 Governor Eyre had been suspended from his office, and recalled during the appointment of a commission of inquiry, and Sir Henry Storks was sent out to Jamaica. In October, 1866, Eyre was in England, with many influential men to support him. At a banquet in his honour in Southampton Kingsley spoke in praise of his energy, humanity, and wise discretion, Earls Cardigan and Hardwicke also speaking to the same effect. Meetings, however, had been held early in the year at Exeter Hall and elsewhere denouncing the proceedings of the military authorities in Jamaica, and accusing Governor Eyre of having acted with gross illegality and tyranny. A defence fund with a large committee was formed on his arrival, but a prosecution fund also with a large committee was actively at work.

The report of the Commission of Inquiry seemed to exonerate the governor, but to cast much blame on the manner in which military government had been carried out. He was praised for the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection, to the exercise of which qualities its speedy termination was in a great degree to be attributed. The military and naval operations were prompt and judicious. But martial law was continued for too long a period, during which the people were deprived of the great constitutional privileges by which the security of life and property is provided for. The punishments inflicted were found to have been excessive; the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent; the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous; the burning of 1000 houses was wantonly cruel. It appeared to many people that the governor had been prompt and decisive, but that he had at the same time been so alarmed as to give rein to barbarous, repressive measures, and to allow his subordinates almost irresponsible authority so that they succeeded in putting down the rebellion.

A new constitution was promulgated for the government of Jamaica under Sir J. P. Grant, who superseded Lieutenant Eyre, against whom prosecutions were commenced by the committees. The case was brought before the Court of Queen's Bench. Mr. Justice Blackburn, who was on the bench, had apparently changed his opinion as to the utter illegality of the trial of Gordon, or, at all events, in his charge to the jury he spoke as though, under certain circumstances, it might be held to be justifiable. The grand-jury threw out the bill against the accused, and Lord Chief-justice Cockburn afterwards stated in court that, had he known the law would have been so represented, he should have felt it his duty to have been in court and have stated his views to the jury. Mr. Justice Blackburn had almost up to the last moment appeared to hold the opinion that the removal of Gordon was unjustifiable. To Lord Cockburn's remarks he assented, and expressed his willingness to take the responsibility of the charge as he had delivered it. There then was practically an end of the matter. Some further efforts were made to renew legal proceedings to secure condemnation of the acts of ex-Governor Eyre, but he had been exonerated, and the government of Lord Derby deemed it only just that he should be reimbursed from the public funds for the great expenses he had incurred in defending himself against a charge arising out of his discharge of official duties. This resolution was carried out, and the expenses were paid. It may also be added that the loss of his governorship, and the trouble and anxiety as well as the partial odium which he had suffered, were actual punishments not only for serious errors but for offences, of which he had after all not been found guilty. There can be no doubt

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that he believed he had done his duty, and therefore he continued to regard himself, and to be regarded by many others, as a deeply-injured man.

In previous pages, while speaking of the characteristics of the contemporaries of Mr. Gladstone, we have had to record the losses the country had sustained by the death of a number of the leaders of social and political progress at about the period which we are now considering. To the names of these "men of light and leading" others should be added, though it be only in a passing reference. The sudden death of William Makepeace Thackeray on the 24th of December, 1863 (Christmas Eve), and the shadow which that event cast upon many a household where his writings were admired, was yet remembered, nor had many of those who knew him and his works ceased to believe that the vacant space then left in the world of letters would not be filled by any living writer. It can perhaps scarcely be said that Thackeray was a popular author in the generally accepted sense, for his most appreciative readers were rather among people with a certain peculiar turn of humour and a taste for satire not always ungentle, but in a sense unsparing, inasmuch as it included everybody who had a weak or a wicked side, and, being silent only before innocence and goodness, made comparatively few exceptions.

The "Diary of Jeames Yellowplush," and the Snob Papers in *Punch*, and numbers of essays, stories, and poems, beside the novels which have taken a high place in the literature of our age, came from his pen. A large number of his readers, and even some of his acquaintances, regarded Thackeray as somewhat of a cynic; and not only was their suspicion supported by the keenness with which he seemed to enjoy lashing the foibles and the small follies and conceits of the time, but there now and then appeared in his conversation and manner a kind of satire that was near to the bitterness of sarcasm. How much of this was to be attributed to his having, in the first part of his career, missed making a reputation as and failed to obtain the immediate of publishers as an author, cannot be determined. His reputation, when it did come, was ample and well-deserved. At the time of his death almost anybody, had he been asked the names of the chief writers of fiction in England, would have begun with Dickens, Thackeray, and Bulwer-Lytton.

This is no place to discuss the merits of either, or to compare the writings of one with those of another, for there are few points in either which admit of comparison. It is doubtful if there was much friendship between Bulwer and Thackeray, who had satirized and burlesqued him: but Dickens was the friend of both.

In the *Cornhill Magazine*, of which Thackeray had been the first editor, Dickens wrote (by request) an obituary notice, which was very gentle and characteristic, in which he said:—

"I saw him first nearly twenty-eight years ago, when he proposed to become the illustrator of my earliest book. I saw him last shortly before Christmas, at the Athenæum Club, when he told me that he had been in bed three days—that after these attacks he was troubled with cold shiverings, 'which quite took the power of work out of him'—and that he had it in his mind to try a new remedy which he laughingly described. He was very cheerful, and looked very bright. In the night of that day week he died.

The long interval between those two periods is marked in my remembrance of him by many occasions when he was supremely humorous, when he was irresistibly extravagant, when he was softened and serious, when he was charming with children. But by none do I recall him more tenderly than by two or three that start out of the crowd, when he unexpectedly presented himself in my room, announcing how that some passage in a certain book had made him cry yesterday, and how that he had come to dinner, 'because he couldn't help it,' and must talk such passage over. No one can ever have seen him more genial, natural, cordial, fresh, and honestly impulsive than I have seen him at those times. No one can be surer than I of the greatness and the goodness of the heart that then disclosed itself.

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We had our differences of opinion. I thought that he too much feigned a want of earnestness, and that he made a pretence of undervaluing his art, which was not good for the art that he held in trust. But when we fell upon these topics it was never very gravely, and I have a lively image of him in my mind, twisting both his hands in his hair, and stamping about, laughing, to make an end of the discussion.

When we were associated in remembrance of the late Mr. Douglas Jerrold, he delivered a public lecture in London, in the course of which he read his very best contribution to *Punch*, describing the grown-up cares of a poor family of young children. No one hearing him could have doubted his natural gentleness or his thoroughly unaffected manly sympathy with the weak and lowly. He read the paper most pathetically, and with a simplicity of tenderness that certainly moved one of his audience to tears. This was presently after his standing for Oxford, from which place he had dispatched his agent to me, with a droll note (to which he afterwards added a verbal postscript), urging me to 'come down and make a speech, and tell them who he was, for he doubted whether more than two of the electors had ever heard of him, and he thought there might be as many as six or eight who had heard of me.' He introduced the lecture just mentioned, with a reference to his late electioneering failure, which was full of good sense, good spirits, and good-humour.

The last line he wrote, and the last proof he corrected, are among these papers through which I have so sorrowfully made my way. The condition of the little pages of manuscript where Death stopped his hand, shows that he had carried them about, and often taken them out of his pocket here and there, for patient revision and interlineation. The last words he corrected in print were, 'And my heart throbbed with an exquisite bliss.' God grant that on that Christmas Eve, when he laid his head back on his pillow, and threw up his arms as he had been wont to do when very weary, some consciousness of duty done and Christian hope throughout life humbly cherished, may have caused his own heart so to throb, when he passed away to his Redeemer's rest!

He was found peacefully lying as above described, composed, undisturbed, and to all appearance asleep, on the 24th of December, 1863. He was only in his fifty-third year; so young a man, that the mother who blessed him in his first sleep blessed him in his last. Twenty years before, he had written, after being in a white squall:

> And when, its force expended,
> The harmless storm was ended,
> And, as the sunrise splendid
> Came blushing o'er the sea:
> I thought, as day was breaking,
> My little girls were waking,
> And smiling, and making
> A prayer at home for me.

Those little girls had grown to be women when the mournful day broke that saw their father lying dead. In those twenty years of companionship with him they had learned much from him; and one of them has a literary course before her worthy of her famous name.

On the bright wintry day, the last but one of the old year, he was laid in his grave at Kensal Green, there to mingle the dust to which the mortal part of him had returned, with that of a third child, lost in her infancy, years ago. The heads of a great concourse of his fellow-workers in the arts were bowed around his tomb."

In the following year (on the 29th October, 1864) another name was added to the roll of those who had departed—a name, too, as popularly known as that of the authors whose pages he had so often illustrated. John Leech, the famous artist whose humorous drawings were justly regarded as pictorial representations of the manners and customs of the time, died almost before reaching middle age. He was a school-fellow of Thackeray at the Charter-house, and each must have keenly appreciated the peculiar humour of the other. To look through the volumes of *Punch* is to see some of the best of Leech's genial satire and truthful pictures of English life. He was a man of refined taste, and though apparently robust and fond of horse exercise, suffered from a nervous disorder, increased, if not

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caused, by the noise of the street organs which were perpetually being played in or near Brunswick Square, where he resided. He removed to Kensington, and had not long taken possession of his new abode when he found himself constantly irritated by the unceasing tap tap of the hammer used by a neighbouring mechanic. His condition became so serious that he was advised to seek change and rest abroad, and was forbidden to take the exercise on horseback to which he had been accustomed. He remained on the Continent for some time; but, having returned to England, the disorder from which he had suffered increased. His irritability was perhaps only a symptom of a deeply-seated disease of which he died; but the same effect, though in a less painful degree, has been produced on other distinguished professional men who were unable to escape from the harassing noises by which the dwellers in some London neighbourhoods are perpetually disturbed.

Another loss to the higher literature of the country was occasioned by the death of William Edmondstoune Aytoun at his shooting-lodge at Blackhills, near Elgin, in August, 1865. The University of Edinburgh, where he was professor, had reason to mourn, for he was only in the prime of life. The son of an Edinburgh lawyer belonging to the old school of Whigs, Aytoun had begun his literary career in *Tait's Magazine*, which was then the organ of advanced politics; but his views changed, and in 1839 he became associated with *Blackwood's Magazine*, and was still more closely allied to the Conservative circle in the Scottish literary world by his marriage with the daughter of John Wilson (Christopher North), the editor of *Blackwood*. His numerous contributions to "*Old Ebony*," as well as his poems, ballads, and humorous sketches, kept his name constantly before the reading public, while his academical distinctions gave him a high position at the university, where he was professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres. Aytoun may be said to have been one of the last of a distinguished band of Scottish litterateurs of a period when they formed, as it were, a select and somewhat exclusive company. Some had died, others had been attracted to a wider field of action. He had remained, as it were, linking the new with the older school, though he was himself not old.

But if Aytoun and his companions could so unite, as it were, two generations of Scottish litterateurs, poets, and philosophers, to what a vast range would the recollections of Brougham extend! Brougham still lived, and survived Aytoun nearly three years. He lived to see another reform bill, but he took no part in it. That vast energy had not sunk into apathy; the widely-reaching intellect was still there; but he was eighty-nine years of age, nearly ninety, when, on the 7th of May, 1868, he was found dead in bed, after having taken a day's quiet exercise in his garden at Cannes. There he had chiefly lived for some years previously, and there he was buried. His public life may be said to have ended some five years before.

Of the discoveries made by explorers and travellers during this period, the more important were those relating to the supposed sources of the Nile.

Captains Speke and Grant had gone with an expedition to the Lake Victoria N'Yanza, which Speke had foretold would be found to be the great source of the sacred river; the most remote waters or top-head of the Nile being the southern end of the lake, situated close on the third degree of south latitude, which, he said, gave to the Nile the surprising length in direct measurement, rolling over thirty-four degrees of latitude, of above 2300 miles, or more than one-eleventh of the circumference of our globe. Speke, who came to this distinct conclusion in July, 1862, christened the "stones," Ripon Falls, after the nobleman who presided over the Royal Geographical Society when the expedition was got up. He named the arm of the water from which the Nile issued Napoleon Channel, in token of respect to the French Geographical Society, which had presented him with their gold medal for the discovery of the Victoria N'Yanza. Following the course of the White Nile Speke and Grant reached Gondokoro, where they were received by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Baker, another famous traveller, who had at later date something further to say

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on African discovery. By him they were hospitably entertained, and soon returned to England, where they were enthusiastically received by the corporation of Portsmouth, who in an address expressed the pleasure they felt in welcoming travellers "whose recent discoveries have solved the perplexing problem of all ages by ascertaining the true source of one of the most wonderful rivers on the face of the earth." By the Geographical Society they were also received with many friendly expressions. The true source of the Nile was still under discussion, however. Mr. Samuel Baker and Captain Burton, both experienced African travellers, were not inclined to accept all the conclusions supposed to have been arrived at without further investigation. To Speke undoubtedly belonged the honour of the great discovery of the lake, and on the 17th of September, 1864, the British Association, then holding its meetings at Bath, anticipated an interesting discussion between him and Burton on the subject of the sources of the river. Alas! on the 16th, only the day before, Speke met his death while out shooting at Neston Park, Wiltshire. He should have been well acquainted with the use and the method of carrying firearms, if any man was, but perhaps he was so accustomed as to have grown careless. It appeared that he was getting over a low stone wall when the gun went off, while the muzzle was pointed to his chest. That was all that could be surmised. When one of the party came to the spot Speke was only just sensible, and murmured, "Don't move me." In a few minutes he was dead.

On the 28th of June, 1865, letters were received by Earl Russell and communicated to the Geographical Society, saying that Mr. Baker (who with his wife had been living at Khartoum and Gondokoro) had discovered another lake, which was as important as the former one, and was equally regarded as the "main" source of the Nile. It was in north latitude 2° 17′, and had been named Lake Albert N'Yanza. It will be remembered that Dr. Livingstone had then gone out on another African expedition, and his subsequent discoveries kept the question of the actual source in abeyance, if they did not finally determine it.

The march of improvement was chiefly manifested during the years now under review in increased facilities for travelling and intercommunication. We have already in former pages noted the advance of electric telegraphy and the laying of the Atlantic cable. The system of electric communication was now supplementing correspondence by letter throughout the United Kingdom, and was soon taken over by the government and made a part of the organization of the post-office. The railway system, too, had to a great extent superseded the ordinary omnibus and coach traffic, not only in the provinces, but in the suburbs of London. The Metropolitan Underground Railway, opened on the 9th of January, 1863, provided for many thousands of daily travellers from one part of London to another. Railway bridges across the Thames, intended to unite the southern lines with the northern, and ultimately to make a complete chain of intercommunication, were already a part of the growing scheme; and though demolitions for the purpose of constructing railways were serious, and in some cases were permitted unnecessarily to sacrifice and destroy much that was picturesque, historical, and beautiful, some very considerable improvements were made in the streets of our large towns, and especially in London. Various movements were made for the provision of dwellings for the poorer classes, who were necessarily deprived of their homes when neighbourhoods in which they lived were destroyed for public works. The construction of the Holborn Viaduct and the progress of the embankment of the Thames from Westminster to Blackfriars were among the most striking improvements in relation to street traffic; but the formation of broad well-paved thoroughfares, new bridges and docks, the erection of large blocks of warehouses and palatial piles of offices in some of the main streets of the city, and the adoption of a more ornamental style of architecture for banks and shops in the chief avenues of commercial and fashionable life, marked an amount of progress which found expression when some of the

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principal public works were afterwards completed. Not the least significant of those which were already finished, was the new bridge across the Thames at Westminster, which was opened on the 24th of May, 1862.

The reference to improved modes of transit may remind us that communication between tidal trains and steam packets afforded greater facilities for reaching the continent of Europe, and as since January, 1861, no passports were demanded from any of the people of Great Britain, subjects of the queen, on entering France, and the same relief for British visitors to Italy had been declared by the Italian government in June, 1862, the number of English travellers abroad was considerably increased.

An enormous advance had been made in technical and art education since the first institution of government schools of design in 1842.

Among the numerous additions to our public buildings must be mentioned the range of galleries for fine art, industrial and other exhibitions erected at South Kensington, the expenses of which were partly defrayed from the funds remaining from the International Exhibition of 1862. On the 10th of June, 1863, the Albert Memorial was inaugurated by the Prince and Princess of Wales. The memorial was originally intended to commemorate the International Exhibition of 1851, but now dedicated also to the memory of the "author of that undertaking, the good prince, to whose far-seeing and comprehensive philanthropy its first conception was due, and to whose clear judgment and untiring exertions in directing its execution the world is indebted for its unprecedented success." This explanation, and the announcement that the memorial was erected by public subscription, is contained in one of the tablets, each of which bears an inscription.

Among the numerous efforts which were made for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, several were organized by the clergy of various parishes, and the charitable work of the church was to be recognized in many directions, as occupying new lines of operation. In April, 1863, during the time of the Lancashire distress, many of the clergy were indefatigable in their exertions to obtain subscriptions, while at the same time the interest of benevolent persons in many congregations was directed to the relief of the poverty of the inhabitants of some of the worst districts in London. On the day that Sir John Trelawny's bill for the abolition of church-rates was thrown out by a majority of 10 in a house of 560 members, a meeting had been summoned by the Bishop of London, consisting of clergymen, gentlemen, owners of property, and employers of labour for the purpose of consulting on the best means of providing for the spiritual needs of the poorer districts of the metropolis. After some discussion a resolution was adopted to raise £100,000 each year for the ensuing ten years to carry out the four objects of the Diocesan Society, namely, the building of churches, the endowment of parsonages, the employment of curates, and the promotion of church extension in the metropolis.

At the first annual meeting of the Bishop of London's church extension fund in January, 1865, it was reported that the receipts to the 31st of December, 1864, had been £100,456, 13*s.* 6*d.*, and a further sum of above £72,000 had been promised.

An active and decided movement was being made to support the claims of the Episcopal Church as the established religious authority, and that movement was made with judgment, inasmuch as it was in the direction of beneficent endeavours, and appealed to those who professed to belong to the communion of the Church of England without the display of intolerance or uncharitable exclusion.

There were several reasons for this demonstration, not the least being those disputes and dissensions which seemed likely to divide the church itself into separate bodies, or rather to separate still further the sections into which the body calling itself the Church of England had already been divided.

It was in reference to these difficulties within, and to other supposed difficulties without the church, that Mr. Disraeli made a remarkable speech at a meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society for the endowment of small

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benefices. It would not be easy to decide what some of those who were present made of his peculiar declarations, and though it has been represented that they were intended to denote the policy and convictions of the Conservative party, it would perhaps have been difficult for any member of that party, who had himself deeply considered the position of the establishment, and the manner in which it might have to meet the dangers by which it was supposed to be assailed, to gather from the speech any practical suggestion for preventing or repulsing them, except by excommunication, alike for the theories of Darwin and the speculations of the authors of *Essays and Reviews*.

"Instead of believing," said Mr. Disraeli, "that the age of faith has passed, when I observe what is passing around me, what is taking place in this country, and not only in this country but on the Continent, in other countries and in other hemispheres, instead of believing that the age of faith has passed I hold that the characteristic of the present age is a craving credulity. Why, my lord, man is a being born to believe; and if you do not come forward—if no church comes forward with its title-deeds of truth, sustained by the tradition of sacred ages and by the conviction of countless generations to guide him, he will found altars and idols in his own heart and in his own imagination. But observe what must be the relations of a powerful church without distinctive creeds with a being of that nature. Rest assured that the great principle of political economy will be observed. Where there is a great demand there will be a proportionate supply; and commencing, as the new school may, by rejecting the principle of inspiration, it will end by every priest being a prophet; and beginning as they do by repudiating the practice of miracles, before long we shall be living in a flitting scene of spiritual phantasmagoria. There are no tenets however extravagant, no practices however objectionable which will not in time develop under such a state of affairs; opinions the most absurd, and ceremonies the most revolting are perhaps to be followed by the incantations of Canidia and the Corybantian howl. But consider the country in which all this may take place. Look at the Europe of the present day and the Europe of a hundred years ago. It is not the same Europe; its very form is changed. Whole nations and great nations which then flourished are no longer found. There is not a political constitution in Europe existing at the present time which then existed. The leading community of the continent of Europe has changed all its landmarks, altered its boundaries, erased its local names; the whole jurisprudence of Europe has been subverted; even the tenure of land, which of all institutions most affects the character of man, has been altered—the feudal system has been abolished; not merely laws have been changed, but customs have been changed. And what happened? When the turbulence was over; when the shout of triumph and the wail of agony were alike stilled; when, as it were, the waters had disappeared, the sacred heights of Sinai and Calvary were again revealed; and, amid the wreck of thrones and tribunals of extinct nations and abolished laws, mankind bowed again before the divine truths that had been by Omnipotent power in His ineffable wisdom intrusted to the custody and the promulgation of a chosen people. . . . I hold that the highest function of science is the interpretation of nature, and the interpretation of the highest nature is the highest science. What is the highest nature? Man is the highest nature. But I must say that when I compare the interpretations of the highest nature with the most advanced, the most fashionable and modern school of modern science; when I compare that with older teachings with which we are familiar, I am not prepared to say that the lecture-room is more scientific than the church. What is the question which is now placed before society with the glib assurance which to me is most astounding? That question is this, Is man an ape or an angel? My lord, I am on the side of the angels. I repudiate with indignation and abhorrence those new-fangled theories. I believe they are foreign to the conscience of humanity; and I say more that, even in the strictest intellectual point of view, I believe the severest metaphysical analysis is opposed to such conclusions. But, on the other hand, what does the

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church teach us? What is the interpretation of this highest nature? It teaches us that man is made in the image of his Creator—a source of inspiration, of solace—a source from which can flow only every right principle of morals and every divine truth. I say, therefore, that when we are told that the teachings of the church are not consistent with the discoveries of science, and that in that sense the inferiority of the church is shown, I totally deny the proposition. I say that the scientific teaching of the church upon the most important of all subjects is, in fact, infinitely superior to anything that has been brought forward by these discoveries. In fact, it is between these two principles that society will have to decide. Upon our acceptance of that divine truth, of which the church is the guardian, all sound and coherent and sensible legislation depends: it is the only security for civilization, it is the only guarantee of real progress."

Brilliant and effective enough this was, no doubt, but without much actual substance on which the hearers might lay hold; for at this very time some of the men who had, it was thought, gone beyond what were regarded as orthodox limits were already occupying positions of distinction not only as clergy of the Church of England but as professors in the universities.

So far had the assertion of independent or even heterodox opinions reached, that some of those whose conclusions had a few years before been regarded with apprehension were now not only tolerated but accepted. Not long afterwards Maurice, who, as we have seen, was once the leader of an "advanced" school of theology, was appointed professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge, while Kingsley had become professor of history, and at Oxford the opinions of Professor Jowett were causing much perturbation. On all sides there was to be discerned an impression of the truth of the declaration that the church as well as the world would have to accept the results of a development of modern religious belief.

Allusions have already been made in these pages to the changes and developments which during thirty years had taken place within the church. The name of Dr. Pusey has been mentioned, and some references have appeared to "Tracts for the Times" and the opinions of those who formed what was known as the Tractarian party, which differed from the old orthodox or High-church party, and still more from the Evangelicals, who, holding with Chillingworth that the Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants, strenuously opposed the contention of the Tractarians. The latter urged that the New Testament itself was derived from, and its authority was subject to the endorsement of the church, since the faith and doctrines therein contained must have existed in the primitive church during the interval which elapsed between the teaching of Christ and the appearance of the written gospels or epistles. They also argued that when the canon of the New Testament Scriptures was formed, each book of which it was composed was endorsed or accepted in conformity with the existing body of doctrine in the church. The question, therefore, seemed to be between the supremacy of the doctrines of the church to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, and the supremacy of those Scriptures as determining the doctrine of the church. The relations between Evangelicalism and Tractarianism involve considerations of the conditions which affect the course of human thought and the causes which modify it; and as Mr. Gladstone has pointed out, the evangelical movement, partly founded on reverence for the reformers of the church, was itself a revival of a living influence and example which gave intensity to religious belief and teaching. "The nature of the evangelical movement was not probably well calculated to fit its agents for exercising social influence at large. It had a code with respect to amusements which was at once rigid and superficial. This code inflexibly proscribed certain of the forms in which the worldly spirit loves to work; while it left ample room for others not less charged with poison, and perhaps more insidious. In lay life generally it did not ally itself with literature, art, and general cultivation; but it harmonized very well with the money-getting pursuits. While the evangelical clergyman was almost of necessity a spiritual and de-

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voted man, the evangelical layman might be, and sometimes was the same; but there was in his case far more room for a composition between the two worlds, which left on him the work of exclusiveness, and tended to a severance from society, without securing an interior standard of corresponding elevation. But it seems probable, if not almost certain, that the interfusion of a class of men like the evangelical clergy with the clerical body at large must have powerfully rebuked the gross inconsistencies of professional character, and have operated with the force of a widely-diffused example in raising what was the prevailing, and threatened to become the traditional standard." This is Mr. Gladstone's conclusion when speaking of evangelicalism in its early days; and he mentions in evidence of the improvement among the clergy a remark made to him by Sydney Smith, whom he met at Mr. Hallam's house about the year 1835. "He spoke, not of any general changes in the prevailing tone of doctrine, but of the improvement which had then begun to be remarkable in the conduct and character of the clergy. He went back upon what they had been, and said in his vivid and pointed way of illustration, 'Whenever you meet a clergyman of my age you may be quite sure he is a bad clergyman!' He must then have been over sixty but under sixty-five. In describing the character of his era he could afford this good-humoured condemnation; for, in truth, as the pastor of a parish, he appears to have shown a manly earnestness for practical purposes, which, if it did not rise alarmingly high, yet was greatly in advance of the time."

Mr. Gladstone regards it as an unquestionable fact that it was after the appearance of "Tracts for the Times," and not before, that the juice and sap, that is to say, the positive part of the evangelical teaching, coursed through "the actual gates and alleys of the body" of the English Church. The evangelical teaching with respect to the church and the sacraments, fell below the standard of the Prayer-book, or the Articles, or both. This was a negative part of the evangelical scheme, and it could not pass into the general strain of practical instruction in the Anglican Church. But the evangelical preachers of the English Church, ascending from the theme of the doctrine of "justification," set forth the person, life, and work of the Justifier as the source and substance, not less than the model of our life. This was the perpetual office of the church, and in this they were not innovators but restorers. The founders of the "Oxford School," a few men, among whom at the outset was only one professor, and who partook of no authority or advantage belonging to an ancient university, followed, and with the aim of completing the restoring work which the Evangelicals had begun, though they did not announce, and perhaps did not know, that they had derived so much from their predecessors. Their distinctive speech was of church and priesthood, of sacraments and services. Through the sacraments and observances of the church the saving truths and doctrines were to be taught in a way capable of, and suitable for, transmission by a collective body from generation to generation. There was strong antagonism between the two parties, but yet the Tractarian party was powerfully reinforced from the ranks of the Evangelicals. Of the three great authors of the tracts Mr. Keble was the only one belonging to the school of traditional Anglican theology. Mr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman had been closely allied to evangelical doctrine and feeling in his early religious life. His brother English cardinal had belonged in the strictest sense to the ranks of the party. But between 1840 and 1860 a very large number—a pamphlet entitled *Rome's Recruits* enumerates about 3000—of recruits went over to the Church of Rome. Of these, Mr. Gladstone tells us, several hundreds were clergymen; and persons of title also were numerous. Some of the seceders were persons brought for the first time under religious influences. Some cases may have been simply due to personal idiosyncrasies, some to a strong reaction from pure unbelief; some came from Presbyterianism, a mere handful from Nonconformity, or, on the other side, from the old-fashioned Anglican precinct, represented by men like Archbishop Howley, Bishop Blomfield, and Dr. Hook. Very

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many, and especially young women, made the change through what may be called pious appetite, without extended knowledge or careful inquiry. But there was a large, and, still more, an important class not included within any of these descriptions, principally clerical, but not without a lay fraction, made up of men competent in every way by talent, attainment, position, character, to exercise a judgment, which judgment they did exercise in general to their own heavy temporal prejudice. The secession of this body of men is a conspicuous event of the first order in the Anglican religious history of a very remarkable time. The bulk of them were reputed Tractarians. The secession sharpened the outlines and heightened the pretensions of Romanism not less decidedly than it thinned the regimental forces of the Anglican system, and for a time utterly disparaged, if it did not destroy, its credit. It is matter of importance to inquire what persons are responsible and what system is responsible for this result, which from more than one point of view could hardly be regarded as other than a serious disaster.

This, then, is the sketch of the principal movements and the position of the church; and it is important to consider it in relation to subsequent events and situations and also to the part borne in them by Mr. Gladstone. Without necessarily maintaining the opinions he expresses, the foregoing account is mainly a slight condensation of his own statements in a portion of an article entitled "The Evangelical Movement: its Parentage, Progress, and Issue," which appeared in the *British Quarterly Review* for July, 1879, and has been reprinted in his collected papers. To this essay the reader would do well to refer not only for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the subject of the movements in religious thought and observance, but in order to be able to correct misrepresentations which have frequently been made with regard to Mr. Gladstone's opinions on ecclesiastical questions and religious doctrine and observance.

But before turning from these topics it must be mentioned that whether the discussion carried on by Mr. Newman and other writers of the "Tracts for the Times" gave greater latitude for questioning the absolute authority of Scripture or not, a disposition towards free criticism and free interpretation of the Scripture narratives and doctrines afterwards became apparent among some of the more eminent of the clergy and the professors at the universities. Mr. Stanley, afterwards the Dean of Westminster, was one of the earliest of the so-called heterodox; and Professor Jowett, Professor Baden Powell, and others, men of blameless character and high attainments, published books, articles, or pamphlets which caused great uneasiness among those faithful churchmen or nonconformists who dreaded the so-called German theology and philosophy, and who saw, as many good and wise men saw, that the tendency towards reliance on the dogmas of an absolute church on the one hand was again simultaneous, not only with the abandonment of the former accepted grounds of belief in Scripture truths, but with the resumption of those fallacies of scepticism and deadening forms of unbelief which perverted and debased the national and social life.

No such effects were to be apprehended from the criticisms coupled with the teaching of men like Stanley, Jowett, or others associated with them in that kind of criticism which, whatever may have been its errors or its dangers, recognized the revelation of the divine life; but there was, as there might be now, a kind of undiscriminating terror among orthodox people.

As a general term for the books and pamphlets which appeared on the critical or speculative side, the word Rationalistic came to be somewhat loosely applied. That Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, should in consequence of the artless questions of a Zulu have signified his doubt of the dry literal accuracy of the authorized translation of some portion of the Pentateuch, was not to be borne without an outburst of indignation and a demand for summary investigation; but when Dr. Colenso published his book entitled *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, there was great consternation, though

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a critical examination scarcely started any question that had not been discussed, and, one way or another, settled long before. The impression made on a great many people was that if the bishop had devoted more attention to previous discussions, now almost dismissed into the limbo of barren topics of inquiry, he might never have written the book at all. As it was, the people who did not read it, and those who did read it, and were as unconscious as the bishop seemed to be of its consisting chiefly of thrice-thrashed straw, were alarmed, not so much at the result, as at the source of the heterodox conclusions. The Lower House of Convocation found the book to contain errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, and presented this declaration to the Upper House, who declined to interfere because the work was about to be submitted to the judgment of an ecclesiastical court, but affectionately warned those who might not be able to read the convincing answers which had been published, of the dangerous character of the book. The result of a reference to the ecclesiastical court was that though Dr. Colenso was tried and condemned by his metropolitan the Bishop of Cape Town, and two of his suffragans sitting with him as assessors, their sentence of deprivation of his see was reversed by the committee of the privy-council, inasmuch as it held that the crown had no power by law to constitute a bishopric or to confer coercive jurisdiction within any colony possessing an independent legislature; and that the letters patent which purported to create the sees of Cape Town and Natal were issued after these colonies had acquired such legislation, so that neither bishop was, in the eye of the law, bishop of his see, and neither of them had any jurisdiction whatever.

Nobody called in question the character, the piety, or the honesty of Dr. Colenso, and his supporters in London soon started a fund whereto about £3300 was subscribed before he returned to his charge, a bishop without a legal see or jurisdiction, but all the same the Bishop of Natal. There was another difficulty to overcome, and to meet this the funds subscribed were required. Acting on the judgment of the privy-council the trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund had withheld payment of the bishop's salary of £362. Dr. Colenso, therefore, filed a bill against Mr. Gladstone, Vice-chancellor Wood, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others who were trustees, calling upon them to set aside £10,000 out of the fund for securing the income of the Bishop of Natal, and also to pay his salary. The defendants contended that by the judgment of the committee of privy-council Dr. Colenso had never been a bishop at all in the sense contemplated by the founders of the fund. Against this Lord Romilly, who tried the case, defined what he conceived to be the duties and functions of a bishop, and pointed out how the letters patent of the crown had failed in enabling the bishop to perform those duties, what were the objects for which the funds were contributed, and the nature of the contract entered into by the trustees with both the crown and the plaintiff. The judgment was for Dr. Colenso, and the trustees had to pay the costs.

Essays and Reviews, the name of that book which once raised such a ferment, is now seldom mentioned, or is spoken of with no very definite sense of its doing serious mischief. Some of the authors of that unassuming volume of speculative or critical essays are still famous, and will be remembered when the book itself has been almost forgotten. The volume was made up of seven essays having no special or necessary connection, nor any very obvious agreement, and each was signed with the name of the author. It may be said without much doubt that this collection of papers was not primarily intended to convey the settled opinions or convictions of the writers; but that the essays were examples of critical and speculative thought, and the reviews,—as their name implied,—the written results of an examination of certain books in the views of which the writers were intellectually interested, and with which probably they to a considerable degree accorded. In the first of the essays the human race was personified as an individual whose intellectual and religious education or development had been proceeding through the beliefs and ex-

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periences of successive ages and was proceeding still. The idea was not altogether new, and could scarcely be called impious, except from the point of view that unless it were subjected to strictly metaphorical limits it would be opposed to certain orthodox doctrines. The next paper was a review of some biblical criticisms and rationalistic conclusions of Baron Bunsen, a man who had been the admired and esteemed friend of most of our eminent statesmen and scholars, but whose heterodox opinions, though tolerated in society where his learning and his character had made him welcome, could not be regarded with complacency when they were issued with the apparent endorsement of a reverend principal or professor at either of our colleges or universities, or were upheld by professed members of the Established Church. The others papers which made up the volume included an application to the Old Testament history, of the principles adopted by Niebuhr in his inquiry into the history of Rome, objections to the Mosaic account of the creation, and contentions that the same rules of interpretation and criticism should be applied to the Bible as to any other book. The authors were the Rev. Dr. Temple, head-master of Rugby School, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter; the Rev. Dr. Williams, Vice-principal of St. David's College, Lampeter; the Rev. Baden Powell, Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford; Mr. Goodwin, a distinguished scholar and Biblical commentator; the Rev. Mark Pattison, tutor and afterwards principal of Lincoln College, Oxford; the Rev. Mr. Wilson, and the Rev. J. B. Jowett, regius professor of Greek at Oxford.

Against Professor Jowett there was much opposition in the university, from conscientious motives. Dr. Pusey, who twenty years before had been suspended by the vice-chancellor from preaching from the university pulpit what were alleged to be Romish doctrines, had afterwards with his followers been indebted to Mr. Jowett for friendly intervention between them and the authorities, who would have dismissed them. He now joined with Dr. Ogilvie, one of those who had been his own personal opponents, in the prosecution of the Greek professor.

Dr. Pusey, and his co-prosecutors of Professor Jowett in the chancellor's court at Oxford, could not carry on the case because of the protests entered by the defendant's proctor, which contained objections that the court had no jurisdiction in spiritual matters, was unfit to do justice in the case, and had no power over a regius professor.

There were of course other ways of pronouncing sentence against the essayist, and when a proposal was made to increase the endowment of the Greek chair—which remained at its original amount of £40, although that sum was admitted on all hands to be utterly inadequate—considerable opposition to the scheme was evinced. This opposition was overcome, however, so far at least as the resident members of the University were concerned, and a plan for increasing the endowment was agreed upon, with the understanding that no approval was thereby given to the opinions of the existing professor. The scheme had to be submitted to the vote of the whole body of graduates of the university, resident and non-resident, and was rejected by a considerable majority, made up principally of non-residents. The lord-chancellor then proposed to accomplish the object in view in another way, and brought a bill into the House of Lords enacting that in future a stall in one of the cathedrals should be assigned to the occupant of the Greek chair, and providing that the first stall which became vacant should be thus appropriated. The proposal, though at first received with considerable approval, was ultimately rejected by their lordships, mainly on the ground that it is the duty of the university properly to endow the chair, in consideration of certain privileges and advantages—some of which are of great value in a pecuniary point of view—granted to it by the crown.

The lower House of Convocation at their meeting, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in reply to a deputation of 800 clergymen, decided to take no action against the authors of the heretical book, but to wait for the refutation of the opinions which it contained by replies which would be sure to be published. The Bishop of Salisbury then commenced a suit.

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This case which was brought by the Bishop of Salisbury against the Rev. Rowland Williams was tried in the Arches Court, where the judge rejected all the charges but those contained in two articles. On the charge upon these two, the defendant appealed to the judicial committee of the privy-council, and the Lord-chancellor Bethell (Lord Westbury) was strongly in favour of a reversal of the sentence of suspension pronounced by the Court of Arches on account of the two articles, which his lordship moved should be rejected as the rest had been. The charges in an action against another of the essayists (Mr. Wilson) he also said should be withdrawn. The lord-chancellor was evidently on the side of freedom of opinion, and distinctly declared that Mr. Williams's expressions were not to be interpreted in the way put forth by the promoter of the action, and that Mr. Wilson's representations could not be said to be plainly contradictory to, or inconsistent with, the articles or formularies of the church to which the charge referred. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York did not concur in this judgment, and issued pastoral letters on the subject. A few days afterwards an address said to have been signed by 137,000 members of the Church of England, thanking them and supporting the decision they had taken, was presented to them at Lambeth Palace.

Essays and Reviews was afterwards condemned in Convocation; but, upon the reports of the committee of the Upper and Lower House, when that decision was brought down to the Lower, amendments were moved which, though they were not carried, showed that opinion was not unanimous. There was yet to follow a sharp discussion in the House of Lords, where Lord Houghton asked the government questions as to the powers of the convocation of the province of Canterbury to pass a synodical judgment on books written by clergymen or laymen; as to the immunity of members of that body from proceedings at common law consequent on such judgment; and as to the form in which judicial power must be exercised if it belonged to that body. The opportunity was too good for the lord-chancellor to lose, and he replied in terms, of which the archbishop said, he tried to produce pain by words that should blister those upon whom they fell. There were, he said, three modes of dealing with Convocation when it was permitted to come into action and transact real business. The first was, while they were harmlessly busy, to take no notice of their proceedings; the second was, when they seemed likely to get into mischief, to prorogue and put an end to their proceedings; the third, when they had done something clearly beyond their powers, was to bring them before a court of justice and punish them. This was biting and contemptuous enough as pronounced by an eminent lawyer holding such high office towards a body which regarded itself as an ecclesiastical tribunal. He went on, however, to represent, that as Convocation derived its authority from the crown, and could pronounce no valid sentence without the sanction of the crown, any attempt to put such a sentence in force without that sanction would make the offending parties liable to a præmunire. He then pictured the archbishop and the bishops at the bar, not in solemn state, but as penitents in sackcloth and ashes; he supposed that the sentence would be similar to that passed by a bishop on one of the authors of *Essays and Reviews*—a year's deprivation of his benefice, and then represented that as the archbishop had given two votes, for two years the most reverend prelate would be condemned to have all the revenue of his high position sequestrated. What an opportunity for his right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, to spread his net, and in one haul take in £30,000 from the highest dignitary, not to speak of the *hoi polloi*, the bishops, deacons, canons, vicars, all included in one common crime—all subject to one common penalty. . . . Assuming that the report of the judgment which he had read was a correct one, he was happy to tell their lordships that what was called a synodical judgment was simply a series of well-lubricated terms—a sentence so oily and saponaceous that no one could grasp it. Like an eel it slipped through the fingers; it was simply nothing, and he was glad to tell his noble friend that it was no sentence at all. If the volume had

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been the work of one hand the sentence might have had some effect; but, seeing that the volume was only two covers holding together separate essays, and seeing that the sentence did not attribute any offence to anything but the volume containing these separate writings, not one of the authors was condemned, and each one of them might say, "This thing that is condemned is not mine; it belongs to you." In this way the volume and the sentence which condemned it might be handed round from one to another, and the application of the sentence be repudiated by all the authors. The bishops might meet together as a debating club and express their opinion whether this or that law was a good or a bad one; but even that was not a very small nor a proper thing, for they might thereby involve themselves in great peril. He brought before them the predicament in which any individual member of the episcopal bench might stand. The upper house might come to a particular determination; but, supposing the author of one of these essays were presented to a living or any other piece of ecclesiastical preferment, and supposing that one of the bishops who had been a party to those proceedings were called on to institute. The bishop would naturally say, "How can I institute a man whose work I have joined in condemning?" but, in declining to institute, the bishop might possibly become liable to a præmunire, or be involved in the consequences of another hard word, *duplex querela*.

This was the strain in which the reply was made, and it concluded by assuring the mover of the question that it was not the intention of the government to take any further steps in the matter. The Bishop of Oxford replied with dignity, and not without effective rebuke of the tone of the lord-chancellor, saying that if he had no respect for himself, he ought to have had respect for the audience before which he spoke.

Probably few persons could have defended the manner of the reply made by Lord Westbury; but the matter of it was subject for very serious consideration, as people have found out since, and especially now that another party in the church have alike denied the authority, and practically tried to defy the power of a legal tribunal, and have refused to acknowledge the duty of obedience to ecclesiastical superiors.

It may be remarked here that in the matter of subscription to the articles of the church Dr. Pusey had in the early part of his career, and while he was liable to suspension from the university for alleged Romish tendencies, refused to accept the articles except with the liberty of interpreting them according to his views of their meaning in the ancient church. The subscription to the clerical oaths had, it is almost needless to say, become liable to as elastic an application, and at length a royal commission was appointed to inquire and report on the subject, with the result that in July, 1865, Lord Granville brought a bill before parliament for relaxing the subscription to certain clerical oaths. The effect of this was that in place of the old form pledging his "assent and consent" to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, the declaration as proposed by the bill to be made before ordination was: "I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of religion and the Book of Common Prayer and of the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons. I believe the doctrine of the united Church of England and Ireland as therein set forth to be agreeable to the word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments I will use the form in the said books prescribed, and none other except as far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." This measure passed through both houses of parliament.

A few words must be said of Sir Richard Bethell (Lord Westbury), the profound and accomplished lawyer, of the bitter tongue, who took so prominent a part as a law reformer and in these ecclesiastical trials. The close of 1865 saw his sudden and almost unexpected resignation. He was just 65 years old, for he was born in 1800. His father was a physician at Bradford, and was said to have descended from an old Welsh family named Ap-Ithell (whence Bethell). His education began at the Bristol Grammar School. At the age of thirteen he left that seminary and studied with

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his father for one year, and then proceeded to Wadham College, Oxford, where he found some difficulty in matriculating on account of his extreme youth. This difficulty overcome, he was elected scholar in the following year; and in 1818 (before he was eighteen years of age) he took his degree, with the honours of a first class in classics and a second in mathematics. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1823, and made a queen's counsel in 1840. He was first returned for Aylesbury in 1851 as a Liberal Conservative, and sat for that place till 1859, when he was returned for Wolverhampton. He had held the office of vice-chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster, and was appointed solicitor-general in 1852 in Lord Aberdeen's ministry, and attorney-general in 1856, and, with the exception of the brief interval of Lord Derby's second ministry, had been in that office till in July, 1861, he became custodian of the Great Seal of England. His wit was acute, his language, as we have seen, so caustic that it has been called vitriolic; though he mostly spoke in a lisping drawling manner which was far from being oratorical, and made the words he used all the more startling when the listeners *came to think of them.*

It will easily be understood that he was beloved neither by those members of his own profession who were opposed to his innovations and simplifications of the law, nor by persons on whom he had turned his unsparing powers of derision or of refutation. Perhaps many of his enemies were waiting for an opportunity to pay off old grudges, and though they may not have had much hand in settling the score, the opportunity came in a manner which must have pained even those among his opponents who admired his abilities and believed in his honour. It appeared that his real disposition in private life was indulgent, and to some extent unsuspicious, and he had used his influence or patronage in placing two of his relatives in official positions, where one of them was afterwards accused of holding or using the public money for his own purposes, and another of some other proceeding which could not be passed over with propriety. He had been foolishly lax, and had remained silent rather than betray his relative, but it was distinctly stated that his silence was from no improper or unbecoming motive. The charge was brought against him, however, in the House of Commons instead of before a judicial tribunal, and it was made use of for an attack against the government, so that a vigorous "whip" brought up a large attendance, in which the opponents of the lord-chancellor were more numerous than his supporters. "Laxity of practice and want of caution, whereby great encouragement has been given to corrupt practices, and which, even in the absence of improper motives, are, in the opinion of the house, highly reprehensible and calculated to throw discredit on the administration of the high offices of state," was the resolution which was accepted by a small majority. Lord Westbury resigned his office with dignity, and not without some calm and almost pathetic words, accepting the decision of the house without saying a syllable against it except that he hoped after an interval calmer thoughts would prevail. He pointed out the work which had been accomplished—the plans of reform and improvement which had been carefully arranged under his direction—mentioned that on his retirement there would only be a single appellate judgment in arrear, and that the same could be said of the Court of Chancery. "It is very possible that by some word inadvertently used—some abruptness of manner—I may have given pain, or have exposed myself to your unfavourable opinion," he said to the House of Lords in conclusion. "If that be so, I beg you to accept the sincere expression of my regret, while I indulge the hope that the circumstance may be erased from your memory." It was like an official dying speech. But Lord Westbury lived to do useful work as a "law lord" in deciding appeals and as arbitrator in some delicate and difficult commercial questions—duties in which he was employed till his death in July, 1873.

The session of 1866 commenced with much interest and with no little expectation. For the first time since the death of the prince-consort the queen opened parliament. The appearance of her majesty in public was the

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occasion of a loyal and hearty welcome, which would perhaps have been more vociferous if it had been less sympathetic. Only by her presence in the house did her majesty resume her royal state. The robes lay on the throne beside which she stood, with downcast eyes, as the speech was read by the lord-chancellor. One passage in the speech pointed directly to parliamentary reform:—"I have directed that information should be procured in reference to the rights of voting in the election of members to serve in parliament for counties, cities, and boroughs. When that information is complete the attention of parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such an improvement in the laws which regulate the rights of voting in the election of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare."

Not very exciting, this placid reference to an inquiry which ardent reformers thought should lead to a very considerable extension of the franchise and a careful redistribution of seats in accordance with equal representation: and yet not only the opposition, but a large section of the supposed supporters of the government, assumed it to be untimely, if not unnecessary, unless for the purpose of securing a few concessions, chiefly in the direction of the borough franchise. Nor could it be maintained that any very significant demonstrations had been made outside parliament to obtain a definite scheme of reform. There was a widely-felt impression that the question would soon have to be considered, and there were several associations and not a few leaders willing to organize and carry on a regular movement for securing a measure which would satisfy a genuine demand; but the demand had not been made in the shape of distinct propositions, perhaps, for one reason among others, that advanced reformers felt little confidence in proposals likely to emanate from a government of which Earl Russell was the head and the Whigs a very influential element. The truth seemed to be that Earl Russell's government was not likely to go anything like far enough for the Liberals or Radicals, and a good deal too far for the cautious Whigs, or the determined opponents of wide measures of enfranchisement, except as concessions to popular agitation.

The knowledge that this was the existing impression must have made the task of Mr. Gladstone a difficult one, when he had to concur in framing a measure, and to introduce it to parliament; for by that time he had, it may be supposed, gone far beyond the traditions of the Russell Liberal policy so far as regarded an extension of the popular privileges in elections of members to parliament. There was a certain wholeness in his character which forbade him from resting in partial developments, and hence, in departing from one stand-point to another which he saw before him, he had soon to change his boundaries on all sides in accordance with what was to him the evident consistency of their relations. It is no depreciation of him to say that he evidently did not, himself, realize the position that he would rapidly assume in relation to questions on which he might very well have thought he had already undergone a quite complete change of opinion. And though the reform bill which he had to propose did not, in the estimation of many, go far enough, it had in it those elements of thoroughness which were sufficient to gain for it the support of Mr. Bright—a support which,—when it was discovered that the opportunity of passing a measure of the kind was likely to be delayed, and perhaps lost by the continued apathy or indifference of those who professed to be the friends and advocates of political freedom,—rose into warm and enthusiastic remonstrance. The introduction of the bill was somewhat chill and constrained; but before it had been long debated, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright had sustained its claims both in and out of parliament by oratory which they have probably seldom surpassed. Their energetic appeals, though they did not arouse sufficient determination to support and save the government, stirred the country into action which compelled those who defeated the measure to reconstruct it with provisions which, if some of them were less satisfactory, were in some respects more inclusive. There must have been many people at that time who remem-

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bered Disraeli's saying of the Peelites that "they had caught the Whigs bathing, and had stolen their clothes." In the reform bill of 1867 the Conservative government showed that, aided by something like an accident, they had tripped up Whigs and Liberals together, and had afterwards been obliged to disguise themselves in their clothes.

But to return to the opening of the session. The ministry was not regarded as one favourable to the advance of Liberalism. The advanced party were asking, Why was Bright left out of it? It had been rumoured that he was to be secretary for India, or president of the Board of Trade, while Mr. John Stuart Mill was to support the family tradition and conduct Indian affairs. No such appointments were made. Lord Clarendon succeeded Earl Russell in the foreign office, and the government remained with little alteration, except in the offices of under-secretary for the colonies and vice-president of the Board of Trade, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, the former under-secretary, having become Irish secretary. These two changes were not at the time of much apparent importance; but they became really significant as the introduction to offices, which gave no seat in the cabinet, to two men who have since had much to do, one with the financial, and the other with the social and political administration of the country. These two men were Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen.

Mr. William Edward Forster, member for Bradford, did not profess to be himself "one of the people falsely called Quakers," though he was the only son of William Forster, who was more than fifty years a minister of the Society of Friends, and died in Tennessee, whither he had gone on an anti-slavery mission. William Forster married the sister of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the first baronet. The member for Bradford was born in 1818, and was therefore forty-eight years old when he took office in the ministry of 1866. He married Jane Martha, eldest daughter of the late Dr. Arnold, the celebrated master of Rugby School, and adopted all the children of one of Dr. Arnold's sons, who died in the prime of life, leaving his family but scantily provided for. Long before he came into parliament Mr. Forster was widely known as an active intelligent magistrate, a zealous and earnest philanthropist, and a politician of widely Liberal principles and enlarged views, and it has recently been made known that during the Irish famine, when he was a young man, he was engaged alone and with indefatigable activity in visiting the remote distressed districts, many of them not easy of access, and taking measures to afford relief to the starving people. In 1859 he contested Leeds, but was defeated by Mr. Beecroft; but in 1861, when Mr. Titus Salt, of Saltaire, disgusted with parliamentary life, retired, Mr. Forster was returned without opposition for Bradford, where he had a large business as a worsted manufacturer. Mr. Forster, very soon after he entered the house, began to take part in the discussions, and speedily gained a reputation not only as a debater, but as an earnest, vigorous, and convincing speaker.

Mr. Forster had long been deemed a rising man. Mr. Cobden had from the first a high opinion of him, and thought that he would be certain to attain and keep a prominent position in the house.

The Right Honourable George Joachim Goschen, one of the members for the city of London, had risen rapidly in official life, for he was only in his thirty-fifth year; but he had a special talent for finance, which had been cultivated by commercial experience as a member of the well-known firm of Frühling, Goschen, & Co., foreign merchants and financiers, his connection with whom he relinquished on taking office in the government.

Mr. Goschen was educated at Rugby, and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took his degree. He was first returned for London in 1863, and again, at the head of the poll, in 1865. Some years before, he had published a book on the theory of foreign exchanges, and almost immediately on entering the House of Commons he made a position for himself as an able speaker on finance and commercial legislation. Shortly after Earl Russell succeeded to the premiership Mr. Goschen was appointed vice-president of the Board of Trade; but this office he had only held for a short time when he was transferred to the Duchy of Lancaster,

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with a seat in the cabinet. It is generally understood that the rapid promotion of Mr. Goschen was made at the instance of the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Gladstone), who, it is said, was desirous of having at his back a man thoroughly conversant with financial affairs to help him in the discharge of the onerous duties of his office, to which had been added the leadership of the House of Commons.

The government also reckoned on the support of Mr. Stansfeld, a rising politician, on the side of Radicalism, who had held office in the admiralty under Lord Palmerston, but had resigned in consequence of having been charged with complicity in the plots of Mazzini—an accusation the only foundation for which was that he was a friend of the Italian patriot, to whom he had given permission to have letters addressed to his house, directed to Mr. Fiori, in order to avoid a possible repetition of post-office scrutiny. Mr. Stansfeld was, however, too able a man to be left out of party considerations.

The Duke of Argyle in the Lords was at that time scarcely of sufficient weight to count against some Tory advantages. But his ability was recognized, even though it was occasionally manifested in a manner which led men to resent his self-sufficiency rather than to yield to the arguments by which he upheld his representations. He was usually regarded rather as a clever, persistent debater, with a philosophical turn, than as a profound politician or an able statesman. He was one of the rising men of the day. And on the other side, in the House of Commons, was Sir Hugh Cairns, who had already made a considerable mark, and Mr. Gathorne Hardy, afterwards Lord Cranbrook.

Earl Russell's ministry, then, was not altogether such as would lead men to expect any large and inclusive measure of parliamentary reform, nor, as we have noted, had there been any definite and startling outcry for such a measure. It was felt that if there must be reform at all, it should go beyond the very cautious and sober lines of the intimation in the royal speech. The country was, on the whole, still so prosperous, that, though pressure was beginning to be felt, and a sharp, commercial crisis was impending in a particular direction, the statement which accompanied the budget was highly assuring. The chancellor of the exchequer had not to announce a surplus of revenue on the scale of the last three years, which had reached an average of three millions and a half; but he would still be able to make reductions not without interest. The estimated expenditure for the past year had been upwards of £66,000,000, but the actual expenditure was only £65,914,000. The revenue was £67,812,000, leaving a surplus of £1,898,000. The revenue had been £1,424,000 more than was calculated. The average increase in revenues since 1864 was about a million and a quarter per year. The loss caused by the reductions of last year had slightly exceeded the estimate. The exchequer balances had been reduced by unusual liquidations of debt. On the 31st of March, 1865, they were £7,691,000; and on the same date in 1866 they had fallen to £5,851,000. The total estimated expenditure of the coming year was £66,225,000, which, as compared with the expenditure of the previous year, showed an increase of £78,000. The total estimate of the revenue for the year would be £67,575,000, thus leaving a surplus of £1,350,000, which, but for the charges of the previous year, would have been quite £2,700,000.

The effect of the commercial treaty with France had been to raise the export trade of that country from 58,500,000 francs to 141,000,000 francs. We had now concluded treaties with Austria and Belgium, Italy and the Zollverein on the same standard as that of France, no duty to exceed 25 per cent *ad valorem* on British goods. This necessitated changes in our own tariff, by which the duty on timber was repealed and the duty on wine in bottle or in wood was equalized. These remissions, together with the abolition of the duty on pepper, which would be a loss of £112,000 for the year, a reduction of the mileage duties on public conveyances from a penny to a farthing a mile, and a reduction of the scale of the license duty on post-horses, were all that could be proposed—and disposed of £560,000 out of a surplus of £1,350,000. The tea duties were to be renewed, and the

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WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER.

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income-tax to remain at fourpence in the pound. The statement of Mr. Gladstone concluded with a careful representation that it was time to prepare for a serious reduction of the national debt, the amount and fluctuations on which he said was exercising an injurious social influence.

A good plan of operating on the debt was by the conversion of perpetual into terminable annuities. There was then a sum of twenty-four millions standing on a deposit account of the trustees of savings'-banks, the whole of which the state was now bound to pay; and it was proposed to take that sum, which now cost £720,000 a year, and convert it into annuities terminating in 1885, which would raise the annual charge to one million. If this was done in 1866–67 there would be a charge something above £1,200,000. The following year there would be a further charge on this conversion of £502,000; but of this £293,000 would be relieved by the falling in of other annuities. The total additional charges, making all allowances, would be about £409,000 per annum. It was further proposed that so much of the dividends of the fund which it was intended to create as were found to be to spare should be reinvested; and the result would be that in 1885 the charge would be £1,440,000, while there would have been cancelled no less than fifty millions of stock; and from year to year the state would be buyers of stock. The surplus dealt with in making the reductions which he had stated would be £1,064,000, leaving an unappropriated balance of £286,000.

These are the indications of the plan which Mr. Gladstone was considering, nor did it meet with serious opposition. The proposal to convert a portion of the debt into terminable annuities was embodied in a separate bill, which had passed its second reading when the government was overthrown by the rejection of its reform bill, to which we must now give a passing notice.

When the proposed reform bill was brought before the House of Commons on the 13th of March (1866) it soon became evident that the restrictions to which it had been subjected by the cabinet had kept it within limits which were little likely to satisfy ardent reformers, and that Mr. Gladstone, and perhaps Earl Russell also, had submitted to a compromise which went no further than a £14 franchise for the counties and a £7 franchise for the towns.

The House of Commons was crowded in every part to hear the proposals of the government. There was, perhaps, as much curiosity as there had been when the Reform Bill of 1831 was brought forward by Lord John Russell; but there was far less excitement, even when it was declared that the measure would have the effect of adding 400,000 persons of all classes to the number of voters. Of these 171,000 would come under the county franchise, which would be reduced from £50 to £14, with the proviso that the occupation of property of the value of less than £50 should include a house the annual value of which was not less than £7. Copyholders and leaseholders in boroughs were to have the same privileges as freeholders. The borough franchise was to be reduced from £10 to £7. Much attention was then and afterwards directed to "the compound householder"—a term which was constantly heard in all discussions about reform. The compound householder was the tenant of one of a number of small houses or tenements, for the rates of which the landlord "compounded" with the parochial authorities—paying for them all in one sum. This of course came to much the same thing as the rates being paid by the tenant, since the landlord would naturally take care that his disbursements were added to the rental. Compound householders in boroughs were to have the franchise, so were lodgers paying not less than £10 a year exclusive of the value of furniture, and so were separate tenants of the same house. The compound householders, it was estimated, would add 25,000 to the number of voters. Another clause gave votes to all adult males who had deposited £50 in a savings-bank for two years, which entitled them to be registered for the place in which they resided. These were the principal points of the bill. The question of the redistribution of seats was to be dealt with in a separate bill, but Mr. Gladstone considered it to be of so much importance that he

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would not undertake to introduce it in the same session or even in the following one.

Not only was there comparatively little in the bill to evoke an outburst of national enthusiasm, but there were special difficulties in parliament itself. It was introduced to a House of Commons which had but just been elected, and had not been elected on the ground of supporting such a measure as was proposed, or indeed any inclusive scheme of reform at all. Men like Mr. Bright and Mr. John Stuart Mill, regarding the measure as a stage of political progress, supported it, and many other "advanced" Liberals were willing to approve it on that understanding. Mr. Forster was one of the first who spoke earnestly in its favour, and among other adherents of Mr. Gladstone there was presently no lack of fervour. Yet it soon became evident that many members of the Liberal party were slipping away from their allegiance — not because the bill promised too little, but because it did not promise quite what they expected, or because, having just obtained their seats, they were not inclined to imperil them by upholding a measure the success of which they thought was doubtful. Among these so-called Liberals were unpronounced Whigs, who did not care about any plan of reform unless it should be unmistakably forced on them by pressure from without. It certainly was a mild, not to say a rather colourless measure, and though it was afterwards supported by some of the most fervid and brilliant appeals ever uttered by its chief promoters, Mr. Gladstone himself introducing it to a vast assembly in a speech which lasted for nearly three hours, and was throughout listened to with eager and admiring attention, nobody could claim for it that it gave any vast concessions to popular demands. The most remarkable point of the situation was that many of the Conservatives professed to regard the measure as dangerously democratic in its tendencies, and represented that unless it were opposed it would bring ruin upon the country. Those who were really of this opinion could have had little political foresight, and others who on principle resisted all attempts to reform the suffrage could scarcely have reflected that as some changes were inevitable it would have been more consistent to have accepted what from their point of view might have been regarded as a comparatively harmless extension of the franchise, than to arouse the country to still further expectations. In addition to these objectors, it has been declared that there were others who honestly believed that any measure of further enfranchisement should be such as to secure a settlement of the question which would leave no probability of further agitation for several years to come.

To these varied opponents of the bill Mr. Gladstone had to address himself, and he closed his great oration by appealing to those who professed to see in the proposed measure dangers which it is difficult to understand how they could have associated with it.

"We cannot," he said, "consent to look upon this large addition, considerable although it may be, to the political power of the working-classes of this country, as if it were an addition fraught with mischief and with danger. We cannot look, and we hope no man will look, upon it as some Trojan horse approaching the walls of the sacred city, and filled with armed men, bent upon ruin, plunder, and conflagration. We cannot join in comparing it with that *monstrum infelix*—we cannot say—

> "——Scandit fatalis machina muros,
> Fœta armis: mediæque minans illabitur urbi."

I believe that those persons whom we ask you to enfranchise ought rather to be welcomed as you would welcome recruits to your army, or children to your family. We ask you to give within what you consider to be the just limits of prudence and circumspection; but, having once determined those limits, to give with an ungrudging hand. Consider what you can safely and justly afford to do in admitting new subjects and citizens within the pale of the parliamentary constitution; and, having so considered it, do not, I beseech you, perform the act as if you were compounding with danger and misfortune. Do it as if you were conferring a boon that will be felt and reciprocated in grateful attachment. Give to these persons new interests in the constitution, new interests which, by the beneficent processes

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of the law of nature and of Providence, shall beget in them new attachment; for the attachment of the people to the throne, the institutions, and the laws under which they live is, after all, more than gold and silver, or more than fleets and armies, at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land."

The first note of opposition from deserting Liberals was sounded by Mr. Horsman; but the man who came to the front in denouncing the bill was Mr. Lowe. So bitter, so wild was his language that it could scarcely be surpassed even by Lord Robert Cecil (who had succeeded to the title of Lord Cranborne) when he assailed the proposed measure, or when he afterwards let loose his invective against the leader of his own party, and warned the Tories against the treachery of Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Lowe was a power in the house; but nobody suspected that his power lay in oratory: nor did it. By a singular combination of incentives he appears at this juncture to have risen to a height of declamation, to an intensity and force of language, and to a masterly vehemence which served to carry everybody before it. One is not obliged to lay undue stress on the consideration that he had some reason to think he had been neglected and deserted by the government of which he had been a member, and was still glowing with a sense of undeserved injury. More to the purpose, perhaps, was the fact, that while his attacks upon the bill were received by the Tories with delight and acclamation; they were also applauded by those Liberals who were only too glad to find an ex-minister of the late Palmerston government violently denouncing a Liberal measure which they were not prepared to support, and thus affording them an example of that kind of independence which cheers and encourages the opposition. Before the rushing torrent of Mr. Lowe's eloquence, Mr. Disraeli himself seemed to retire to a comparatively obscure position in the debate. Everybody was astonished, and their astonishment leading to outbursts of enthusiastic applause, stimulated the orator to renewed efforts. It must be remembered, however, that Mr. Lowe was a speaker always well worth listening to. Scholarship, occasional piquancy, a certain mastery of facts, gave value to his utterances; but his manner was not attractive, his tall and somewhat ungainly figure, his rather clumsy gestures; his extreme short-sightedness, which forbade his referring to notes or papers except in an apparently confused and awkward manner; all were against his making a very favourable impression on his audience, to say nothing of that intractability of tongue which now became of value and importance. He had never achieved any great success as a leading speaker till this opportunity arose and bore him to heights that he had not touched before, and would never reach again. For a time he mounted on the crest of a great surging wave composed of two combining, though previously conflicting currents. It bore him to the front; but when it receded he was left in scarcely a more distinguished position than that he had occupied before, though he had achieved a greater reputation in debate. Some of the language that he used was remembered with no little anger by the speakers at subsequent meetings for the support of the popular cause: for instance, "You have had the opportunity of knowing some of the constituencies of this country, and I ask if you want venality, ignorance, drunkenness, and the means of intimidation; if you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people, where will you go to look for them, to the top or the bottom? It is ridiculous to blink the fact that since the reform act, great competition has prevailed among the voters of between £20 and £10 rental; the £10 lodging and beer-house keepers. . . . We know what sort of persons live in these small houses; we have all had experience of them under the name of 'freemen,' and it would be a good thing if they were disfranchised altogether." Having commented satirically on Mr. Gladstone's classical quotation he concluded by saying:—"It may be that we are destined to avoid this enormous danger with which we are confronted, and not—to use the language of my right honourable friend—to compound with danger and misfortune; but it may be otherwise, and all that I can say is, that if my right honourable friend does succeed in carrying this measure through parliament, when the passions and

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interests of the day are gone by I do not envy him his retrospect. I covet not a single leaf of the laurels that may encircle his brow. I do not envy him his triumph. His be the glory of carrying it; mine of having to the utmost of my poor ability resisted it."

It was in reply to the pseudo-liberal Mr. Horsman, who had spoken of Mr. Gladstone's address as "another bid for power, another promise made to be broken, another political fraud and parliamentary juggle," that Mr. Bright made the famous retort, one passage of which added a lasting phrase to parliamentary language, and became historical. It was a double-edged reply, and told with equal effect against Mr. Horsman and Mr. Lowe, both of whom seemed to be influenced by a grudge against the members of the government. Mr. Horsman, he said, was the first member of the new parliament who had expressed his grief: "he retired into what may be called his political Cave of Adullam, to which he invited every one who was in distress, and every one who was discontented. He has long been anxious to found a party in this house, and there is scarcely a member at this end of the house who is able to address us with effect, or to take much part, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party and his cabal. At last he has succeeded in hooking the right honourable the member for Calne (Mr. Lowe). I know it was the opinion many years ago of a member of the cabinet, that two men could make a party; and a party formed of two men so amiable, so genial, as both of those right honourable gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in parliament, a party perfectly harmonious and distinguished by a mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one great difficulty in the way. It is very much like the case of the Scotch terrier that was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head, and which was the tail." . . . Mr. Bright continued—"Now I said at the beginning that I did not rise to defend the bill. I rose for the purpose of explaining it. It is not the bill which, if I had been consulted, I should have recommended. If I had been a minister it is not the bill which I should have consented to present to the house, I think it is not adequate to the occasion, and that its concessions are not sufficient. But I know the difficulties under which ministers labour, and I know the disinclination of parliament to do much in the direction of this question. I shall give it my support because, as far as it goes, it is a simple and honest measure, and because I believe, if it becomes law, it will give some solidity and duration to everything that is good in the constitution, and to everything that is noble in the character of the people of these realms." The Cave of Adullam was one of those happy references which always seize the attention of an assembly. From that time the party represented by Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman, and including a number of "discontented" politicians who had professed to be Liberals, was called "the Cave," and its members, "Adullamites."

Another phrase, which afterwards furnished several allusions from the opposition, occurred when Mr. Gladstone, having distinctly refused to bring forward the whole scheme for redistribution of seats, turned to Lord Robert Montague, who had spoken of Mr. Villiers as "the pretended friend" of the working-classes, and rebuked him by saying that if the working men, whom the noble lord and others seemed to dread as an invading and destroying army instead of regarding them as their own flesh and blood, were introduced into the house they would set him an example both of courtesy and good breeding.

The phrase "own flesh and blood" was not forgotten, and in a subsequent debate Sir E. Bulwer Lytton adroitly turned it to purpose in a telling speech. Referring to the modified nature of the concessions made by the bill, he expressed his amazement that the chancellor of the exchequer could descend to a species of argument so hollow in itself and so perilous in its logical deductions. "What has the right honourable gentleman to say to the millions who will ask him one day, 'Are we an invading army? Are we not fellow-Christians? Are we not your own flesh and blood?' Does he think it will be answer enough to give that kind of modified opinion which he put forth last night, and to say,

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'Well, that is very true. For my own part, in my individual capacity I cannot see that there is any danger of admitting you; but still, you know, it is wise to proceed gradually. A £7 voter is real flesh and blood. But you are only gradual flesh and blood. Read Darwin on the origin of species, and learn that you are fellow-Christians in an imperfect state of development.'"

The fact that Earl Grosvenor had moved an amendment that it would be inexpedient to consider the bill for the reduction of the franchise until the house had before it the whole scheme of the government, though Mr. Gladstone had stated that he would not enter into the scheme for distribution till after the second reading of the franchise bill, showed that the Whigs were indifferent to the success of the measure. The eldest son of the Marquis of Westminster was usually regarded as a steady supporter of the government. He had now joined with others in showing that he did not regard it with confidence.

The second reading was not to take place till after the Easter recess, and during the interval considerable excitement prevailed in those parts of the country where the reform party was strongest.

At Liverpool there were enthusiastic demonstrations. Mr. Gladstone addressed one great meeting at which the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Goschen, and others of his colleagues were present. In response to his declaration that the government would abide by the bill which they had introduced and stand or fall with it the audience rose to their feet and greeted him with long-continued cheering.

"Having," he said, "produced this measure, founded in a spirit of moderation, we hope to support it with decision. It is not in our power to secure the passing of the measure: that rests more with you, and more with those whom you represent, and of whom you are a sample, than it does with us. Still, we have a great responsibility and are conscious of it, and we do not intend to flinch from it. We stake ourselves—we stake our existence as a government—and we also stake our political character on the adoption of the bill in its main provisions. You have a right to expect from us that we should tell you what we mean, and that the trumpet which it is our business to blow should give forth no uncertain sound. Its sound has not been, and I trust will not be, uncertain. We have passed the Rubicon—we have broken the bridge, and burned the boats behind us. We have advisedly cut off the means of retreat, and having done this we hope that, as far as time is yet permitted, we have done our duty to the crown and to the nation."

The passing of the Rubicon, the breaking of the bridge and the burning of the boats, was another phrase about which much reference played in after debates; but it at least expressed the determined attitude of the government.

Mr. Bright took another standpoint:—At a reform meeting at Birmingham a letter from him was read in which he said: "Parliament is never hearty for reform, or for any good measure. It hated the Reform Bill of 1831 and 1832. It does not like the franchise bill now upon its table. It is to a large extent the offspring of landed power in the counties and of tumult and corruption in the boroughs, and it would be strange if such a parliament were in favour of freedom and of an honest representation of the people. But, notwithstanding such a parliament, this bill will pass if Birmingham and other towns do their duty." The opposition was referred to as "a dirty conspiracy." "What," he asked, "should be done, and what must be done, under these circumstances? You know what your fathers did thirty-four years ago, and you know the result. The men who, in every speech they utter, insult the working men, describing them as a multitude given up to ignorance and vice, will be the first to yield when the popular will is loudly and resolutely expressed. If Parliament Street from Charing Cross to the venerable Abbey were filled with men seeking a reform bill, as it was two years ago with men come to do honour to an illustrious Italian, these slanderers of their countrymen would learn to be civil if they did not learn to love freedom." At Manchester also Mr. Bright urged an immediate organization for meetings and petitions—"as men living in a

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free country, with representative institutions, determined to partake in some measure of that representation, and to be free."

Mr. Lowe had received some strong remonstrances from his constituents on the subject of his charges against the classes to which the franchise was proposed to be extended; and as Mr. Gladstone at Liverpool had referred to his language in terms of rebuke, he complained that he had been misunderstood and misrepresented, as he only intended to refer to the vices which existed in some constituencies as shown by the records of the house. He did not, however, succeed in explaining away the apparent meaning of what he had said at the time. The fact was that Mr. Lowe, who was in some other matters an extreme reformer, was so utterly opposed to the extension of the franchise that he had let his vigorous representations of its dangers run into language which either expressed what he meant, or very far exceeded his intention; but the words had been shot forth, and they stuck like arrows. Perhaps the knowledge of this, and the reproof which Mr. Gladstone had at the time administered to him, gave force and fire to his speech when, the house having reassembled, the debate on the bill again came forward. It was the seventh evening in which the measure had been discussed; the second reading was proposed, and it was necessary to oppose it with all the vigour that could be summoned to the task. Mr. Lowe rose to that task. It was the greatest of his parliamentary achievements. He never surpassed it. In a speech lasting two hours and a half he essayed to show the false principles upon which the measure was founded, the avowed coercion which was being brought to bear on the House of Commons, the extensive and powerful tyranny which would be exercised through the bill by trades-unions, and the fatal injuries which democracy would inflict upon the English constitution. Amid a tempest of cheering from the opposition and from many on the ministerial side of the house he contended that the principle of Mr. Gladstone's measure, and the idea that, however covertly, lay at the root of all his reasoning, was the fitness of the poorer classes for the franchise, and their indefeasible claim to it as soon as they were fit—and not any conviction that the objects of good government would be materially aided by their admission. He pointed out that every one of Mr. Gladstone's plans went, not towards enfranchising 200,000 men, but towards enfranchising all, since all were "flesh and blood—fellow-citizens and Christians—and fathers of families." For his part he thought they had more reason every day they lived to regret the loss of Lord Palmerston. "By way of a mortuary contribution, it seems to me that the remaining members of his cabinet laid in his grave all their moderation, all their prudence, and all their statesmanship. The government have performed an immense exploit. They have carried the great mass of their party—men of moderate opinion and views—they have carried them over from their own views and laid them at the feet of the member for Birmingham. They are brought into contact now with men and principles from which six months ago they would have recoiled. That is what has happened to part of them. The rest of us are left like sheep in the wilderness. And after the success of this extraordinary combination—for I can give it no other name—we, who remain where we were, are charged with being conspirators and traitors. We are told that we are bound by every tie to support Lord Russell. I dispute that. I never served under him. I have served, unfortunately, for a little less than ten years under two prime ministers—one being Lord Aberdeen, and the other Lord Palmerston. Both these governments Lord Russell joined; both these governments he abandoned; and both these governments he assisted to destroy. I owe him no allegiance. I am not afraid of the people of this country; they have shown remarkable good sense—remarkable, indeed, in contrast with the harangues that have been addressed to them. Nor am I afraid of those who lead them. Demagogues are the commonplaces of history; they are found everywhere where there is popular commotion. They have all a family likeness. Their names float lightly on the stream of time; they finally contrive to be handed down somehow, for

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they are as little to be regarded for themselves as the foam which rides on the top of the stormy wave, and bespatters the rock it cannot shake; but what I do fear—what fills me with the gloomiest misgivings, is when I see a number of gentlemen of rank, property, and intelligence, carried away without even being convinced, or even over-persuaded, to support a policy which many of them in their hearts detest and abhor. Monarchies exist by loyalty, aristocracies by honour, popular assemblies by political virtue. When these things begin to fail it is in their loss, and not in comets, eclipses, and earthquakes, that we are to look for the portents that herald the fall of states." Though he could not agree with the chancellor of the exchequer, there was, happily, one common ground left them—the Second Æneid. "My right honourable friend returned again to the poor old Trojan horse. I will add one more to the excerpt from the story of that noble animal, after which I will promise to turn him out to grass for the remainder of his life. The passage which I wish to call attention to presents a sketch of the army, and not only of the army but of the general also.

'The fatal horse pours forth the human tide,
Insulting Sinon flings his firebrands wide:
The gates are burnt, the ancient rampart falls;
And swarming myriads climb its crumbling walls.'

I have now traced as well as I could what I believe would be the natural result of a measure which seems to my poor imagination destined to absorb and destroy, one after the other, those institutions which have made England what she has hitherto been, and what I believe no other country ever was or ever will be. Surely the heroic work of so many centuries, the matchless achievements of so many wise heads and strong hands, deserve a nobler consummation than to be sacrificed to revolutionary passion, or to the maudlin enthusiasm of humanity. But if we do fall we shall fall deservedly. Unconstrained by any external force, not beaten down by any intestine calamity: in the plethora of wealth and the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity we are about, with our own rash and unconstrained hands, to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our laws. History may record other catastrophes as signal and as disastrous, but none more wanton and more disgraceful."

Even Mr. Disraeli could scarcely have made a speech that would have elicited such tumultuous applause as that with which the opponents of the bill greeted these utterances. Mr. Disraeli, in fact, left the honours of the evening with the member for Calne, but he had his own contributions to make to the debate, in which he denounced the proposed bill, as one calculated to reconstruct the constitution upon American principles. He defended the Conservatives from the charge of unfairness, and declared that the house ought to proceed on the principle that they were the House of Commons and not the House of the People:—that they represented a great political order of the state, and not an indiscriminate multitude. In estimating what share the working-classes should possess in the power of the state—a share which he did not at all begrudge them—they ought to act and to form that estimate according to the spirit of the English constitution.

In his speech he had referred to the early opinions expressed by Mr. Gladstone on the subject of reform, and a reference to this point formed one of the most effective parts of Mr. Gladstone's reply to his opponents before the close of the debate. That reply was itself a masterly effort, for as we have noted, in these debates there occurred some of the most conspicuous examples of the style of the finest speakers in parliament. It was one o'clock in the morning when Mr. Gladstone rose to reply to the charges brought against the bill. Mr. Lowe had alluded to words which had been used at the meeting at Liverpool, as intended to attack or disparage members of the house; but he denied that they had that application, and reminded his right honourable friend of a passage in a play of Aristophanes (the sentiments and circumstances associated with which he had forgotten), where one of the characters addressing the audience said, "But now, my good Athenians, pray recollect, I am not speaking of the city, I am not speaking of the public, I am only speaking of certain depraved and crooked little men." Replying to Mr.

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Disraeli he said, "At last we have obtained a declaration from an authoritative source that a bill, which, in a country with five millions of adult males, proposes to add to a limited constituency 200,000 of the middle class and 200,000 of the working class, is in the judgment of the leader of the Tory party a bill to reconstruct the constitution on American principles." Mr. Disraeli's reference to the opinions held by the chancellor of the exchequer in 1832 was not a fortunate one, for it gave Mr. Gladstone an opportunity, of which he made active use, especially as his opponent had in a previous part of the debate said, in reply to a powerful speech by Mr. John Stuart Mill, that he would not refer to statements made in that gentleman's writings twenty-five years before.

"The right honourable gentleman," said Mr. Gladstone, "secure in the recollection of his own consistency, has taunted me with the errors of my boyhood. When he addressed the honourable member for Westminster, he showed his magnanimity by declaring that he would not take the philosopher to task for what he wrote twenty-five years ago; but when he caught one who, thirty-six years ago, just emerged from boyhood, and still an undergraduate at Oxford, had expressed an opinion adverse to the Reform Bill of 1832, of which he had so long and bitterly repented, then the right honourable gentleman could not resist the temptation. . . . As the right honourable gentleman has exhibited me, let me exhibit myself. It is true, I deeply regret it, but I was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning, every influence connected with that name governed the politics of my childhood and of my youth; with Canning I rejoiced in the removal of religious disabilities, and in the character which he gave to our policy abroad; with Canning I rejoiced in the opening which he made towards the establishment of free commercial interchanges between nations; with Canning, and under the shadow of that great name, and under the shadow of that yet more venerable name of Burke, I grant, my youthful mind and imagination were impressed just the same as the mature mind of the right honourable gentleman is now impressed. I had conceived that fear and alarm of the first Reform Bill in the days of my undergraduate career at Oxford which the right honourable gentleman now feels. . . . I envy him not one particle of the polemical advantage which he has gained by his discreet reference to the proceedings of the Oxford Union Debating Society in the year of grace 1831. My position, sir, in regard to the Liberal party is in all points the opposite of Earl Russell's. . . . I have none of the claims he possesses. I came among you an outcast from those with whom I associated, driven from them, I admit, by no arbitrary act, but by the slow and resistless forces of conviction. I came among you, to make use of the legal phraseology, *in forma pauperis*. I had nothing to offer you but faithful and honourable service. You received me with kindness, indulgence, generosity, and I may even say with some measure of confidence. And the relation between us has assumed such a form that you can never be my debtors, but that I must for ever be in your debt."

The reply concluded with words that were not soon forgotten:—"We are assailed; this bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the government along with it. We stand or fall with it. . . . We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence. If we do so fall, we, or others in our places, shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed against us in the coming issue. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not the last that must take place in the struggle. At some point of the contest you may possibly succeed. You may drive us from our seats. You may bury the bill that we have introduced, but we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."[1]

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty,

[1] From our bones an avenger will arise.

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and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you: they are marshalled on our side; and the banner which we now carry in this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not far distant victory."

It is not to be wondered at that the division on the second reading was taken amidst tremendous excitement, still less surprising is it that, when it became known how small a majority was likely to be secured by the government, that excitement was intensified. It was at three o'clock in the morning (Saturday morning the 28th of April), that the house divided, and a large crowd waited in Westminster Hall to hear the result. Members had struggled back to their seats after the division, eager expectation was on every face, the air seemed to be charged with electricity, there was a hum, a murmur, a hush, a half audible whisper before the tellers appeared, and then a surging of the crowd at the bar of the house, a rising of the strangers in the galleries, a craning of necks and a strained and almost painful attention. The ayes were 318, the noes 313. The announcement had scarcely left the speaker's lips when, like the bursting of a pent-up storm, one great shout, or rather shriek and roar arose in the house. Never had such a scene been witnessed. It surpassed even that at the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832; but this time it was on the side of the opponents of the measure. In one of the largest, if not the very largest division that had ever taken place within the walls of parliament, and after such a struggle,—for the government to have only a majority of five, was near enough to their defeat to cause a shout of exultation to rise alike from the opposition benches and from those where sat the malcontents, whose desertion had dwindled down a large majority to this small one. The Conservatives were even less uproarious than the Adullamites, who from the ministerial benches roared their triumph, while Mr. Lowe, his white hair glistening like silver over his face, purple with delight, almost danced as he stood up waving his hat in wide and triumphant circles over the very heads of the men who had been his antagonists. Such was the scene on that memorable morning, as repeated outbursts of cheering marked the near defeat of the government. Not till the voices of the shouters began to fail could the chancellor of the exchequer gain a hearing, but at last he rose, and amidst a sudden profound silence calmly said, "Sir, I propose to fix the committee for Monday, and I will then state the order of business." It had been a memorable night. After one of the greatest orations ever delivered within the house, after a scene of unparalleled excitement, silence fell upon the assembly. The dawn was breaking as members went forth into Palace Yard, where a crowd was still waiting to cheer the supporters of the bill, which those who knew the parliamentary portents already feared was doomed to defeat.

The government had now to bring forward the bill for the redistribution of seats and the franchise bills for Scotland and Ireland. The plan for redistribution did not disfranchise any of the boroughs, nor did it alter the total number of members to be returned to the House of Commons, but some small boroughs were to return only one representative instead of two, and other boroughs were grouped together. By these means forty-nine seats were left for disposal, and it was proposed to give twenty-six of these seats to counties or to the divisions and subdivisions of counties, and an additional member each to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Salford. The borough of the Tower Hamlets was to be divided with two members for each division. Chelsea and Kensington were made a borough returning two members, and a new member each was given to Burnley, Staleybridge, Gravesend, Hartlepool, Middlesborough, Dewsbury, and the University of London. The remaining seven seats were allotted to Scotland and Ireland. On the 14th of May the redistribution bill was read a second time, a fortnight afterwards the two bills were combined and went into committee with some

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amendments which were required to form them into one measure.

Amendments were again proposed. One by Sir R. Knightley that it should be an instruction to the committee on the franchise bill to make provision for the prevention of corruption and bribery at elections, was carried against the government, but Mr. Gladstone said they would wait for the production of Sir R. Knightley's scheme. A resolution moved by Captain Hayter against the proposed system of grouping boroughs, issued in a long debate, in which Mr. John Stuart Mill took part, and Mr. Lowe again assailed the measure as one which would ruin the constitution. Earl Grosvenor eventually persuaded Captain Hayter to withdraw his resolution rather than run the risk of breaking up the government, and so during the critical position of European politics losing the services of Lord Clarendon. Mr. Disraeli thereupon severely attacked Lord Clarendon's policy. So the discussion went jangling on, resolution after resolution being proposed, till at length Lord Dunkellin, usually a supporter of the government, brought forward an amendment which was fatal to the bill and led to the resignation of the ministry. He proposed that the borough franchise should be based on rating instead of rental. In vain Mr. Gladstone represented that this would involve a limitation of the franchise, and showed that there would be serious practical difficulties in the way of the operation of such a principle. The house divided on the question, and the numbers for the amendment were 315, against it 304. On the announcement that there was a majority of eleven against the government, the house was again a scene of extraordinary uproar—the triumph of the Adullamites was complete. Eight days afterwards it was made known that ministers had tendered their resignation to the queen, who was in Scotland, and that after some remonstrances her majesty had agreed that they should only hold office till successors could be appointed.

Mr. Gladstone pointed out that the adoption of the proposed rating franchise would have been opposed to the principle of the government scheme. They had agreed for the sake of conciliating opinion to combine the franchise and the redistribution bills, but the opposing amendments, supported as they had been against the government, and finally Lord Dunkellin's amendment, which was carried by a majority of eleven, made it impossible to carry on the bill, and left them no alternative but resignation and a persistence in resignation. The government had pledged itself to stand or fall by the bill. Such a pledge, he admitted, was one which a government should rarely give. "It is the last weapon in the armoury of the government; it should not be lightly taken down from the walls, and if it is taken down it should not be lightly replaced, nor till it has served the purposes it was meant to fulfil." The pledge had been given, however, under the deepest conviction of public duty, and had the effect of making them use every effort in their power to avoid offence, to conciliate, support, and unite instead of distracting.

Once more Lord Derby was called upon to form a ministry, of which Mr. Disraeli was chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Stanley foreign secretary, and Mr. Walpole home secretary. Viscount Cranborne, who had, of course, let loose much invective against the reform bill and Mr. Gladstone, was made Indian secretary. Lord Derby made overtures to some of the Liberal party to include them in the ministry; but after having held a meeting they deputed Lord Grosvenor to reply that they could not accept the offer, though they might be able to give the ministry their independent support.

"Exoriare aliquis ex nostris ossibus ultor!" It appeared that the declaration would be speedily fulfilled. The new ministry had not been formed till the first week in July, and there was little time for anything except to make the usual ministerial statements before the prorogation of parliament. Lord Derby, though he seemed not to be able completely to estimate the extent of public feeling, and while representing that he and his colleagues were free and unpledged on the question of reform, and that he should carefully adhere to an axiom once laid down by Earl Russell that

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no government should undertake a measure of reform without seeing a fair possibility of carrying it, declared that that possibility depended on an understanding and joint action between the two great parties in the state. He added that he should be glad if an opportunity occurred for passing a safe and satisfactory measure. He would like to see a number of the class now excluded admitted to the franchise, but he feared that the portion of the community most clamorous for a reform bill was not that which would be satisfied with any measure that could be approved of by either of the great parties in the country. These utterances were the result of what had happened; but it soon became evident that the country was not altogether dependent on the two great parties in parliament, and that certain extra-parliamentary forces had been called into an active operation, which continued all through the subsequent discussions until a reform bill was passed.

Immediately after the defeat of Earl Russell's ministry demonstrations were made which showed that no other government could neglect the introduction of such a measure. A meeting was held in Trafalgar Square, where it was said 10,000 persons assembled, and there the late premier was censured for not having decided on a dissolution of parliament. This was significant. It appeared as though there was already a growing conviction that a general election would have given a majority in favour of a measure of reform as inclusive as that which had been rejected mainly through the opposition of those who had been avowed supporters of Liberal principles. During the recess, after the prorogation of parliament, these demonstrations continued both in London and in the large provincial towns. In many places the meetings were of imposing size, and the proceedings were of a very emphatic character. At some of them language was used which afterwards gave occasion for accusing the speakers of preaching democracy, republicanism, terrorism, revolution, and even anarchy; but there could at anyrate be no longer a doubt that the large body of people were becoming very much in earnest in demanding such an extension of the franchise as the members of the Conservative government had previously opposed and denounced. At one meeting at Brookfields, near Birmingham, there were said to be 250,000 persons present, who were addressed from platforms erected in various places in the open fields. At night another meeting was held in the Town-hall, and was addressed by Mr. Bright, Mr. Scholefield, and Mr. Beales.

Mr. Edmond Beales, a barrister of reputable position, was the recognized leader of the association known as the Reform League, and either presided or spoke at numbers of large meetings, especially those which were held in London. Mr. Beales was, on the whole, an excellent president of such an association, and seldom or never lost self-control or failed to sustain a certain "respectability" in the proceedings so far as the platform was concerned. It was sometimes thought that this was aided by the persistence with which he displayed his degree of Master of Arts; the letters M.A. appearing after his name in the big "posters" and all the announcements of the meetings at which he presided. It was one of the harmless humours of the time never to mention the name of Mr. Beales without parenthetically, but with much emphasis, adding "M.!A.!" When the Reform Bill had passed, this gentleman very easily subsided and retired to the distinguished obscurity of a county court judgeship; but he carried on the work he had undertaken during the agitation with considerable tact, and with a gravity and earnestness which had a very remarkable effect. Perhaps the most conspicuous instance of his influence, and of the action of the council of "the League," occurred during the time of what were called the "Hyde Park Riots," a term rather in excess of anything that really happened, though the combined blundering and uncertainty displayed in the conduct of some of the authorities might easily have produced much more serious consequences than the overturning of the park railings and the sudden invasion of what was after all a public place by a rather noisy but not particularly mischievous or revolutionary mob. A number of the supporters of the government had taken alarm, and the government itself preferred to regard

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the meetings which had been held, as assemblies called together for the purpose of political disturbances. At the same time Mr. Lowe and some of the Adullamites were complaining of the manner in which they had been denounced and misrepresented by a few of the speakers. It was scarcely surprising, therefore, that when the council of the League proposed to hold a monster meeting in Hyde Park on the 23d of July (1866) for the purpose of showing the number and proving the determination of the reformers, a great deal of alarm was excited.

In opposition to the proposal of the council of the Reform League the government came to the weak determination to prevent the meeting in the park. The council had taken legal opinion on the subject, and were not without precedent, so that they did not withdraw their avowed intention though Sir Richard Mayne, the chief commissioner of the metropolitan police force, issued a notice forbidding the assembly, and was supported by Mr. Walpole at the Home Office. No argument could prove that the holding of such a meeting was contrary to law, or that those who might attend it were not within their right in assembling at a public place; and supported by this assurance the Leaguers were prepared to put their claim to the test. But they did so in a way that was perfectly legal and eminently orderly. Mr. Beales, who had held the office of revising barrister for Middlesex, a position from which it was afterwards stated he had been removed because of his political associations with the League, acted with considerable prudence, and both he and his colleagues proved that they were capable of organizing a large association in a manner which would prevent a breach of the law if they were let alone. It mostly happens, however, that any public movement maintained by monster meetings and demonstrations attracts numbers of disorderly and lawless persons who care little or nothing for its objects, and only make use of its assemblies for the purpose of robbery or riot. The prospect of a vast crowd assembled at Hyde Park would therefore have justified such precautions as might have enabled the police to deal with any attempt to resort to violence or the destruction of property. As it was, steps were taken to deal, not with an unruly mob should occasion arise, but to use force for the purpose of preventing a political demonstration by members of the League.

Notices had been posted throughout London stating that the park gates would be closed to the public at five o'clock on the evening appointed for the meeting. At that hour thousands of persons were standing at the entrances to the park, which were kept by the police who were posted inside the gates. The council of the League had met in the afternoon and determined to abide by their arrangements. The members of the association, divided into sections, were to march from various parts of London in regular order, with their banners, to the place of meeting. For these processions the crowd was waiting, a crowd largely composed of idle and mischievous lads and rough fellows ready to take advantage of any chance of horse-play and willing to show impatience of authority. A few stones and two or three sticks were thrown, and the police were then marched outside the gates, before which they stood in a semicircle, the mounted constables in front of them. Presently the banners of the first procession were seen approaching the Marble Arch, and the mob greeted them with cheering, and made way for the leaders to pass towards the gates. Mr. Edmond Beales, Colonel Dickson, and other active members of the League, came first in a carriage, from which they alighted. Mr. Beales, speaking to the nearest mounted police officer, requested admission to the park, but was told that he could not enter. On his asking for a reason the officer said, "I have authority to prevent you." To the inquiry, What authority? he replied, "Our commissioner." The leaders of the party then returned to their carriage amidst the cheers and remonstrances of the dense crowd, which had been estimated to consist of at least a hundred thousand persons. The procession then reformed as well as it could, and turned back, following its leaders through Oxford Street to Trafalgar Square, where in a few words two resolutions were passed—one urging the prosecution of lawful and constitutional means for

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extending the franchise, and the other thanking Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and others for remaining faithful to the cause of parliamentary reform while so many had basely deserted it.

That was an end of the proceedings so far as the members of the Reform League were officially concerned, but the crowd about Hyde Park had not dispersed. They still hung about the railings, by which they were prevented from entering the park itself. There were, no doubt, many reformers among them, but they were certainly a small minority. The business of the day was over, and nothing exciting had come of it. A dense mass began to move towards Park Lane, where there was already considerable pressure. Nobody could afterwards prove whether the railings there, being already shaky, began to sway inward by the weight of those who stood leaning on them, or whether, finding them already loose, one person or twenty persons gave them a sudden push. Whatever may have been the immediate cause, they went down at one point, and in a few minutes the whole line of half a mile of iron rails followed, and the park was invaded by the shouting, screaming, triumphant mob, who, of course, resisted the attempts of the police to drive them back, and went scampering and leaping over the grass and trampling over the flower-beds. There were numerous free fights, truncheons were used with considerable vigour, stones flew, and several persons were badly injured. A detachment of foot-guards arrived and amidst the cheers of the mob took up a position by the gate, a body of life-guards were greeted in the same enthusiastic manner as they galloped off to another part of the park. It was against the police that the mob exerted itself, and doubtless many in that surging crowd regarded the police as their natural enemies, and tried to do them mischief. Many of them were seriously hurt, and it was not to be wondered at that they defended themselves and repeatedly charged their assailants. A second body of foot-guards arrived and were held in readiness to fire on the rioters if things became more serious; they aided the police in driving back and separating their opponents. Then the life-guards reappeared. Hostilities wore themselves out, and eventually the park was cleared. That night half London had shared in the panic, which seemed to have originated with the government; but the next day all was quiet, and another, comparatively law-abiding and orderly, crowd was in Park Lane and about Piccadilly, curious to see the ruined railings and to walk over the scene of the conflict. That conflict was over. It had, strictly speaking, little or nothing to do with the question of the franchise, but it was asserted on all hands that it hastened a measure of reform such as the government of Lord Derby would not have proposed except under the pressure of what they supposed to be a threatening demonstration. It seems far more likely, however, that the attitude immediately afterwards assumed by the leaders of the League had that effect. Only two days had elapsed when Mr. Beales, Colonel Dickson, and others who had sought to lead the procession into the park, and on being refused what they believed to be their legal right, had peacefully retired, waited upon the home secretary on his invitation to consult in reference to the disturbances in Hyde Park. Then was their opportunity. Mr. Walpole was a kindly, humane gentleman, and was already deeply concerned that the prohibition he had ordered should have had such a painful result. It soon became evident that he was not quite sure of the ground he had taken, and Mr. Beales very solemnly and very truly represented to him that it was impossible to overrate the gravity of the crisis; that to restore order, it was necessary to withdraw the military and the police from the park. If this were done, he, Mr. Beales, and his friends would use their best efforts to pacify the public. Mr. Walpole thanked them for going to see him and for the conciliatory tone they had used in reference to the "unhappy proceedings." He was much affected by the interview, and it was said that he shed some tears. Perhaps he did, and they were certainly no disgrace to him, though they may have been an evidence that he was not made of stuff stern enough for the office he held and soon afterwards resigned. When the

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Reform Leaguers left him it was with an understanding that had the government known they meant to try their right to enter the park in a legal way, they would have had every facility for doing so, and that if they would not, in the meantime, insist on their presumed right, and on condition that there were no disturbance and no attack on property, there should be no display of military or police in the park. The end of it was that notice was given by the League that there would be no further meetings in the park except only on the following Monday afternoon, "by arrangement with the government."

Amidst these disquieting events Mr. Gladstone preserved a certain reticence. He took no part in the demonstrations that were made, but waited to see whether any measure, or what kind of measure, would be brought forward by his opponents.

There were members of the new cabinet who would have held out against the introduction of any bill dealing with the question of reform; but both Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli knew that the ministry would not be able to retain office for many days if they refused to make prompt advances to meet what had now grown to a loud and general demand. The difficulty chiefly fell on Mr. Disraeli, as leader in the House of Commons. He had opposed the whole scheme proposed by his predecessors, had denounced the extensions it proposed, and had declared that it was calculated to change the character of the English constitution to that of America. The victory by which he had again come into office had been won by the division of the opposition, and the party which had aided him to defeat the Liberal government were little likely to accept any proposals for reform, without exercising the power of destructive criticism. It required all his adroitness to meet these combined difficulties, and a man less confident in his own dexterity would have shrunk from the task that lay before him. Two questions seem to have presented themselves to him. The first was how to bring in a reform bill which should be so plastic as to take its shape from the opposition, and so enable the ministry to retain office: the second, how to pacify and persuade his colleagues that they might agree to present a bill wide enough to have a chance of being committed to discussion. The reference made in the royal speech to parliamentary reform was, "Your attention will again be called to the state of the representation of the people in parliament; and I trust that your deliberations, conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of political power, shall freely extend the elective franchise." The latter part of this intimation was interpreted by many Liberals to mean, "There will be some changes, but no such alterations as will make any considerable difference in the result of elections, no disturbance of the political power enjoyed by the landed aristocracy." The meaning of the first part of the reference was soon apparent, for the ministry acted with remarkable promptitude. The session commenced on Tuesday the 5th of February, 1867, and on the following Monday the leader in the House of Commons was prepared with his statement of the government scheme. In a house crowded with anxious and curious listeners Mr. Disraeli rose to speak, and his first communication was received with an outburst of laughter from the opposition, for it was to the effect that in the opinion of the government, parliamentary reform should no longer be a question which ought to decide the fate of ministers. It was soon to become evident that the Conservative government would neither destroy their bridges nor burn their boats, but would keep the means of retreat open and in repair. So far from Mr. Disraeli being disconcerted by laughter, he had probably calculated on exciting it, and he went on to justify the opinion he had expressed by reference to the fact that all parties in the state had at one time or other failed in endeavouring to deal with the question; that successive governments had brought in bills and had not been able to carry them. This was all very well, but when as a consequence of his declaration he announced that it was intended to proceed with the bill by way of resolutions, it soon became evident that the house would

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have none of them. These resolutions (there were thirteen of them) were, so to speak, "ready cut and dried," and were of a cleverly mixed character. Some of them may be said to have been obvious political axioms, or accepted statements on the subject of the franchise and electoral qualifications; but others presented such changes as it was thought the house might be induced to endorse, or at all events to accept with certain modifications. One of them proposed to base the occupation franchise in counties and boroughs on the principle of rating. Another declared in favour of a plurality of votes, to facilitate the settlement of the borough franchise; another that it was not expedient wholly to disfranchise any existing borough, and another proposed to leave it at the option of an elector to record his votes by means of polling papers. The thirteenth resolution was to ask for a royal commission to consider and submit a scheme for altering or determining the boundaries of parliamentary boroughs.

The opposition to these resolutions was as prompt as the action of the government. While they were being read to the House of Commons a meeting of working-men's trades-unions was assembled at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, where 20,000 persons were present. To this meeting Mr. P. A. Taylor read the resolutions proposed to the house, and after some discussion counter resolutions were passed to the effect that no improvement of the representation of the people in parliament would be satisfactory which was not based on the principle of the people themselves being personally represented, and that such direct and real representation could only be effected by means of residential and registered manhood suffrage, protected in its exercise by the ballot. There was no mistaking the decisive character of this opposition, and among the numerous demonstrations which were being held those of the trades-unions were undoubtedly not the least important, either in the numbers of people which they represented or in the completeness of their organization.

On the 21st of February a meeting of the supporters of the ministry was held, and the details of the measure to be brought before the house were discussed. Lord Derby then declared that this would be the last time he would attempt to deal with the subject of reform, and that nothing would induce him again to accept the onerous post he then occupied.

But the measure which was brought before the house four days later was not the measure that had been decided on. It was another bill, said to have been got up in a hurry after a meeting of the cabinet at which some of the members had unexpectedly refused, after all, to lend their support to the more comprehensive measure that had been submitted to the previous meeting. Three of the ministers threatened resignation—the Earl of Carnarvon, colonial secretary; General Peel, war secretary; and of course Viscount Cranborne. Then, it was stated, another measure had to be prepared, and as the meeting of the cabinet was held only just before the hour at which parliament was to assemble to hear the provisions of the bill, there was no time to frame another measure. The abortive proposal introduced to the house on the 25th of February was therefore satirically named the "ten minutes bill."

The facts appear to have been (according to a statement afterwards made by Lord Derby in the Lords) that a part of the adroit proceedings of the ministry consisted in the preparation of two bills, the most comprehensive of which was to have been submitted to the house if the house had consented to proceed on resolutions. This was the bill which was to have been presented even after the resolutions were abandoned, one objecting member of the cabinet (Lord Carnarvon) waiving his dissent; but at the last moment two other members, General Peel and Viscount Cranborne, refused their assent, and the government then determined to bring before the house a less comprehensive measure which they seemed to have in reserve in case of opportunity or emergency—a measure which they did not themselves consider satisfactory, but which they hoped might for a time settle the question.

We need not detail the proposals of this bill, which, when it was presented to the

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house, met with such an unmistakable rejection that it was withdrawn in almost as great a hurry as that in which it was said to have been prepared. On the 18th of March the "real original" bill was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer in a long address.

The expected measure had already raised anticipatory dissatisfaction both in the government and the opposition. As we have seen it had caused a split in the ministry, and had been discussed and opposed and altered till everybody was wondering what would be its similitude either to the original proposition of its framers or to the measure which the Liberals had been obliged to abandon because of a provoking resolution by which they lost a majority and had in consequence to resign office and to see most of their proposals and intentions appropriated. The question now was, how far would those proposals be altered or modified in accordance with professed Conservative opinions?

Mr. Disraeli afterwards said at the civic banquet at Guildhall: "What is the Tory party if it does not represent national feeling. . . . The Tory party is nothing unless it represent and uphold the institutions of the country. For what are the institutions of the country? They are entirely, in theory, and I am glad to see they are likely to be in practice, the embodiment of the national necessities, and the only security for national privileges. Well, then, I cannot help believing that because my Lord Derby and his colleagues have taken a happy opportunity to enlarge the privileges of the people of England we have not done anything but strengthen the institutions of this country, the essence of whose force is that they represent the interests and guard the rights of the people." This was an after-dinner speech, and was of course cheered to the echo. It was in effect a very bold and happy way of avoiding the recollection that Lord Derby and the Tories had remonstrated against parliamentary reform; that the premier had only yielded with the utmost reluctance and professed foreboding; that there had been divisions and resignations in the Conservative councils, and that the bill itself was, after all, very much a compromise. Still a Guildhall speech is never to be criticised with cold exactitude, and the bill itself, as it was presented on the 18th of March, 1867, was listened to with anxious interest by a densely crowded house, though so many propositions had previously been submitted to members and to the country. It cannot be denied that the plan now proposed, when taken in connection with the difficulties and prejudices with which the authors of it had had to contend, was wide and inclusive in its character.

The franchise in boroughs was to be conferred on every man of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who for the whole of the preceding two years had been the inhabitant occupier, whether as owner or tenant, of any dwelling-house within the borough, and had during the time of his occupation of it been rated to all rates (if any) made for the relief of the poor in respect of these premises, and had before the 20th of July paid all rates due up to the preceding 5th day of January.

The franchise in counties was to be conferred on every man of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who on the last day of July in any year, and during the preceding twelve months, had been the occupier as owner or tenant of premises of any tenure within the county, of the ratable value of fifteen pounds or upwards, and had during the time of his occupation been rated to all rates made for the relief of the poor, and had paid before the 20th of July all rates due by him on that property since the preceding 5th of January.

In addition to the franchises thus made to depend on the ownership or occupation of property, it was also proposed that there should be an educational franchise, to be conferred on all graduates or associates in arts of any university of the United Kingdom; on any male person who has passed at any senior middle-class examination of any university of the United Kingdom; on any ordained priest or deacon of the Church of England, or minister of any other denomination; on barristers, pleaders, attorneys, medical men, and certificated schoolmasters.

A pecuniary franchise was also to belong to every man who on the 1st of July in any year,

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and during the two years immediately preceding, had had a balance of not less than fifty pounds deposited in a savings-bank or in the Bank of England, or in any parliamentary stocks or funds, or had during the twelve months immediately preceding the 5th of April in any year been charged with and paid twenty shillings for assessed taxes and income-tax. Another clause of the bill, which was perhaps its most novel feature, provided that a person registered as a voter for a borough by reason of his having been charged with and paid the requisite amount of assessed taxes and income-tax, or either of such taxes, should not by reason of being so registered lose any right to which he might be entitled (if otherwise duly qualified) to be registered as a voter for the same borough in respect of any franchise involving occupation of premises and payment of rates, and when registered in respect of such double qualification he should be entitled to give two votes for the member (or, if there were more than one, for each member) to be returned to serve in parliament for the borough.

The provisions for the redistribution of seats were that Totness, Reigate, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster should cease to return any member; that Honiton, Thetford, Wells, Evesham, Marlborough, Norwich, Richmond, Lymington, Knaresborough, Andover, Leominster, Tewkesbury, Ludlow, Ripon, Huntingdon, Maldon, Cirencester, Bodmin, Great Marlow, Devizes, Hertford, Dorchester, and Lichfield, should henceforward only return one; that the Tower Hamlets should be divided into two boroughs, each returning two members; that the following counties, or divisions of counties, should be divided into two parts, each returning two members to parliament: South Devon, West Kent, North Lancashire, South Lancashire, Lincoln (parts of Lindsay), Middlesex, South Staffordshire, and East Surrey; that Torquay, Darlington, Hartlepool, Gravesend, St. Helens, Burnley, Staleybridge, Wednesbury, Croydon, Middlesborough, Dewsbury, and Bursley, and the University of London, should each return one member to parliament.

The bill was based on the principle embodied in Lord Dunkellin's motion. Thus, instead of drawing a £5, £6, or £7 line to cut off what had been called the residuum, that is to say the class whose extreme poverty rendered them most liable to be bribed or improperly influenced, the government boldly adopted household suffrage, with the qualification of the payment of rates; thus excluding from the franchise compound householders, who did not pay their rates personally, and those whose rates, under various acts, were compounded for by their landlords, and all lodgers. Mr. Disraeli calculated that his bill would admit 237,000 additional voters, but would leave 486,000 still excluded from the borough franchise, and that the result of his whole plan would be that one quarter of the voting power would belong to the aristocracy, another quarter to the working-classes, and the remaining half to the middle classes. Such was his proposed "balance of political power."

When the question of the second reading was brought forward Mr. Gladstone, who had conferred with a meeting of his parliamentary followers at his own house, consented against his own opinion, but in deference to the views and wishes of a large portion of them, and to avoid disunion in the Liberal camp, to allow that stage of the bill to pass without a division. But he expressed the strongest objections to it, and enumerated the following features in it which he regarded as highly objectionable:—The omission of the lodger franchise; the omission of provisions against traffic in votes of householders of the lowest class by corrupt payment of the rates; disqualifications of compound householders under the existing law; additional disqualifications of compound householders under the proposed law; a franchise founded on direct taxation; the dual vote; the inadequate redistribution of seats; the inadequate reduction of the franchise in counties; the proposal to adopt voting-papers; and the collateral or special franchises.

The dual vote, almost universally condemned, was withdrawn. After much discussion and with considerable difficulty the bill went into committee; and the formal clauses, containing the title and excluding from its operation Ireland, Scotland, and the two universities, were passed.

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On the 5th of April about 140 members of the Liberal party met at Mr. Gladstone's house to determine on the course which, under the circumstances in which they were placed, should be adopted with regard to the government bill. It was decided at this meeting that Mr. Coleridge should propose the following resolution before the house went into committee on the reform bill:—"That it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to alter the law of rating; and to provide that in every parliamentary borough the occupiers of tenements below a given ratable value be relieved from liability to personal rating, with a view to fix a line for the borough franchise, at which all occupiers shall be entered on the rate-book, and shall have equal facilities for the enjoyment of such franchise as a residential franchise." Much discussion took place with regard to this proposal, and some difference of opinion was expressed; but it was understood to be decided that the motion should be brought forward on the 8th of April, the day on which the house was to go into committee on the bill. However, on that very evening a meeting, consisting of between forty and fifty members of the Liberal party, was held in the tea-room of the House of Commons. At this meeting it was agreed that the persons composing it should unite for the purpose of limiting the instructions to be proposed by Mr. Coleridge to the first clause of his resolution, which applied to the law of rating. They then appointed a deputation to Mr. Gladstone to convey to him the feeling of the meeting, and to assure him that the members composing it would continue to give him a loyal support in committee. Mr. Gladstone, finding that by the defection of so many of his supporters he was almost certain to incur a defeat, yielded to their demands, and the resolution was altered accordingly. Mr. Disraeli accepted the altered resolution, and the house then went into committee on the bill. Thereupon Mr. Gladstone gave notice of several important amendments, which Mr. Disraeli declared to be the relinquished instructions in another form, and distinctly announced that if they should be carried, the government would not proceed with the bill. As most of the members who composed the meeting at the tea-room still held together, and were known as "the tea-room party," a majority of twenty-one defeated the first of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. After this he could not hope to carry his remaining resolutions; he therefore announced his intentions in a letter to Mr. Crawford, one of the members for the city, who had asked him whether he intended to persevere in moving the amendments of which he had given notice. In reply to this question Mr. Gladstone wrote:—"The country can hardly now fail to be aware that those gentlemen of the Liberal party whose convictions allow them to act unitedly on the question are not a majority, but a minority, in the existing House of Commons; and they have not the power they were supposed to possess of limiting or directing the action of the administration, or shaping the provisions of the reform bill. Still, having regard to the support which my proposal with respect to personal rating secured from so large a number of Liberal members, I am not less willing than heretofore to remain at the service of the party to which they belong; and when any suitable occasion shall arise, if it shall be their wish, I shall be prepared again to attempt concerted action upon this or any other subject for the public good. But until then, desirous to avoid misleading the country and our friends, I feel that prudence requires me to withdraw from my attempts to assume the initiative in amending a measure which cannot, perhaps, be effectually amended except by a reversal, formal or virtual, of the vote of Friday the 11th; for such attempts, if made by me, would, I believe, at the present critical moment, not be the most likely means of advancing their own purpose. Accordingly I shall not proceed with the amendments now on the paper in my name, nor give notice of other amendments such as I had contemplated; but I shall gladly accompany others in voting against any attempt, from whatever quarter, to limit yet farther the scanty modicum of enfranchisement proposed by the government, or in improving, where it may be practicable, the provisions of the bill."

The discussion of Mr. Gladstone's first re-

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solution showed that a very great confusion of opinion existed in the ranks both of the ministerialists and of their opponents; for while Sir William Heathcote, Lord Cranborne, and Mr. Beresford Hope, all stanch Conservatives, strongly assailed the government, the measure was supported by Mr. Roebuck and several advanced Radicals, who hoped, and as the result showed, not without reason, that they would be able to transform it into such a measure as they desired. The tea-room party were, in fact, able to take advantage of the discussions, and the evidently yielding tendency of the government, to obtain concessions practically identical with household suffrage in boroughs.

On the 17th of May Mr. Hodgkinson, member for Newark, proposed to add to the third clause of the bill the following words, which would have the effect of abolishing the system of compounding for rates in parliamentary boroughs:—"That no person other than the occupier shall be rated to parochial rates in respect of premises occupied by him within the limits of a parliamentary borough, all acts to the contrary notwithstanding." The system which this motion was designed to destroy had all along been regarded and represented as one of the great Conservative safeguards of the bill. The government, as was well known, had secured a majority. Mr. Gladstone, aware of this, came into the house expecting, as a matter of course, that the motion would be rejected; Mr. Disraeli's own colleagues entertained the same expectation; when, to the astonishment probably of every one present, Mr. Disraeli, acting entirely on his own responsibility, accepted the amendment —which had the effect of nearly quadrupling the number of electors on whom the franchise would be conferred—and afterwards persuaded his colleagues that the adoption of this proposition was an improvement of the measure. When the committee again met, Mr. Ayrton moved a resolution reducing the period of residence required for the franchise from two years to one. The motion was resisted by the government, but on a division was carried by 270 to 197. Mr. Disraeli at once announced that he could not proceed with the bill without consultation with his colleagues; and another ministerial crisis seemed to be impending; but on the following night he announced that the government had decided to bow to the decision of the house and persevere with their measure.

Meanwhile the bill went steadily forward, the Liberal leaders now hoping to make it all that they had desired, and the government, conceding a ten-pound lodger franchise, abandoning the fancy franchises, reducing the county qualification from £15 to £10, raising the standard of semi-disfranchisement from 7000 to 10,000, and consequently the number of boroughs condemned to lose one of their representatives to forty-six. They proposed to distribute the seats thus placed at their disposal in the following manner: two to Hackney, two to Chelsea with Kensington; one each to twelve boroughs which up to this time had not been represented. Additional members were to sit for each of the following counties or county divisions—West Kent, North Lancashire, and East Surrey; to divide South Lancashire into two, and Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire, and Essex, into three electoral districts, each of them to be represented by two members. It was also proposed that the Universities of London and Durham should be combined for the purpose of returning a joint representative, instead of the member being given to London University alone, as had originally been intended.

Mr. Disraeli, however, did not succeed in the attempt to amalgamate the High Church University of Durham with the somewhat Liberal and freethinking University of London. After two divisions, in one of which the word "university" was substituted for "universities," and in the other the motion to add the word "Durham" was rejected, the proposal made for extending to the counties the system of voting by papers, which had already been adopted for the universities, was also rejected.

It was evident that the new ministry, in spite of the previous declarations, was prepared, or had been persuaded, to recede from

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almost any propositions founded on those declarations, should their persistence threaten to prevent the measure from passing. Mr. Horsfall's proposal for giving a third member each to Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham was at first strongly opposed by the government, but was at length conceded by Mr. Disraeli, who also added Leeds to the list of towns which were thus to have increased representation.

So often had the chancellor of the exchequer, representing the ministry, protested, hinted at a possible resignation, taken time to consider the position of the government, and yielded, that these proceedings had almost become formal observances when amendments were persisted in by the opposition. At the beginning of the session, when the bill was disclosed in which it was proposed to proceed by resolutions, Mr. Lowe had said a simple bill was wanted which would bring the question to an issue. He was ashamed to hear, addressed to him as a 658th part of the house, such language as this: "If the house will deign to take us into its council, if it will co-operate with us in this matter, we shall receive with cordiality, with deference, nay, even with gratitude, any suggestion it likes to offer. Say what you like to us, only for God's sake leave us our places!"

It seemed as though Mr. Disraeli had retained the principle on which he had proposed proceeding by resolutions,—that he was determined to pass a reform bill which should be composed of resolutions from both sides of the house, and to make those compromises which would enable the ministry to maintain its footing.

Nor had he concealed this intention; for in the discussion on the second reading of the bill he had said: "All I can say on the part of my colleagues and myself is, that we have no other wish at the present moment than, with the co-operation of the house, to bring the question of parliamentary reform to a settlement. I know the parliamentary incredulity with which many may receive avowals on our part that we are only influenced in the course we are taking by a sense of duty; but I do assure the house, if they need such assurances after what we have gone through, after the sacrifices we have made, after having surrendered our political connections with men whom we more than respected, I can assure them that we have no other principle that animates us but a conviction that we ought not to desert our posts until this question has been settled. . . . We are prepared, as I think I have shown, to act in all sincerity in this matter. Act with us, cordially and candidly, and assist us to carry out—as we are prepared to do, as far as we can act in accordance with the principles which we have not concealed from you—this measure, which we hope will lead to a settlement of the question consistent with the maintenance of the representative character of this house. Act with us, I say, cordially and candidly; you will find on our side complete reciprocity of feeling. Pass the bill, and then change the ministry if you like."

There could have been very little doubt of the difficulties which had been experienced, or of the surrenders that had been made by the time that the bill had passed. The chancellor of the exchequer was believed to have controlled the ministry. Mr. Gladstone had not long before been charged with coercion towards his colleagues, and it was insinuated that he ruled his party. It was now Mr. Disraeli's turn to be assailed on the same ground.

"I say if we wish to make progress with this bill," said Mr. Bernal Osborne, "let us have no law. Let us rely on the chancellor of the exchequer. I say this without any innuendo respecting his sincerity. I always thought the chancellor of the exchequer the greatest Radical in this house. He has achieved what no other man in the country could have done. As I have said before, he has lugged up that great omnibus full of stupid, heavy country gentlemen—I only say 'stupid' in the parliamentary sense. It is a perfectly parliamentary word. He has converted these Conservatives into Radical reformers. In fact the chancellor of the exchequer is the ministry by himself, for it could not exist a day without him, and all the rest who sit near him are most respectable pawns on the board, their opinion being not

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worth a pin; when I hear the chancellor of the exchequer say a thing I know it shall and will be so."

The invectives of Mr. Lowe and of Lord Cranborne were repeated with interest at the third reading of the bill. The latter, who had resigned his position as secretary for India, in which he had displayed both assiduity and ability, was rendered more antagonistic still by the last concessions made by Mr. Disraeli. "If you borrow your political ethics from the ethics of the political adventurer," he said, "you may depend upon it, the whole of your representative institutions will crumble beneath your feet. . . . I entreat honourable gentlemen opposite not to believe that my feelings on this subject are dictated simply by my hostility to this measure, though I object to it most strongly, as the house is aware. But even if I took a contrary view, if I deemed it to be most advantageous, I still should deeply regret to find that the House of Commons had applauded a policy of legerdemain." He desired, he said, to protest in the most earnest language he was capable of using, against the political morality on which the manœuvres of that year had been based. Above all he regretted that this great gift to the people, if gift it was thought to be, should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which had no parallel in parliamentary annals, which struck at the root of all that mutual confidence which was the very soul of party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions could be maintained. Mr. Disraeli replied at length, and with no small exercise of his remarkable power of retort, both to Mr. Lowe and to Lord Cranborne, whose prognostications of evil he said he could treat with respect because they were sincere. At another opportunity, however, he took occasion to administer a stinging reply to Lord Cranborne for his personal attacks. One is led to suppose that it could only have been because he believed more in the sincerity of Lord Cranborne's political convictions than in that of his declarations that Mr. Disraeli, when he had become Earl of Beaconsfield, gave office to Lord Cranborne, who had become Marquis of Salisbury.

When the bill was taken to the House of Lords there was some disposition to discuss it fully, and to amend it pretty freely. Lord Derby was suffering severely from illness, and though he compelled himself to attend as much as possible to public business, he could not be present in the house at the time of the first discussions, and was obliged to leave the direction of the matter to Lord Malmesbury. Two important amendments were carried by Lord Cairns, who had been raised to the peerage five months before; one of these was to raise the qualification for the lodger franchise from £10 to £15, and the other to declare, that in any contested election in which three members were to be chosen, no elector should vote for more than two. This method of restricting the vote had been already well supported in the House of Commons, and went as near as was deemed practicable to secure the "representation of minorities" which had been much talked about. But Lord Derby could not leave the measure to the danger, either of being still more extended, or of being saddled with amendments that would provoke a serious conflict with the lower house. Ill and worn with pain, his arm in a sling, his face pale, and bearing the marks of suffering, he went down to his place in the house, and effected a reversal of the amendment on the lodger franchise. He also with much difficulty defeated some proposals from the other side. Before the bill passed Earl Russell severely censured some of Lord Derby's former intimations that it had been introduced for the sake of preserving the Conservative ministry. It was not very likely that Earl Russell could regard with perfect equanimity the spectacle of the appropriation by his opponents of the credit of a reform bill founded mostly on principles which they had denounced when he had himself endeavoured to introduce them; but he displayed little or no temper on that score. A measure which in its main points was really that for which he should have had credit, had been taken from him, and exploited by those who had been foremost in preventing him from carrying out those schemes of reform with which he may be said to have begun his political career. He was neither violent in his denun

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ciations nor vindictive in his criticisms, however. He thought the bill ought to be passed, and he said so, for he believed it would settle the question for a considerable time, and in this he was right. He was of opinion that the extension of the franchise would increase bribery, corruption, and treating, and till the mode of voting came to be altered he was perhaps not far wrong, especially as he qualified that opinion by saying that he did not believe much mischief would ensue, because vital points depended on the temper of the people. He did not think the scheme of distribution went far enough. In fact we have it on Earl Russell's own authority that though he assented to the necessity for passing the bill, he, like Lord Derby, regarded it as a leap in the dark; for he held that the right of voting for a representative body can only be founded on one of two principles: one being the Radical principle that every adult male who is subject to the laws of a country should have a share in electing its representatives; the other being the Whig principle that the persons endowed with the right of voting for the members of the House of Commons, by whom the whole state of the country is guided and directed, ought to be persons qualified by property and education for the discharge of so important a trust. Lord Derby's reform bill, he believed, answered neither of these descriptions. It did not comply with the Radical requirement, as hundreds of thousands of adult males were not admitted to the franchise. It did not comply with the Whig test, as many thousands of rated householders were in a state of ignorance and dependence.

It was the latter consideration which was made prominent by Mr. Lowe in his final onslaught upon the passing of the bill in the House of Commons, where—comparing Mr. Bright to Don Giovanni when he invited the commandatore to supper because he thought he could not come,—he said, "he invited household suffrage,—and it has come: you can never stop when once you set the ball rolling. . . . I believe it will be absolutely necessary to compel our future masters to learn their letters. It will not be unworthy of a Conservative government, at any rate, to do what can be done in that direction. I was opposed to centralization. I am ready to accept centralization. I was opposed to an education rate. I am now ready to accept it. This question is no longer a religious question: it is a political one. From the moment that you intrust the masses with power their education becomes an absolute necessity; and I believe that the existing system is one which is much superior to the much-vaunted Continental system. But we shall have to destroy it: it is not quality but quantity that we shall require. You have placed the government in the hands of the masses, and you must therefore give them education. You must take education up, the very first question, and you must press it on without delay for the peace of the country." These words were significant, and are still significant, now that a public education act has been for some years in operation. We need not, however, conclude, in the words of Mr. Lowe, "Oh that a man would rise in order that he might set forth in words that could not die the shame, the rage, the scorn, the indignation, and the despair with which the measure is viewed by every Englishman who is not a slave to the trammels of party, or who is not dazzled by the glare of a temporary and ignoble success!"

The fact was that there were a great many thousands of Englishmen who were exceedingly glad that this reformed reform bill had passed. When it went back from the Lords it was to a House of Commons again crowded in every part. The Lords' amendments were quickly dealt with, and only on four of them was there much debating. The clause giving votes to copyholders of £5 annual value, struck out by the Lords, was restored. The proposal that in constituencies sending three members to parliament electors should have only two votes was endorsed by the House of Commons, and so was that restricting the number of votes of each elector in the city of London to three. Lord Cranborne's revival of the proposal for the adoption of voting-papers was rejected.

Thus confirmed or amended the bill became law. It had been the chief work of the session:

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and on the whole the country had reason to be satisfied with it, for it went as far as any measure could, which would have been likely to find acceptance with both the larger parties in parliament.

With the passing of the Reform Bill both Earl Derby and Earl Russell may be said to have disappeared from the working world of politics in parliament. Earl Derby resigned his position as head of the Conservative party to Mr. Disraeli, who in February, 1868, achieved the height of that ambition which he had so many years before dared to express to Lord Melbourne, and became prime minister. In October, 1869, the earl who had so often led the great Conservative party, the "Rupert of Debate," who had so charged and scattered the forces of the opposition, died in his seventy-first year, leaving an unsullied name, a great reputation, and no successor in that line of parliamentary chieftainship, which may be said to have ceased when he no longer wielded the weapons of debate.

Earl Russell, in retiring from the leadership, left Mr. Gladstone to take his place, and did so, not only because he felt that he would himself soon be physically unequal to a much longer continuance of the labour imposed on him, but because he foresaw that a question was likely soon to arise which required not only unusual strength but a remarkable combination of powers to enable any statesman to grapple with it—the question of the Established Church in Ireland.

We must return for a moment to the early part of 1866, for the purpose of noting the effects of the financial disturbance in commercial circles with which the year had commenced. For some time there had been a growing tendency among large speculative firms to continue their operations by means of what may be described as fictitious capital—capital, that is to say, derived from advances made by the great "discount-houses" on acceptances. To meet these the profits on future transactions were forestalled, the security frequently being goods which were in bond in the dock warehouses, or which were yet to arrive, and to be sold before they could be paid for; the profits on the sale going to make up the payments of previous liabilities. Not only the regular "discount" or financial houses, but many of the private and some of the joint-stock banks, had for some time before, been launching into this business of "accommodation," and when the commercial prosperity of the country met with a temporary check, and certain industries began to be seriously affected by strikes and the operations of trades-unions, which drove some branches of trade to foreign manufactories, there came a crash which showed on what a rotten foundation many large enterprises had been erected, and included in the scene of ruin and disaster several genuine and reputable undertakings.

It was on Friday, the 11th of May, long afterwards known in the city,—and still remembered,—as "Black Friday," that the collapse of the great discount company of Overend, Gurney & Co. (Limited), which had taken place on the previous day, carried consternation to its furthest pitch.

It was not till about half-past three o'clock on the Thursday afternoon that the secretary of the company announced that they were obliged to suspend payment. The liabilities were stated to amount to the enormous sum of £11,000,000, and at the time of the suspension the engagements of the company amounted to £19,000,000, and traders and speculators depended on its resources for a corresponding supply of "accommodation." Overend, Gurney & Co. had been a private firm until the previous year, and was regarded with the utmost confidence, since it was believed, on pretty good authority, that it was supported by some of the wealthiest and safest of the Quaker capitalists. But in 1865 this "house" had been converted into a joint-stock limited liability company, of which the capital was set down at £5,000,000 in 100,000 shares of £50 each, the paid-up capital being £1,500,000. As the profits of the concern, when it was a private firm, were said to have been £250,000 a year, it was supposed to be a safe speculation, and at one time the shares had reached 10 per cent. premium. The bankruptcy of one large firm of contractors and the failure and frauds of another, shook the position of the company, and as it was re-

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ported that it was doing business beyond its nominal capital, the shares went down to 3, 4½, and finally 9½ discount on the day that it closed its doors. On that afternoon there was tremendous excitement in the city. Lombard Street and its approaches were filled by a crowd, through which applicants broke their way to find the house shut up. Cabs drove up in haste for their occupants to discover that the rumour of ruin was only too likely to be fulfilled. It was at first thought that the Bank of England would come to the rescue by advancing money on remaining securities; but, after conferring with the heads of other large banking establishments, and examining the books, it was found that no such assistance as could be given would be effectual to remedy the disaster.

On the Friday the panic was general and unreasonable. A few people who could afford to speculate, and kept cool heads, doubtless made remarkable bargains, for in some instances shares in banks and finance companies were offered for nothing. Holders of securities and brokers who acted for investors in such speculations hastened to get rid of them at almost any price, or to close all speculative engagements even at a considerable loss. The bank rate was raised from 8 to 9 per cent., and for special advances to 10 per cent. Only on bills of the most undoubted security could accommodation be obtained, and even at the high rate of discount the applications were so numerous that it was difficult to do business. The banking-houses were crammed with flushed and eager crowds. A concourse of people filled Lombard Street for hours, and at the closed doors of some of the large financial houses, stood men, moody or uncertain, waiting as though in the forlorn hope that some better intelligence might be forthcoming. It was a dreadful day. As though a financial earthquake devastated London ruin seemed to follow ruin. The English Joint Stock Bank failed for £800,000, and then the message came straight from the Stock Exchange that the great contractors Peto and Betts had gone for £4,000,000, and Shrimptons the railway contractors for £200,000. The Imperial Mercantile Credit Association and the Consolidated Discount Company followed, and towards the end of the day the Agra and Mastermans' Bank was reported to be shaky, the shares which had been at 33 premium in January having fallen to 1 discount. Eventually the Agra Bank, with which Mastermans' was associated, stopped payment, although during the crisis of these few days it paid £3,000,000 over the counter. This was one of the cruel results of that scandalous misrepresentation which so often accompanies a financial panic. The failure had been caused by a run on the branches of the bank in India, in consequence of false telegrams having been sent to say that the London bank had stopped payment.

Of course these terrible calamities affected numbers of persons and whole families who were reduced from a position of comparative affluence to poverty, and the successive failures disclosed how dangerously speculative was the manner in which many large and important enterprises were conducted. Undertakings so reckless that they could scarcely be dissociated from fraud, fell like houses of cards, and carried ruin to hundreds who had neglected to inquire into, or had no opportunity of examining their pretensions. To individuals the disasters of these few days in 1866 were sad indeed; but happily the community, that is to say the whole nation, was moderately prosperous; the financial condition of the country was sound, nor was the entire balance of trade long or seriously disturbed. At midnight on that "black Friday" Mr. Gladstone, after long and serious interviews with bank directors and representatives of great commercial projects, announced to the House of Commons that the government had determined to authorize the suspension of the Bank Charter Act. For the purpose of affording relief the Bank of England had extended its loan and discounts to above £4,000,000, leaving a reserve of only about £3,000,000.

We have already touched upon the war between Prussia and Austria, which followed the disputes raised in consequence of the occupation of Schleswig-Holstein, and a complete account of it would not necessarily belong to these pages, though the result has been of the

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utmost importance in European politics. The old rivalry came to a definite struggle, brought about, as it appeared at the time, by the policy of Count Bismarck, who was bent on the aggrandizement of Prussia. The seizure of the duchies was effected by the two powers, because neither could afford to yield to the other the forward place as the representative of Germany. When they entered on possession disputes became inevitable. Austria could not annex any portion of the conquered territory, and it became a question how to prevent the Prussian minister from taking advantage of the situation. The dispute had been temporarily suspended in 1865, when King William met the Emperor Francis Joseph at Gastein. William was not then ready to commit himself to a high-handed policy against Austria, and an arrangement was made for Prussia to take the provincial administration of Holstein, and Austria that of Schleswig. It was almost impossible that the policy of the two governments would agree, and Austria proposed a settlement by the arbitration of the Diet. Prussia had little regard for the Diet or its decisions, and Bismarck had perhaps foreseen the opportunity for a rupture. Whether he did so or not, it was expedited by the rather ostentatious preparations made by Austria for increasing armaments. When fighting is looked upon as a near and a not very detestable probability, pretexts will not long be wanting. Prussia made the preparations on the part of Austria a reason for demanding of the minor German states that they should determine on which side they would range themselves. Austria, it was alleged, had broken the treaty of Gastein, and it was urgent for Prussia to know on whom to rely for assistance in case of being attacked or forced into war by unmistakable menaces. An alliance was entered into between Prussia and Italy, both to declare war on Austria at the same time should Prussia determine to do so, and to continue it till Venetia should be restored to Italy, and the Prussians be in legal possession of the Elbe Duchies.

Austria called upon Prussia to disarm, and the reply was that she would do so when Austria set the example, and that Austria's proposals for disarmament were nullified by the preparations against Italy. War became imminent, and it was soon useless to disguise the fact. The armies were placed upon a war footing. Saxony made preparations which were denounced by Prussia, and supported by the Frankfort Diet, who determined to ask specific assurances from the Prussian government. Invitations for a conference sent by England, France, and Russia to Austria, Prussia, Italy, and the Diet were unavailing, Austria demanding as a previous stipulation that no territorial addition should be made to any of the contending states; and informing the Diet that no amicable arrangement could be come to with Prussia with respect to the Duchies. On the 12th of June, 1866, diplomatic relations ceased; Prussia declared war, and on the 15th Prussian armies were in Saxony and Hanover.

It was at first believed that the Prussian troops would be disaffected, or that the people would be half-hearted because of the dictatorship which had been exercised by Bismarck, and the suppression of popular representation. It was also assumed that the levies which had been taken into the Prussian army were no match for the trained soldiers of Austria, and that their generals were far inferior to those of the Southern forces under Benedek. Never were greater mistakes indulged in. The Prussians were apparently willing to condone past political tyranny for immediate military success, and the elevation of Prussia to the dominant position in Germany. The North German troops had been drilled, trained, and carefully exercised; and not only was that large army excellent in physique, but it was admirably equipped and armed with the breech-loading rifle, which had not at that time been regularly adopted by any other troops in Europe. As to generals, Bismarck had made prompt arrangements, and General Von Moltke had already settled the order of the campaign, as an accomplished chess-player might solve a problematic game against an antagonist with whose method he is well acquainted. Prince Frederick Charles and the Prince of Prussia were ready to lead their troops. It was important to obtain the first move. When the Diet, on the motion of Austria, voted the mo-

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bilization of the army, with a view to Federal execution in Holstein, the Prussian government announced that the German confederation was dissolved, and immediately declared war. But its troops had already entered Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse-Darmstadt, and three columns were advancing by different routes into Saxony. The Hanoverians, after a short defence, surrendered; Dresden was occupied, Schleswig, Holstein, and all Western Germany north of the Main, were taken with but little opposition. The Saxon forces retired before the larger invading army to join the Austrians in Bohemia, towards which Prince Frederick Charles advanced through Saxony, and by the Bohemian passes; the Prince of Prussia moving in a parallel line through Silesia. The arrangements for the two armies acting in concert were complete. They communicated by telegraph. The best of the Austrian troops, the German soldiers, were, it was said, in Venetia; the Italian and the Hungarian regiments in Bohemia were disaffected. In successive engagements the Prussians were victorious. Not only did they outnumber their opponents, but the rapidity and precision of their fire from the "needle-guns," and the training and regularity of the troops gave them a manifest advantage. At Nachod the Prussians of Steinmitz's corps were near meeting with a serious reverse; but they recovered in time to defeat the Austrian General Ramming, who brought into action 29 battalions, 16 squadrons, and 100 guns, against 22 battalions of Prussians, and lost 6000 men dead and wounded, beside 2500 prisoners, three standards, and six guns; the Prussian loss being 59 officers and 1132 privates killed and wounded.

The final great battle of Sadowa or Königgrätz took place on the 3d of July, and at this Moltke and the king were present. The carnage was dreadful, the Prussians losing in dead and wounded, or missing, 359 officers and 8794 men, or one twenty-third of their force; Austrians 1147 officers and 30,224 men, or one-seventh of their force engaged; or taking both sides, one-eleventh of the total force were killed or disabled. This was a much less proportion, however, than that of most of the large battles that had been fought in former years. At Wagram the proportion was one-eighth, at Leipsic one-fifth; at Belle Alliance one-third, the same as at Borodino; while at the battle of Pittsburgh in the American war the loss was represented as a fourth.

The victory of Prussia at Sadowa, gave her predominance in Germany. She annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Hesse-Darmstadt, and the army and foreign representation in the other northern states were transferred to her management, while the southern governments were quickly obliged by pressure from their subjects to apply for consideration and for admission to the new confederacy. We have already seen that by the cession of Venetia Italian freedom from Austrian rule was also completed.

It may be mentioned that in the Austro-Prussian war the ability and energy of the war correspondents of English newspapers became conspicuous. The news of the campaign, together with maps and plans, as supplied by the representatives of the London press, kept the English public almost as well informed of the progress of the war as though they had received intelligence direct from Von Moltke himself.

The gloom and foreboding which overshadowed the commercial outlook of 1866 continued to the end of the following year. Some of the great railway companies became embarrassed by serious difficulties, and the conditions which then affected the Brighton, the North British, the Great Eastern, the Great Western, and still more obviously the London, Chatham, and Dover lines, for a time affected the credit even of the more prosperous companies. But even the companies most deeply involved were able gradually to retrieve their position by an increase of traffic which represented the growth of their legitimate business, and by abandoning some of the projected branches and extensions which would have diminished their already insufficient resources. With banks and joint-stock financial enterprises the results were different, some of the former especially, having ruinously speculated in accommodation bills. The most

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threatening of the conditions affecting national prosperity, however, was the action of some of the trades-unions, not only in organizing strikes and inducing workmen to refuse to work except during hours, and at a rate of wages, arbitrarily settled for them by their alleged representatives, and thus in many instances compelling large firms to close their works, or to reduce their production, because of their inability to compete with foreign rivals; but also in fostering a system of terrorism, for the purpose of preventing workmen from acting independently or accepting employment without the permission of "delegates" and "executives," who were ready to commit outrages upon the life and property of any one refusing to acknowledge the authority of the society.

It was of course asserted that such outrages, of which deliberate attempts to maim or to murder formed a part, were not countenanced by the majority of the trades having unions for the regulation of wages and labour; but such particulars as had been made known caused widely spread uneasiness and no little indignation both among the community in general, and the reasonable members of trades associations. We have already seen how large a part these societies took in the reform demonstrations, though it is to be noted that the political ardour of many of the members composing them was of a rather fickle and unenduring kind. On the occasion of a great London trades demonstration, those attending which were to parade at Whitehall and march to Chiswick, the numbers of workmen, which everybody had been assured would be 200,000, did not exceed 30,000. The weather was inclement, and it requires a robust political enthusiasm to march along with a procession, or to take a tramp of five or six miles through the rain and damp for the purpose of demonstrating. At Beaufort House, which was the destination of the men who had been called together by notices sent some days before, only a portion of the assembly remained to hear the speeches of Mr. Beales and others. Some did not arrive till the meeting had begun. It was there that Leicester the glass-blower made his famous oration, in which he spoke of Mr. Beales as one of the martyrs of the contest, and said the question was, Would they suffer these little-minded, deceitful, hump-backed, one-eyed scoundrels who sat in the House of Commons, to rob and defraud them any longer of their rights; and were those who had squandered the people's earnings like water, to continue to do so?

Mr. Leicester seems to have travestied Mr. Gladstone's quotation about certain crooked little men. He went on to ask, What had Lord Derby done? and replied by saying, he had translated Homer, but he could not make one of the beautiful specimens of glass-work which had been carried in procession that day; and that there was not a stocking-weaver in Leicester, or a clodhopper in the kingdom, rendering service to the state, who was not quite as useful as Lord Derby.

There was, of course, a great deal of rather frothy, and not very significant oratory at that period, but the working-men were in the main loyal to the crown and to the useful institutions of the country. Of their loyalty to the queen a good instance occurred at another meeting at St. James's Hall, where Mr. Ayrton used some words censuring her majesty for not personally recognizing the people when they assembled in such numbers in front of one of her palaces. Mr. Ayrton was a man with a cantankerous twist. If there was an opportunity of saying anything disagreeable he seldom missed it, and he could scarcely ever pay a compliment except in terms which changed it into an imputation. He seems to have been moved more by irritability of temper and impatience with stupid people—which of course often meant people who did not think as he did—than to have displayed calculated denunciation, and he practised the art of taking things by their wrong handles, till his own constituents of the Tower Hamlets could no longer bear with him, and meetings and deputations shunned him. On this occasion,—at the meeting at St. James's Hall,—Mr. Bright gave him a reproof which must have burned deep if he had much feeling, and in spite of his truculent disregard to the feelings of other people he was not wholly insensible to rebuke.

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"I am not accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns," said Mr. Bright, "but I could not sit and hear that observation without a sense of wonder and pain. I think there has been by many persons a great injustice done to the queen, in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman, be she the queen of a great realm or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection, is not at all wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you." These were good words, and the loud and ringing cheers which greeted them were as good a demonstration as could have been gained, that the men of the London trades who had met in the name of parliamentary reform, did not lack genuine loyalty.

The general prosperity of the country to which reference has been made was, as we have said, not inconsistent with serious commercial disturbance and ruinous monetary convulsion; nor could it neutralize the temporary effects of that financial panic. Still less could it avert the consequences of strikes and sudden interruptions in the labour market. The effects of the operation of trades-unions was seen in the widely-spread distress of the followers of unskilled labour. In the east end of London,—Bethnal Green, Limehouse, and Poplar,—there was great suffering among the poor during the severe winter of 1866–67. At Deptford there were attempts to commence a bread-riot, and large numbers of the dockyard labourers were out of employment. The operations of the poor-law in these districts were insufficient to relieve the daily and increasing wants of the people during the bitter weather, and various organizations were formed for the purpose of providing food, clothing, and shelter for famished and houseless families. Public indignation was excited by the heartless conduct of some of the workhouse officials and poor-law ("relieving") officers at that time; and the vast number of applicants for the shelter and food which the law ordered should be provided at the casual night-wards of the London workhouses, afforded appalling evidence of the reality of the want and destitution among the poorer class. The anomaly—an anomaly not yet rectified—was, that the shopkeepers in these neighbourhoods, though the universal distress had deprived them of their customers, and they were themselves sinking into destitution, were called upon to pay enormous rates for the relief of the poor, while in the parishes of London inhabited by wealthy householders the rate was comparatively inconsiderable. Some expedients were afterwards adopted to approximate to an equalization of the rates, but they were never carried to complete and effectual legislation. Still charitable efforts were not wanting: subscriptions poured in: the local clergy and active permanent committees of relief made arrangements for distributing food, clothing, money, and all kinds of comforts to the starving and the unemployed. This went on for some time till a strange and serious result was observed. The poor from other districts began to seek temporary, if not permanent, dwellings at the east end of London. House-rent and the charge for lodgings rose considerably. Even single rooms were at a premium. The idle and the careless began to take advantage of the reports that Poplar and Limehouse had become a land of plenty. Trades-unionists, whose unions had not supplied them with funds for keeping their families from semi-starvation, saw how to obtain a little further relief. The dock companies found that there was no absolute need to raise the wretched wages of their labourers, since in times of moderate prosperity the parish would give outdoor relief, and so supplement the insufficient wages out of the rates, and in times of scarcity benevolent people would subscribe to make up the want of wages by gifts of meat, coals, soup, and clothing. So the dock shareholders, as well as other employers of underpaid labour, kept up their dividends, so far as they *were* kept up, by retaining a low rate of payment. It will of course be said that this is inevitable, and that the commodity of labour will necessarily find its price and be quoted according to the laws of supply and demand. Quite so. But the effects of certain side issues as well as of main issues in this scientific way of treating the question were, at that period, very deeply impressed on people's

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minds by what was taking place daily before the relief committees; and the questions were once more asked, with some emphasis, How are paupers made? and, How are the suffering poor to be effectually relieved by having a share in the world's work found for them? All this time the question was rendered far more difficult by the action of some of those trades-unions, which, being associated with benefit-clubs, punished any of their members who consented to work overtime or agreed to take reduced wages, by refusing to give them the advantages to which as subscribers to the clubs they were justly entitled. There were employers of unskilled labour who did not (perhaps could not) afford to pay more than would suffice to support the individual, who was therefore obliged to seek charitable aid for his family; and there were employers of skilled labour who were ready to pay wages that could have enabled the workers to maintain themselves and wives and children, but whose gates were closed because the unions forbade any of its members to accept a lower rate of wages or to work for a greater number of hours than had been decided on at their meetings. At the same time hostile measures were taken against all those workmen who refused to join the unions. They were followed, insulted, and in many instances assaulted. At the gates of builders' yards, of factories, and of large workshops pickets of union men were stationed for the express purpose of dissuading the hands to continue their engagements, or of preventing them from doing so by physical violence.

At Sheffield the outrages committed by avowed members of the unions had long been notorious for their diabolical malice. When the Social Science Congress was held in Sheffield in 1865 a great meeting of working men was summoned to meet Lord Brougham and other members, and about 3000 assembled at the Alexandra Music Hall. The veteran addressed them in an introductory speech chiefly concerning the importance of making the homes of working men comfortable to themselves and their families, as a measure lying at the root of all social improvement. Several other speakers followed, mostly in a tone of conciliation and with remarks adapted to the appreciation of the audience. Mr. Thomas Hughes, however, took the opportunity of speaking some plain and wholesome truths, and with no little daring ventured to say in reference to advocacy of the claims of the working men, that the difficulty which had stood in his way was that this had been constantly thrown in his teeth: "Oh, have you heard of the last trade outrage in Sheffield? Have you heard that a house has been blown up with gunpowder, and that another man's wife and child have been attacked because he did not —— Did not what? Because he did not obey the laws of a union of which he was not even a member? If trades-unions are to fight the battle of the working men they must set their faces against practices such as this." Addressing an audience of Yorkshiremen, he asked them to hear him patiently, and hear what were the reports of the doings in this town; and then, if they could contradict those statements, let them do so. Let them say, "These outrages are things of the past; in the future you shall hear no more of them. We will fight our battles henceforth in an honourable, straightforward, and Christian manner." Well, now, he had heard a few things of Sheffield. The men of this town lived in the very heart, in the midst of the intelligence of England, and, as working men, they received the highest rate of wages; and yet he was told they were opposed to the introduction of machinery, whereby they were driving away from the town a large branch of industry for which they had been celebrated for hundreds of years. Well, he was brought up in an agricultural district, and was just old enough to remember the machine-breaking which took place in that part of the country. Those acts of folly produced a sad amount of destitution and misery; but by-and-by the men found out their mistake, and now there were reaping-machines and thrashing-machines working all through the district; and what was the result? That wages had risen 50 per cent since the introduction of machinery. He would warn the men of Sheffield, if they were opposed to machinery, that there could be only one result—that they would drive the industry of the town into towns where the

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men were not so short-sighted. Then he heard that there were rests used, the use of which was enforced by the trade, but the effect of which was to double up the man's arm and make it useless after a few years, while they had a rest which produced no such results, and which, if used, would enable a man to work ten, fifteen, or twenty years longer. If that were not true, let them contradict it. To his mind it was necessary that he should, in this great centre of trades-unions, where they had it nearly all their own way, tell them the plain truth; and in so doing he repeated, with regard to machinery, that if what he had heard was true, they had adopted a course by which they would gradually lose the confidence of the best part of their fellow-countrymen, and by which they would not hold their own in the great industrial race of the country.

It required some courage to speak like this, and though a few of the men present were pushed forward by their companions to contradict some of these statements, no effectual answer was given to them. Nor were the practices which Mr. Hughes denounced, discontinued. They became intensified, and while the trades-unions denied that they were encouraged by their body, and asserted that the outrages were committed by violent and lawless men whose actions they were unable to control, they seemed never to have put forth the strong influence which they possessed for the purpose of denouncing and preventing such infamous offences. At length, after a number of crimes had aroused public indignation, the miscreants concerned in them proceeded to what appeared to be deliberate murder, and the officers of the unions becoming alarmed, utterly repudiated any connection with the offences said to have been committed at their instigation, and demanded that the charges made against them should be investigated by the trades-unions commission which had been appointed by Lord Derby's government, and was then sitting to inquire into the operations and effects of these associations.

The investigations of this commission proved that not in Sheffield only, but in Manchester and other manufacturing towns, a number of atrocious offences had been committed, and in many instances had been planned or suggested by officers of trades-unions. Some employers who had hired non-union men to do their work were threatened and assaulted. Others actually gave up business in the dread of being maimed or murdered. One brick-maker had his shed burned down with naphtha and some valuable machinery destroyed. Brick-makers who were non-unionists found the clay which they went to handle, filled with needles. Watchmen employed to protect property were shot at, wounded, and even killed; in one case a valuable horse was slowly roasted to death in revenge against its owner. These dark places of the earth were full of cruelty.

The number of the atrocities at Sheffield was appalling, and the worst of them were traced to the instigation of one man named Broadhead, the secretary of the saw-grinders' union. In many other instances the methods pursued by the unions were infamous and tyrannical; but even the worst of them were scarcely suspected of the crimes which were discovered during an inquiry instituted by Mr. Overend, Q.C., who had been appointed to investigate the working of the Sheffield societies. As he had authority given him to grant a free pardon to any persons who would fully disclose what they knew of the iniquitous transactions, a searching examination elicited details which were so horrible that the account of them affected even the witnesses themselves, and sent a thrill of indignation through the country. The actual perpetrators of these crimes came forward to confess them in evidence, as they thereby escaped the penalty that they had long feared; and the miscreant Broadhead himself took this way of escaping, and during his presence in the court adjured one of his companions to "tell the truth" and "tell all."

A witness named Hallam disclosed several outrages, and at length confessed to having been concerned with another man in shooting a workman named Linley, who had incurred the displeasure of the members of the union by refusing to join them and to desist from working.

Hallam became much agitated in giving his

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evidence, and twice fainted in the court. He said, "Crookes joined with me in shooting Linley. I compelled Crookes to shoot him. He shot him with an air-gun." On being asked if any other person had set him on to do this, his reply showed with what fiendish cunning Broadhead had made these men his tools.

"I asked Broadhead one day what he was doing with Linley, and he said he would have a conversation with me the next day. I saw him the next day, and he asked me if I recollected the previous day's conversation. I said I did. He asked me what I would do with him. I told him I would make him as he would work no more. . . . He asked me what I should want for doing it; and I asked him if £20 would be too much. He said, No, he should think not. I said I would do it."

Being asked if he had told Broadhead how it was to be done, he answered that he had not. "I saw Crookes on the following day, and told him I had got the job to do Linley. He asked me whom I had seen, and I told him I had seen Broadhead, and that we were to have £20. He said he thought we should not get £20. I saw him again the week following. We went to Broadhead's to see what we were to have. Crookes saw him alone. When he returned to me he said we were to have £15; that was all he would give. I then went upstairs to Broadhead, and he told me he would not give more than £15 for the job. I agreed to do it. I got £3 from him, and bought a revolver. Crookes got an air-gun." It was with that gun that the unfortunate victim was shot. The two wretches followed him about from place to place nearly every night for five or six weeks before they could get the opportunity they sought. They did not intend to kill him; but Crookes, who was "a pretty good shot," and had been seen by his accomplice to shoot rabbits in Eccleshall Wood, was to aim at the man's shoulder, and so to disable him from working. At last, one night at dusk, having followed him to the Crown public-house, where he was sitting in a room with other persons, they remained in the yard. Linley was sitting near the window. At first Crookes refused to shoot him, but Hallam declared that he would do it himself, and he had also found a way by which they might escape out of the yard. Crookes then raised the air-gun and shot the man just as he was leaning forward in earnest conversation. It was intended that the ball should strike him under the shoulder, but it glanced upward and wounded the back of the head, inflicting an injury of which he afterwards died. The assassins fled, and the money which had been promised was paid.

Crookes, the man who committed the crime, came up to add his evidence to that of Hallam, and it was to him, as he passed into the court before the commission, that Broadhead called out, "Tell the truth, Sam, tell all." Broadhead himself had already come forward to save himself by confessing to a list of outrages for which it would almost appear he had no very deep remorse, or at all events no overwhelming shame, though he expressed abhorrence of his crimes and wept during his confession. The reason alleged for shooting Linley was that he had hired a number of boys to work, and was injuring the trade. Another man was "blown up" for having been brought into the trade contrary to rule. They expected if he was admitted a member they would "have him on the box," by which they meant receiving money from the support fund, and it was to drive him from the trade that he was blown up. Crookes had been hired to lame Helliwell by shooting him, but did not get an opportunity. Another man was hired to find somebody to shoot a person named Parker, the price for which was £20 to £30, a sum, to pay which, Broadhead embezzled from the funds. Somebody was to have £5 for blowing up the boilers of a manufacturing firm at Sheffield, to whom Broadhead wrote a letter, saying, "If I but move my finger you are sent into eternity as sure as fate." A man named Baxter, who had "held aloof from the trade" when Broadhead thought he ought to contribute, was punished by having a canister of gunpowder thrown down his chimney. Another man's house was to be blown up; the blowing up of the houses of those who employed non-society men; the flinging of canisters of powder down chimneys, hamstringing

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It should be remembered, however, that the lawlessness and violence of some of the associations may have been the result of earlier declarations of the legislature, which denied to labourers the right of peacefully combining for the purpose of promoting their own interests. Where any union of workers for the purpose of influencing the operations of a particular trade, and of combining for the common purpose of obtaining better conditions of employment, is made an offence against the law, men who are brooding over their supposed wrongs and smarting with a sense of injustice will too often abandon efforts to act in accordance with the claims of order, and will disregard the demands of common humanity beyond the pale of which they conceive that they have themselves been removed.

While these disturbances were exciting much attention and some dismay, public curiosity was aroused by reports of the remarkable ability for organization manifested by the commanders of an expedition which had been ordered to Abyssinia for the purpose of insisting on the liberation of a number of Europeans, several of them German missionaries, who, along with Captain Cameron, the British representative, had been treacherously made captive by the half-savage tyrant "King" Theodore, whose successes against the chiefs of other tribes had given him control of the country.

People here knew but little of Abyssinia except that it was an almost unexplored country bounded by the Red Sea, Nubia, and Senaar, and spreading on the north-west to unknown tracts inhabited, where they were inhabited at all, by the Gallas, the Shoans, the Wanikas, and other wild tribes. Missionaries and a few enterprising travellers, who had penetrated the arid plains and dense thickets of that vast territory, informed us that the whole country formed a great irregular table-land, projecting from the high regions south of the line into the comparatively level tracts bounding the basin of the Nile, and forming a succession of undulating plains of various altitudes deeply cut into by numerous valleys and water channels, which often descended 3000 or 4000 feet clear down below the level plains that reached the great height of 8000 or 9000 feet. The population consisted chiefly of three races—one resembling the Bedouin Arabs; another, the Ethiopians; and a third representing wild tribes distinct from each. There were also numbers of negroes held as slaves. The majority of the Abyssinians professed a religion which was a peculiarly corrupted form of Christianity, or rather appeared to be a strange mingling of Islamism with some of the observances of the Romish Church. The people were of debased character; the two

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principal tribes were the Shoans and the people of Tigré, both of whom were hardy and warlike; but the chieftains of all the tribes were jealous and distrustful of each other, and though Ras Ali, a powerful leader, held the title of Emperor of Abyssinia in 1848 and 1849, when our consul, Mr. Plowden, contracted a treaty of commerce with him, a great change took place two years afterwards, when Dejajmotch Kasai, a brave and able chief of another tribe, gained decisive victories over the Gallas, the Shoans, and the men of Tigré, and assumed the sovereignty under the title of "Theodorus, king of the kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia." This man, Theodore, as he was called here, had the cruelty and tyranny of the semi-savage, and an overweening ambition which, combined with arrogance and personal vanity, rendered him almost insane. He claimed to be the descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and imagined that he could demand an alliance with France and England on equal terms. But what he most coveted was the recognition of equality from England in the form of a letter from Queen Victoria and an amicable treaty. He had refused to identify himself with the Church of Rome or with its priests, to whom his own Abuna or bishop had a great objection, and he professed to rely on an ancient prophecy which declared that a king named Theodorus would reform Abyssinia, restore the Christian faith, and become master of the world. He made his capital at a rocky fortress called Magdala, a lofty and almost inaccessible height, and he displayed great anxiety to attach Englishmen to his service.

In 1860 Mr. Plowden, the British consul, while on a journey, was attacked by a band of one of the rebellious tribes, and received a wound of which he afterwards died. Theodore, who had a great regard for him, signally avenged his death; but this and all his assumed liking for the English appears to have been a part of his ardent ambition to conclude a treaty with this country. In 1861 Captain Cameron went to Abyssinia as consul; but, as it was understood, only for the protection of British trade, and, as he was afterwards reminded by Lord John Russell, holding no representative character in the country. The English government distinctly refrained from interfering in the disputes of the tribes on the frontier of Egypt and Abyssinia, but the object of Theodore was to secure such an interposition as would enable him to claim support against the Turks. At the end of October, 1861, he addressed a letter to the queen, declaring that it was his mission to overthrow the Gallas and the Turks, to restore the country with himself as emperor. He acknowledged the arrival of Captain Cameron with letters and presents, and requested that the queen would give orders for the safe passage of his ambassadors everywhere on the road, that they might not be molested by the Turks, who were his enemies. This was a crafty attempt to endeavour to secure what would have been, in effect, an alliance with England against the Islams. The letter was forwarded by Captain Cameron, and Theodore waited for a reply. Meantime, however, the consul paid a visit to the frontier province of Bogos, an injudicious step for which he was afterwards rebuked; but his excuse was that the Christian inhabitants there were under the protection of the British consul, and that he had been commissioned by the foreign office to report on the suitability of Sonakin and Massowah as a consulate station, and also on the trade of the latter place.

But this visit roused the jealous suspicion of Theodore, who was already furious at not having received any reply to his letter to the queen, which, by some strange oversight, had been mislaid or left unnoticed in the foreign office. Earl Russell (then minister of foreign affairs) wrote to Consul Cameron, but did not mention the "emperor's" communication, and this slight, together with the journey of the consul, who, he said, "went to the Turks, who do not love me," so incensed the savage conqueror that he took revenge by making prisoners of Mr. Cameron, his secretary and attendants, and all the Europeans he could lay hands upon, including missionaries, and several artisans and workmen, who had been induced to remain in the country. Several of these captives were placed in irons and shut up in squalid comfortless huts or stone buildings

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carefully guarded, and most of them were treated with alternate severity and kindness according to the half-insane whim of the tyrant, who caused them to be removed from place to place, retaining some of them in durance in his camp that he might summon them to his presence either to threaten them, or to reassure them of his good intentions. Occasionally he would visit them in a free and easy manner, taking with him wine or some kind of feast, and after having caused them to be released from their fetters, would sit and drink, and be familiarly merry. At other times he would have them before him, and with boding face seem to gloat over the sufferings which he had in reserve for them. It appeared as though the first attempt to enforce the release of the prisoners by sending an invading army would be the signal for their torture and execution, and the government therefore determined to authorise a messenger to open negotiations for their liberation. The envoy chosen was Mr. Rassam, who was partly of African descent, had held the office of assistant British resident at Aden, and was known to have aided Mr. Layard in his explorations of the remains of Nineveh and Babylon. Dr. Blanc, a French physician, and Lieutenant Prideaux accompanied the embassy, which arrived in Theodore's camp in January, 1866, and was received with some pretence of consideration; but Mr. Rassam and his companions were then added to the number of the prisoners; Theodore was almost entirely given up to the idea that the English government and the queen were intentionally neglecting him, and full of jealous suspicion and sullen fury he remained with his army and the captives in the fortress city of Magdala. Among the prisoners were the wives of two of the missionaries and of a few of the workmen, and several children. The sufferings of some of the men were extreme, for the climate was exhausting, they were kept in close captivity in wretched quarters; the fetters became almost imbedded in their swollen limbs. Mr. Stern and Mr. Rosenthal, two of the German missionaries, were treated with great severity, presumably because they were not disposed to display abject terror, and remonstrated in emphatic language with Theodore against his treachery and cruelty.

In vain the Armenian patriarch at Constantinople endeavoured to interpose by asking for clemency towards the prisoners. In vain did he send an archbishop named Sahak to endeavour to obtain by a personal interview the favour which had been denied to a letter. This was early in 1867, and by the time the Derby administration had taken the place of that of Earl Russell in England, armed interference seemed to have become inevitable. At length Lord Stanley sent a letter, saying that unless the captives were released within three months, war would be declared. Either this letter never reached Theodore, or, like other semi-savages, he thought that he could terrify the English government by threats and outrages, holding the lives and safety of innocent people as hostages against retribution. He had become famous as a successful warrior, and still believed in the courage and determination of the troops which were left him, though his tyranny and the cruelties he had perpetrated had caused numbers of the tribes to fall away from him, and his army was dwindling. When he became convinced that the British forces were advancing to invade his territory he was for a short time boastful, but soon relapsed into a condition of gloomy foreboding, watching for auguries of his fate in the clouds.

Preparations for the expedition were rapid and effective. The sum of two millions was voted by parliament to pay the cost. It actually cost above four millions, with contingencies which brought the amount eventually to nine millions; but though there was some grumbling at this expenditure, there was on the whole a sense of satisfaction, for there had seldom or never been a more prompt, decisive, and complete organization than that which distinguished the army that landed in Abyssinia. Advantage was taken of new appliances and inventions. Elephants were brought from India; mules for transport were bought in Egypt and in Spain; hospital ships were fitted out; apparatus for distilling sea-water was provided in case the supply of fresh water should run short. Forage, food, saddlery stores, and ma-

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chinery, as well as arms and ammunition, were ready in an incredibly short space of time. General Sir Robert Napier, commander-in-chief of the army of Bombay, was appointed to command the expedition, which consisted of 11,770 soldiers, mostly Indian native infantry, and about 14,000 followers attached to the land-transport train, commissariat department, and regiments. The magnitude of this contingent may be explained by the fact that the troops might have to depend entirely on a supply of provisions from their own camp from the time they left the sterile sun-scorched rock of Aden for Massowah. In order to keep up communication with the depot of the camp and a naval contingent at Annesley Bay on the coast, railways were constructed for several miles, and telegraphic stations for a hundred miles further into the country. The natives, who were already waiting for the overthrow of Theodore, were willing to sell bread and grain; but they took no further part in the matter. The advance upon Magdala was fatiguing and difficult; but the place was reached early in April, 1868. The Abyssinians made a desperate attack; but their wild courage was ineffectual against the discipline and the weapons of their opponents. Again and again they were swept back, and their loss was about five hundred killed and three or four times as many wounded, while our loss was only nineteen wounded. The rock fortress was difficult of access, and on two sides appeared to be impregnable; but roads, or rather paths, were cut in the steep slope of the ascent, light artillery was brought up by mules, elephants, and gangs of men. Before any parley was permitted Sir Robert Napier called for the surrender of the prisoners. After refusals and delays Theodore found his condition becoming desperate, and delivered them all up. They were taken under the protection of the British troops, and then nothing remained but for the tyrant himself to surrender. This he obstinately refused to do, and it became necessary to attack the stronghold. The guns which Theodore had relied on to protect it were useless, some had burst at the first fire. Had the defenders of the place held it with any intelligent courage they might have inflicted much loss on our army, for it stood on a precipice inaccessible except by two narrow pathways; but the assault was sudden and powerful, the natives were driven out and fled, the place was taken; the bodies of some of the chiefs, were found lying in the gateway, and on the hill above lay the corpse of Theodore with a grim smile on the face. He had shot himself with a pistol in the moment of defeat. The stronghold was destroyed, and the British expedition returned to the ships and left the country. Its object was accomplished, and not a rood of territory had been taken, nor a word of interference uttered in relation to the struggles of native chiefs for supremacy, except to recommend for the sake of peace that one of them should receive the obedience of the people. This chief was afterwards defeated and his opponent chosen king, so that the recommendation had little effect. The widow and family of Theodore were consigned to the care of Mr. Rassam. The widow died in the English camp before our troops had left the country. Theodore's son Alamayou, a child seven years old, was taken to India, where, the queen having ordered that he should be taken especial care of, he was educated for a short time, and was then brought to England. Notwithstanding the attention given to his health and mode of living, he died not very long afterwards.

The successful general of the Abyssinian expedition received the title of Baron Napier of Magdala. Mr. Disraeli, speaking as premier when the thanks of parliament were voted to the commander and his army, said:—"He led the elephants of Asia bearing the artillery of Europe over broken passes which might have startled the trapper of Canada and appalled the hunter of the Alps. . . . Thus all these difficulties and all these obstacles were overcome, and that was accomplished which not one of us ten years ago could have fancied even in his dreams, and which it must be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen under all circumstances to call to mind; and we find the standard of St. George hoisted upon the mountains of Rasselas."

During the period now under review, Irish

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troubles urgently demanded the serious attention of the government. Remedial measures for improving the condition of the people and promoting political liberty were being earnestly considered by just and patriotic men; but the enemies of Ireland and of England were busy. There has seldom been any genuine and practical attempt made to redress Irish grievances, and to give liberty and security to the country, which has not been frustrated by professional agitators who persistently thrust themselves to the front, and by fomenting violence and inciting to crime, maintain a system of terrorism which can only be met by a forcible vindication of the law. It is the business of these men who assume the position of leaders, to arouse the unreasoning fanaticism of the turbulent and unscrupulous part of the Irish population. Conspiracy is their profession. They owe their distinction, and sometimes their means of living, to their attempts to organize sedition, the cunning with which they can suggest assassination and outrage, or the craft by which they can induce their followers to perpetrate atrocities, while they themselves keep in comparative safety from the serious penalties of the law. Their assumed protests are menaces; their policy is the secret injury of property, the maiming of cattle, the bodily injury or murder of innocent people, sometimes of women and children; their remedies for the ills which they are themselves most potent to perpetuate, are assassination and indiscriminate destruction.

Some of them have affected to be the successors of O'Connell, and have endeavoured to vindicate their pretence by stealing from the addresses of the "great agitator" sonorous phrases and caustic wit to give eloquence and epigrammatic flavour to their speeches. They should know well enough that O'Connell would have repudiated them in language more emphatic, and would have satirized them in words more scornful, than any which they have dared to misapply without acknowledgment. He was no advocate for murder, no apologist for assassination, or for grotesque attempts to alarm a government by insane destruction of public property and the slaughter of innocent people. He had no terms too strong for denouncing crime as an instrument for obtaining political redress, and on more than one occasion, as we have seen, he exerted all his enormous influence to repress such demonstrations as would have led to deeds of violence. With all his errors, and in spite of almost inexcusable faults, O'Connell was a man and an Irishman. Some of those who profess to succeed him are foes to humanity and especial enemies of Irishmen, whom they represent by deeds opposed to those moral considerations which influence all but the basest of mankind.

It should be understood that these remarks are not intended as a denial that some of the political associations and even the political conspiracies in Ireland were directed by honourable men of high moral and patriotic feeling. Such men, however, would never have encouraged or condoned the crimes that were perpetrated in the name of Irish freedom. Their efforts, like those of English and Irish statesmen or legislators, were frustrated by the blatant demagogues or the slinking hangers-on of political societies, who made use of every movement for their own purposes, and often contrived to keep the lead when more scrupulous and abler men had retired in despair, or had forfeited life or liberty for the results of a confederacy over which they had lost control.

At the period of which we are speaking it was not chiefly in Ireland that conspiracy was fledged, though it had been hatched there. The name "*Fenians*" had been taken by an association in Ireland as early as 1858; but the chief representatives of that body now hurled their anathemas at England from the other side of the Atlantic, and concocted their plans in the security of New York. Many of them were Irish-Americans, who, though they had never seen the country of their fathers, still had for the Green Isle a sentimental regard, which had grown up in their minds among the most cherished traditions, and was powerful in proportion to the influences to which they were subject. A number of these men, some of them quite young fellows, had been soldiers on one side or the other in the American war, as numbers of previous immigrants had also. While the conditions be-

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tween England and America were so strained during the civil war, and the disputes about Southern ships of war issuing from English dockyards led to hostile words, these Irish-American "Fenians" anticipated with unconcealed delight the probability of the Northern States declaring war against this country. The notion was fostered by the importance which was necessarily given to Irish votes during the states elections, for the Irish electors were numerous, and the devices to secure their support were frequent and flattering. From the point of view of violent Irish patriotism in favour of rebellion, the expectation of war between America and England would be welcomed, since it would possibly afford an opportunity for a "Fenian" army to hold Ireland during an insurrection, and to aid in an invasion of Canada. This was in fact the scheme which was formed at the time, and though the attempts afterwards made to carry it into effect were altogether abortive, the plan, as seen from the Fenian stand-point, may have seemed justifiable. But among those who came to direct and to control the conspiracy were several whose plan it had ever been to declare war by secret machinations against law and order. The Fenian association, like other confederacies, showed too plainly that there were in Ireland deep grievances to redress and monstrous abuses to abolish, before the people could be expected to become contented or to refrain from signs of exasperation; but English and Irish statesmen and philanthropists, and Irishmen who were patriots without being conspirators, were already earnestly considering by what measures past injustice and neglect might best be retrieved, when the disorders that arose in the country and the injuries inflicted on private individuals made it necessary once more to take the long backward step of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. Many beneficial changes were delayed, though they were not permanently prevented; several irrational and horrible crimes were perpetrated; public indignation was aroused; and then when comparative order was afterwards restored, and the retarded measures of conciliation were effected, they were represented by the so-called "Fenians" of the dagger and the mask, to be concessions wrung from the British government through terror. This was the kind of declaration which enabled the professional seditionists and the hired ruffians to obtain additional subscriptions from their dupes both in Ireland and America.

"Is it fair to forget that there are nearly two millions of persons who were born in Ireland living in the United States, and perhaps as many more, the offspring of Irish parents, all of whom are animated with the most intense hatred towards England. New York city alone at the last census had 260,000 Irish, actually more than the population of Dublin in 1851, thus making New York the greatest Irish city in the world." These are the words of Cobden in a letter written to Mr. T. B. Potter in February, 1865, on the subject of English protests in relation to America during the war, when in the United States Irish voices were loudest and most threatening against England. The feeling of resentment was not groundless. It cannot be denied that the existence of such a persistent antagonism showed that there must at least be faults on both sides. This was the contention of Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, and they did not fail to say so with considerable emphasis in the debates for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Acts, a measure which became necessary in 1866. Mr. John Stuart Mill also took part in the discussion, and his argument was that if the captain of a ship or the master of a school had continually to have recourse to violent measures we should assume without asking for further evidence that there was something wrong in his system of management. Of course there was another word to be said in answer to this. If the captain or the schoolmaster found he had constantly to deal with murderous mutineers and secret violators of all law, who incited others to crime, steps might have to be taken to suppress, or to expel these members of the crew or the school, before conciliatory or gentle measures could be so applied as to work an influence. The worst of it is that the disease and the supposed remedy appear to be reproductive. Suppression in Ireland has always meant fresh attempts to form

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secret conspiracies. But political conspiracies and even seditious meetings, treason, and attempted rebellion are all different things from assassination, from the endeavour to institute a reign of terror by the force of mere fiendish destruction, or by murder, and the malignant infliction of injury for the purpose of showing capabilities of violence.

We have already noted that there were always men ready to take advantage of any sincere, though mistaken, or any genuinely patriotic and justifiable agitation. Most secret associations are liable to be made use of by those who have no "cause" that will prevent their being traitors to their companions, or by fanatics who would urge their fellows down the road of insanity. Probably few organizations could be more liable to abuse than that which was adopted by the "Fenians." It was not original, and it was not effectual for the purpose for which it was designed. It was constructed on what has been called a cellular system. No individual member knew what were the limits or the functions of any other member, and the further a member was from the centre of direction, either because of his insignificance or his ineligibility, the less information he was entrusted with. All that the larger number of members had to do was to obey any orders without question. The implied or supposed penalty for disobedience, or for such independent variation of an order as might produce discovery, would be "removal," or, in other words, secret assassination. It will easily be seen that there was no protection against the machinations of mere dealers in sedition, nor was there the encouragement that attends an intelligent exchange of confidence. The larger number of members of such an association may be mere instruments of a few arch-conspirators, who trust them with nothing, and yet expose them to destruction, or they may be the tools of murderers and sedition-mongers who may some day sacrifice them by turning traitors to the cause.

The "Fenian" organization was apparently formed among the Irish in America. The ne Fenian has been variously represented to n *Finn i an*, from the descendants or coadjutors of a chieftain named Finn, or to be taken from the name given to the old Irish militia, and to the ancient singers or reciters of the Celtic legends. Whatever may have been the origin of the name, it sounded warlike and implacable.

The association was at first a political, or rather an insurrectionary one, for the purpose of effecting a revolution in Ireland. It was commenced in the year 1858, and during the American civil war increased to very large dimensions. Men who had emigrated from Ireland under conditions of poverty and distress, which they believed had been caused by English misrule, were not likely to correct their impressions about the causes of their expatriation, even though they may have been more prosperous in the new country. On the contrary they had many of them been so accustomed to send home money for the relief of their relations in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, that they were pretty sure to subscribe without reluctance to a society for the deliverance of all Ireland from the evils of an oppressive, or a mistaken government, which they had been taught was the reason for the poverty and the misery that they so well remembered, or the accounts of which had come to them from their parents in New York. The association was formed into a regularly organized institution at a convention or congress held in Philadelphia. Its headquarters were near Union Square, New York, and it assumed the position of a regular administration, supported by funds derived from contributions and subscriptions. Its leading officers, who were supposed to be constantly employed in the work, appear to have taken their pay out of the funds, and there was money forthcoming for the support of those who were deputed to carry out their orders. All authority converged towards one centre, "the head-centre," as he was called, and in Ireland this head-centre was a man named James Stephens, who began with some spirit and boldness, and then most inexplicably and unexpectedly collapsed. Stephens, it was said, had laid down the system, and to him alone all its intricate ramifications were known. He had been a civil

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engineer, and had belonged to the Young Ireland party of O'Brien and Mitchel. After the arrest of O'Brien, Stephens, who had endeavoured to stir up an insurrection during the famine of 1847–48, sought safety in France, whither another of the young Irishmen named O'Mahoney had preceded him. Stephens spent his time in going backward and forward to Ireland; but Mahoney went to the United States, where, having been instructed by Stephens in the "Fenian" organization, he became the American head-centre. Stephens continued to promote the association in Ireland, and thither a number of strange visitors soon came; they were Irish-Americans, and some of them had old friends still in the old country. They had undertaken the duty of trying to raise rebellion, and they brought news that there were thousands of Irishmen in the United States who were members of the Fenian brotherhood, that the subscriptions from Irish labouring men and women in America were helping to pay for an army to come and help the people of the old country to throw off the rule of England, and to have a government of their own. At the same time American journals contained accounts of the preparations that were being made by the Fenians in the States for sending an army to help the Irish insurrection.

Of course the English government was prepared to take prompt action. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; a number of persons were arrested, some of them while they were holding seditious meetings. In November, 1865, Stephens, coming to Dublin, was apprehended and lodged in Richmond prison. From this he contrived to escape, as it was believed through the help of a night-warder, in whose room was found a copy of the Fenian oath, and a padlock similar to that which fastened the door of the cell. Whatever may have been the means used, he regained his liberty; but nobody seemed to know what had become of him. Then the usual fate of such associations overtook the Fenian brotherhood. It was divided into two factions, each of which claimed to represent the real constitution; but while one party was for doing something near at hand, and urged an invasion of English territory in an attack on Canada, the other adhered to the Irish programme, and vehemently proclaimed that Ireland was ripe for successful rebellion. Both were utterly mistaken, though there were those who, professing to know their counsels, afterwards declared that the mistake arose from a conviction that the Northern States of America would join in hostilities towards England. Happily these states did nothing of the kind. On the contrary their government acted with international honesty and loyalty, and when a body of Fenians made an attempt by crossing the Niagara and occupying Fort Erie, after driving back the small party of Canadian volunteers who opposed them, the American authorities insisted on rigidly preserving the frontier, arrested some of the leaders, and prevented any further crossing of the river. This was probably the best thing which could have happened, for by that time reinforcements had arrived on the Canadian side, some of the assailants were taken prisoners, and the rest fell back, recrossed the river, and gave up any further idea of invasion.

Perhaps, if Stephens had not suddenly made his appearance in New York as the chief of the convention and the original head-centre, the Fenian leaders would not have pursued the intention of making an attempt in Ireland; but he announced that he was prepared to strike a blow there, and he once more disappeared. It was supposed that he was in Dublin, or, at all events, making his way through the rebellious districts to rouse the people, and numbers of the Irish-Americans embarked during the winter months to join in the insurrection. When they reached Ireland they discovered that there was no determined disposition among the people to combine in a general rebellion, and all that could be done was to wait till the spring, when, it was surmised, Stephens would reappear with some plan and with an armed force, when they would be able to commence active hostilities.

They could not at first realize that they had been deceived, and that not only were the peasantry mostly unarmed and unprepared, but the majority of the Irish people were opposed to any such attempt as an insurrection

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led by a number of strangers, and supported by a confederacy of which, after all, they knew little or nothing.

Several of the Irish-Americans who came, as they supposed, to aid in the achievement of a separate nationality were honest and disinterested. They had either retained the bitter hostility to England caused by former conditions, the effects of which Englishmen as well as Irishmen were anxious to remove, or they had only been able to estimate the real state of affairs by the representations of those who dealt largely in metaphor. The grievances under which the Irish people were suffering were real; the injustice to which they were subjected was obvious enough to find indignant expression from the mouths of many earnest men; but the "wrongs of Ireland" were not exactly of the kind or the degree which they were sometimes represented to be. At any-rate there were few signs that the majority of the people of Ireland were ready to seek redress by violence or insurrection, and it was evident that the government had been made acquainted with all that the Fenian convention had proposed, and had taken measures to prevent it.

Among those who came to act as leaders were some who had acquired distinction in the American civil war, and several had occupied a position of social influence in the States. They arrived in Ireland to find that they had been deceived. There would be no general uprising of the people; no combined attempt of any importance unless they could succeed in provoking it, and unfortunately this was what a number of them endeavoured to do. But first some startling demonstration must be made; a blow must be struck which would show that they were in earnest. It was perhaps a proof of the utter misapprehension which existed among these men, that they formed a wild scheme by which the Fenians in England were secretly to make their way to Chester, where they were to meet at a certain date in February, 1867, and to take forcible possession of the castle for the purpose of obtaining the arms that might be found there. They were then to cut the telegraph wires to prevent any alarm being sent after them, and to proceed to Holyhead, where they might seize some steam-vessels in which they could reach the Irish coast. There was an audacity about this plan which almost neutralized its absurdity, and, at all events, it was of such a nature that it presented a marked contrast to other attempts which were made for the purpose, or with the result, of inflicting serious injury on individuals by destroying life or property. The government had received timely intimation of the attempt that was to be made, and Chester was so well watched and guarded that the Fenian contingent was obliged to abandon the enterprise. It was then made known to the confederacy that a general rising should be attempted in Ireland in the following month. The failure was conspicuous, and though several attacks were made on the police barracks in various places, where several persons were shot or otherwise killed, there was nothing like an insurrection. More mischief might have ensued if the armed bands of desperados had been able to take to the hills or the lonely passes; but a continuous snow-storm prevented them from seeking these as a refuge. The first attempt was a failure; it had never for a moment looked like success.

Numerous arrests were made, and among the prisoners were men who had believed in the cause which they came to support, and having failed, were ready to die if their lives were to be forfeited for the crime of having sought to promote a revolution which they had heard was already imminent. Among the more prominent leaders who were arrested was Colonel Burke, who had served as an officer in the Southern "Confederate" army during the American war. He, a companion named Doran, and some others were sentenced to death, chiefly on the evidence of informers, who were necessarily the principal witnesses of the government in many such cases.

A very strong feeling was manifested against the execution of this sentence. That men coming from another country had committed treason in consequence of misrepresentations, was of course no legal defence; but the men were brave men, they had been deceived, and their crime was not that of dastardly conspirators or of assassins. The English people

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knew how to discriminate, and even to sympathize with prisoners like Burke. A great meeting was held in St. James' Hall, consisting chiefly of English working men, and Mr. John Stuart Mill addressed them with great earnestness.

A petition was presented to parliament by Mr. Bright against the "excessive and irritating severity" of the sentence, and stating that the punishment might be more applicable to men "whose crime and whose offence are alike free from dishonour, however misled they may be as to the special end in view, or the means they have adopted to attain that end." There was some discussion on the language employed in this petition, and a proposal was made not to receive it; but there was no disrespect expressed to the house, and it was therefore accepted and ordered to lie on the table. The extreme sentence was not carried out, and though disturbances continued in various places, and other arrests were made, there was comparatively little of that bitterness of feeling against the Fenians which was afterwards manifested when they committed crimes against society which were the more detestable, because they appeared to be mere wanton attempts designed to inflict injuries without regard to any appreciable political result, and altogether revolting to the common sentiments of humanity.

Six months after the remission of the sentence on Burke and his companions a desperate attack was made in Manchester for the purpose of rescuing two Fenian prisoners, a police-constable was shot, and though the apologists for the perpetrators of the deed represented that this also was only a political offence and not deliberate murder, the lawlessness of the act and the evidence which it afforded of an intention to set all authority at defiance produced some reaction in public sympathy.

Two men had been arrested on suspicion in Manchester, and charged with being vagrants. By the evidence given in their examination before a magistrate they were proved to be two Fenian conspirators known as "Colonel" Kelly and "Captain" Deasy. The examination took place on the 18th of September (1867), and they were remanded for further inquiry, and taken to the prison van which was to convey them to the jail, a short distance out of the city. Some suspicions of an attempted rescue had been excited by the manner of two men who were seen hanging about the court, and one of them was apprehended after resisting the officer by endeavouring to stab him with a dagger. It was therefore thought necessary to put the two prisoners in irons before taking them to the van, which was guarded by eleven policemen. The van had been driven some distance on the journey to the jail, and had reached a point where the road was crossed by a railway bridge, near a number of clay-pits, when a tall fair man who had been looking out for the van from the top of a mound of clay came into the road followed by between thirty and forty companions, all armed, and most of them with revolvers.

This man, whose name was William O'Meara Allen, fired at the driver of the van, next at the officer who sat beside the driver, and then shot one of the horses. The unarmed police, three of whom were wounded, fell back before a volley from their assailants, who were three to one against them; but they bravely returned and repeatedly endeavoured to rescue the van, which was full of male and female prisoners, and was now brought to a stand with one of the horses dying, and the other struggling on the ground. Three police-constables were wounded, one by-stander was killed. The Fenians surrounded the van, threatened to shoot any one who attempted to prevent the release of the two prisoners, and shouted to the sergeant, who was sitting in charge inside, to hand out the keys which would open the door of the van and the separate cells or closets on each side of the vehicle, in which the prisoners were confined. The sergeant, whose name was Brett, positively refused to give up the keys. Allen called a number of his gang to attempt to break in the roof of the van, and, armed with heavy stones and other implements, they clambered to the top and tried to smash the wood, which, however, offered too great resistance. Shots continued to be fired; the women who were in the van, fearing for their lives, uttered piercing screams.

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Brett, who remained firm in his refusal, had been looking through a small louvre ventilator in the top of the door when one of the women, two or three of whom had not been locked in the cell, but stood in the gangway which ran from end to end of the vehicle, pulled him away. Allen threatened that if he did not deliver the keys he would shoot him. A pistol was exploded against the lock of the door, but failed to burst it open. Allen again demanded the keys, and almost immediately afterwards thrust a stone into the trap or ventilator, so that it could not be shut, and afterwards fired his revolver at it, shooting Brett through the head. One of the women, in terror for their lives, then took the keys from Brett's pocket and threw them out. The van was entered by two men, who opened the doors of the cells in which Kelly and Deasy were confined, and enabled them to escape across the fields. Allen was heard to say, "Kelly, I'll die for you;" and this was afterwards spoken of as though he contemplated a kind of martyrdom; but of course he made all the efforts he could to get away, and would have done so but for the prowess of a young man named Hunter, who was not only a swift runner, but a bold and powerful fellow. He pursued Allen and ran him down, wresting from his hand the pistol with which he threatened to shoot him. Another of the conspirators was run down by a second athlete in the same manner, and the police having rallied, arrested some others. Several were in custody before the next day.

The escaped prisoners were never recaptured. One of them had entered a cottage at some distance, where his companions knocked off his irons with a hatchet, using the stone edge of the kitchen sink for an anvil. Five men out of the number who had been arrested were found guilty of the murder of Brett. Their names were Allen, the leader, Larkin, O'Brien, Shore, and Maguire. The arrest of Maguire was afterwards proved to have been made in error. He was moving about in the crowd, but it was not proved that he had any hand in the fray; and he was able to show that he had served for several years as a marine in the royal navy. He was afterwards not only respited but restored to his position. Against Shore, who pleaded his American citizenship, the evidence connecting him with the actual murder was not altogether complete, and he was respited from the capital charge. Some people attributed this clemency to a desire on the part of the ministry to propitiate the American government. Allen, with Larkin and O'Brien—the two men who had released the prisoners—were found guilty. They all denied that they had fired the shot that killed Brett, and it was contended that his death was accidentally caused by the attempt to burst open the lock, but the evidence of the prisoners in the van contradicted this assertion. Efforts were again made, by those who still retained sympathy for the political or national protests which were associated with Fenian demonstrations, to obtain a remission of the capital sentence for the prisoners, but the public feeling had undergone a revulsion. Even the proclamation of the American Fenian "senate" or "convention," that the acts of the conspirators were not directed against the English people but against a government which oppressed both the English and the Irish, did not assure the inhabitants of our large towns. To be shot, stabbed, blown up, or seriously injured in person or estate by an appointed agent of outrage, or by a gang of ruffians, or even by a patriot with a craze for murder as a ready means of manifesting political purpose, is not an experience the effects of which are to be dissipated by an expression of regret for an alleged mistake or by an appeal to a common love of freedom. The Fenians here were taking precisely the wrong way to maintain the sympathy which a just cause may evoke till those who profess to uphold it set not only justice but civilization and humanity at defiance. In England there is happily a tolerably firm belief that protection against political and social wrongs cannot be secured except by observing the laws which protect the individual and society. Certain Fenian sympathizers took a very false step when a number of them went in a threatening manner as a deputation to the Home Office to demand an interview with the home secretary (Mr.

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Gathorne Hardy), that they might terrify him into advocating a commutation of the sentence of the Manchester prisoners. A letter was handed to their leader (a man named Finlen) saying that no noisy demonstrations would be permitted, and that the home secretary declined to receive them. Finlen then in violent language addressed the mob of his followers who crowded the stairs and the passage, until some police officers came and turned them out into the street.

The three men convicted of the murder of Brett were executed at Manchester in presence of a smaller number of persons than might have been expected, who preserved a quiet and even a solemn demeanour. Raids upon gunsmiths' shops and seizure of gunpowder were repeatedly made by the conspirators in Ireland. Their offences were frequently of a kind to provoke indignation, and indignation was daily increasing, when the attempt to blow down the wall of Clerkenwell prison for the purpose of rescuing Burke and Casey, who were still confined there, was attended with consequences which aroused the public temper to a pitch that made it dangerous for any one in London to profess to belong to the Fenian body or to act in such a way as to be suspected of any connection with it.

It may perhaps be assumed that there were members of the Fenian conspiracy whose hearts and consciences revolted from the atrocities which were contemplated by their fellows. At all events, on an early day in December the police authorities in Scotland Yard received an anonymous letter informing them that an attempt was about to be made to rescue Burke from Clerkenwell house of detention, that the plan to be adopted was to blow up the wall of the exercise yard with gunpowder at between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, the hour at which this prisoner was supposed to be in the yard for exercise, that the signal to him would be a white ball thrown up on the outside of the wall. In consequence of this information the prisoners were kept in their cells at the time of the day when the attempt was expected, but singularly little care seems to have been taken to keep watch and guard outside that part of the prison where the attack was to be made. Perhaps the authorities thought it probable that the letter was a ruse; but they should have remembered the consequences of leaving the prison van at Manchester to be guarded by only a few constables unarmed, against a strong party of Fenians carrying revolvers.

On the afternoon of the 13th of December, two days after the warning was given, all London was startled by a terrific explosion. The Fenian conspirators had proved themselves to be not only capable of atrocities, but of such utter recklessness of the lives of other people, including innocent women and children of the poorer classes, that their blundering eagerness to injure and destroy would have included among the victims the very prisoners whom they desired to release, had not the governor kept them confined to their cells in another part of the jail. Some men and a woman had been seen in a narrow lane, one side of which was formed by the prison wall, the other side consisting of a row of four-storied houses, from the roofs of which a view could be obtained of the prison yard. Several suspicious-looking persons had been seen going in and out of one of these houses during the afternoon, but nobody had been examined or arrested. Two men and the woman wheeled a truck along the lane, and took from it a 36-gallon beer cask, partly covered with a piece of tarpaulin. This cask was placed against the prison wall, and while one man rapidly went away with the truck the other thrust a fuse, which looked like a squib, into the bung-hole of the cask, lighted it, and ran away, the woman also making off at a rapid pace. All this was done so quickly that before any one could interfere a tremendous explosion had blown down a large portion of the wall, leaving a gap from 30 to 40 feet in width. So tremendous was the force of the charge contained in the cask that a volley of bricks was driven across the exercise yard and made deep indentations in the wall of the prison. The effect upon the adjacent houses was appalling; two were destroyed, five or six were shattered, windows were broken at the

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distance of a quarter of a mile. Amidst the fall of timber and the crashing of roofs was heard the screams of women and children, the groans and exclamations of wounded men. Fifty-two persons, some of them too aged to be able to make much effort to escape, and others mere infants, were seriously injured, and had to be conveyed to hospitals. One was killed on the spot, and four others, including a little girl, who was fearfully burnt and lacerated, died during the night. It was said that forty poor women, who were about to become mothers, gave premature birth to children, twenty of whom died immediately.

The crime produced universal horror, but it was regarded less with fear than with detestation. The fact is worth noting that some military officers who visited the ruins were of opinion that the explosion was caused not by gunpowder, but by some more powerful substance, such as nitro-glycerine. One of the staves of the barrel was found on the roof of a house sixty yards distant from the spot where the explosion took place. Two men and a woman were arrested by police constables, assisted by some by-standers, immediately after the explosion. One of the men named Allen had been loitering about the prison, and had been seen by the chief warder on the top of one of the neighbouring houses. The woman had been accustomed to visit the prisoner Casey while he was under remand, and had taken him his dinner that very day. When Burke and Casey were afterwards brought up to the police court on remand, Dr. Kenealy, a barrister whose name was afterwards to be notoriously associated with another trial, and who had been retained for their defence, at once abandoned their case, since, though he did not believe that they were themselves parties to the crime which had been committed, some of those who had instructed him on their behalf probably were, and he could no longer continue to represent them.

Public subscriptions were made for the sufferers by the explosion, and much indignation was manifested. The perpetrators were brought up on a charge of wilful murder, and remanded for further evidence. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of the man who actually fired the match. On the 15th of January, 1868, two men were arrested at Glasgow for unlawfully using firearms on the Green. On being taken before a magistrate they were discovered to be prominent members of the Fenian conspiracy, and were sent to London in custody. On arriving there they were identified for being concerned in the Clerkenwell outrage, and one of them—Barrett—was distinctly sworn to as the man who fired the barrel. The capital charge was proved against him, and he was executed, the others being sentenced to terms of imprisonment. There was, of course, much public excitement, and all kinds of rumours kept men's minds in a state of suspicion and alarm. Only a week before the Clerkenwell explosion Her Majesty's Theatre was almost entirely destroyed by fire, and the houses in the Opera Arcade, and those in Pall Mall, were seriously injured. The flames were seen at a great distance, and though the firemen used every effort the building was burned out, and property to the value of £12,000, including scenery painted by Telbin, Grieve, and Callcott, was consumed, along with the grand organ, which cost £800. Madame Tietjens, the famous singer, lost jewelry to the value of £1000, and some very valuable pictures were consumed in the galleries of Mr. Graves, the print-seller, in Pall Mall. This fire originated with the overheating of some flues, but for a time any such occurrence added to the popular agitation, which had unhappily been justified by evidence of the malignant intentions of Irish conspirators. On the 17th of December there came news of the explosion of a quantity of nitro-glycerine, which had been taken from Newcastle to Newcastle Moor, there to be thrown into a waste gully. This substance was declared on inquiry only to have been intended for manufacturing purposes, but it was removed, in accordance with the law, because of the danger of leaving it in the midst of the town. In attempting to dispose of it the substance exploded, and a policeman and the two carters who conveyed it to the moor were blown to pieces; the town-surveyor, who accompanied it, was so injured that he died shortly after-

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wards; and the sheriff, who was also present, was seriously hurt.

Nitro-glycerine, or, as it was also called, blasting oil, was in use in the Welsh slate-quarries and in mining and blasting operations. It was causing some uneasiness. Not long before, a ship in which a quantity of it formed part of the cargo, had exploded at an American port, and with such violence that the vessel was destroyed, a number of lives were lost, and the pier or breakwater was wrecked. It was noticed, too, that the bodies of the dead did not present the appearance of having been burned or scalded.

The Newcastle Moor explosion was not shown to have any connection with the Fenian plots; but there were too many offences with which they were obviously associated, and reports were made almost daily of secret meetings in London under pretence of "raffling" watches or on other pretexts. At Queenstown a party of Fenians seized a Martello tower occupied by two coastguardsmen and carried off a quantity of gunpowder. In Cork during daylight and in a frequented thoroughfare eight Fenians entered a gunsmith's shop and stole a large quantity of gunpowder and a number of revolvers. It was scarcely surprising that some calamities which were evidently accidents were at first connected in the public imagination with the conspiracy which was working so much mischief. The blowing up of Hall's powder-mills at Faversham on the 28th of December, 1867, was of this kind. Three of the buildings there were destroyed in succession, and no explanation of the cause of the accident could be obtained. It had commenced in the "corning" mill, and that was all that could be known, for all the eleven men who might have explained it were blown to atoms; it was feared the whole building and magazine would perish, for the powder in the glazing-house lay in heaps, and the walls (six feet thick) were heated and much shaken.

The Fenian atrocities, however, were apart from such accidents, nor did they create an actual panic. An enormous procession in Dublin in memory of the Manchester murderers increased the feeling of resentment. People in the large towns began to feel something of that dogged determination which is a British characteristic, and is usually dangerous to conspirators and assassins. In London a considerable number of men of all ranks attended at Guildhall to be sworn in as special constables. It was a time of much distress and hardship among the poor, and injuries like those caused by the ruffians who had apparently taken the lead of the Irish political associations were an additional grievance and aroused feelings of abhorrence.

These feelings were soon afterwards intensified by telegraphic despatches which seemed to show that even in our colonies the insane wickedness of the confederates might be unexpectedly revealed. The Duke of Edinburgh had proceeded on a voyage aboard the *Galatea* to the Australian colonies, to which he had agreed to pay a visit. On the 12th of March he was making excursions in New South Wales, and while at Sydney had agreed to attend a picnic at a place called Clontarf. The entertainment had been proposed partly in his honour; but advantage was taken of the occasion to make subscriptions to the funds of a sailors' home. Soon after his arrival, and in view of a large number of people assembled there, the prince was standing talking to Sir William Manning, while the governor and the lord chief-justice of the colony stood close by. A man was seen suddenly to raise a revolver, with which he took deliberate aim and fired one barrel, the ball from which struck the prince. His royal highness fell forward on hands and knees, exclaiming that his back was broken. Sir William Manning made a dash at the assassin, who threatened him with the revolver, to avoid the shot from which, Sir William stooped, and in doing so lost his balance and fell. The villain pulled the trigger, but the second shot did not explode, and a third entered the ground; for at that moment his hands were seized and his arms pinioned by a person named Vial, who held him till he could be secured. The concussion of the ball, which struck the prince just behind the right ribs, made the injury feel more serious than it turned out to be, the bullet having traversed the course of the ribs superficially, and lodged at no great depth in

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the muscle of the abdomen. He was conveyed to his tent, and though he had lost much blood and suffered from the shock, he felt well enough to send out a message to the persons assembled, saying that he was not much hurt, and should be better presently. Farrell, who barely escaped being lynched, was much mauled and buffeted. After his apprehension it was reported that he was the agent of a Fenian conspiracy, and this suspicion was to a considerable extent supported by the statement of the prisoner himself, who said that he had written an address to the people of Ireland, and had sent it to the printers of two Irish publications, implying that he was one of an organization. He declared, however, that there was no truth in this, and that no one but himself was concerned in the attempt, for which he seemed to be penitent.

The prince soon began to recover from his wound, but was advised to leave the colony, the relaxing climate of which at that season was unfavourable. Before he left he called on the governor to intercede for the man who had endeavoured to shoot him; but Farrell was afterwards tried and executed, the governor probably thinking that if he went unpunished there would be some serious disturbance.

If any proof had been needed that the members of the royal family did not distrust the Irish people, but believed in their loyalty and honour in spite of the evil counsels of Fenian conspirators and their wretched followers, it would have been found in the fact that the Prince and Princess of Wales went on a visit to Ireland on the 15th of April, landed at Kingston, and proceeded by road in an open carriage to Dublin, where they were received with enthusiasm. They afterwards visited Punchestown Races, and on the 18th the prince was inaugurated a Knight of St. Patrick. One object of the visit of the prince was to unveil the statue of Burke, and during their stay they made a round of visits and joined in a series of entertainments without displaying apprehension, and with a just reliance on the good faith and good-will of the population. But the difficulty was still there, the difficulty of removing from the government of Ireland those inequalities which had grown into bitter wrongs, and had justified political combinations and confederations, which, if they are made in secret, too often grow into conspiracies, under the name of which offences are committed for which there is no excuse, and crimes are perpetrated for which there can be nothing but stern condemnation.

Speaking in Lancashire of the condition of the country with regard to Irish affairs and the evil that had been wrought by Fenian outrages, Mr. Gladstone averred that he entertained a deep conviction that the name of Ireland and all that belonged to that name would probably find for government, for parliament, and for the people the most difficult and anxious portion of their political employment for years to come. In referring to what they had seen during the last few weeks he intended to speak as plainly as he could upon the subject of what was known by the designation of Fenianism. In the present state of the public mind, after occurrences so wicked and detestable, he wished to urge upon the public and upon himself these two fundamental cautions—first, that in considering those outrages they should endeavour to preserve an equal temper and perfect self-command; the second was that they should not confound the cause of Fenianism with the cause of Ireland. . . . It was a great advance in modern civilization which had led to the lenient treatment of political offenders—an advance of which they had an illustrious example in the proceedings that had followed the conclusion of the dreadful and desperate war in America. Leniency to political offenders he believed to be alike wise and just; but be altogether denied—and he was speaking now not of persons but of acts—that acts such as they had lately seen were entitled to the partial immunities and leniency that ought to be granted to offences properly political. He knew not whom it might please or whom it might offend; but his conviction was that there was a deep moral taint and degradation in the thing which was called Fenianism. He arrived at that conclusion when the Fenian invasion of Canada took place. Canada was notoriously and perfectly guiltless in respect

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to Ireland; and he said that to carry fire and sword within her borders merely because it was dreamed or supposed that through Canada some disgrace or wound might be inflicted upon England, was the very height and depth of human wickedness and baseness. He was not surprised at what had taken place in Manchester. He could not for a moment admit that offences of that kind ought to be treated with great leniency and tenderness. They were told that the men who went to stop the police van with revolvers did not mean any harm, and that it was an accident that led to bloodshed. The allegation had been used, and with no small effect in Ireland, that the attempt and the intention was not to kill Brett, but to blow open the door of the van. The evidence was that the pistol was fired through the ventilator; and, undoubtedly, he who wished to blow open a door did not fire his pistol through a part that was already open. But further, it was treated as a sort of accident, forsooth, that the police, instead of calmly submitting to the demand of the party who intercepted them, should have offered such resistance as they were able; and that Brett, with the spirit of a man and an Englishman, should have refused to do anything great or small in furtherance of the objects of the breakers of the law. The anticipation and the belief upon which that plea of excuse was founded was, forsooth, that the policeman had no sense of duty, no principle, and no courage, and that, therefore, being an animal without either honour or conscience, his business the moment danger appeared was to run away; and that a confident reckoning might be made that he would run away; and that if he did not, but acted under a sense of duty, and died in consequence, his death was to be regarded as an accident.

It was, to say the least, a matter of sadness that, after six hundred years of political connection with Ireland, that union of heart and spirit which was absolutely necessary for the welfare of that country had not yet been brought about. It was impossible to exaggerate that fact or the gravity of the responsibility which it brought to the government of this country. There was no doubt that, even as matters stood, there was a great improvement upon the past. Civil rights had been extended; odious penalties had been removed; religious distinctions that formerly existed had been effaced, and a better and a milder spirit had recently taken possession of British legislation with regard to Ireland. At the same time, if we wished to place ourselves in a condition to grapple with the Irish problem as it ought to be grappled with, there was but one way to do it—to suppose ourselves in the position of Irishmen, and then say honestly whether we would be satisfied with the state of things that now existed.

Nearly thirty years had elapsed since (in 1838) the great grievance of the tithe system in Ireland had been mitigated by the conversion of tithe into a rent-charge payable by the landlord. It was thirty-five years since the church "cess" (which in England was called church-rate) had been totally abolished; but one of the most conspicuous complaints of the Irish people was that a Protestant church had been established and imposed upon them, and was maintained even in districts where, except the clergyman, his family, and his officers, all the inhabitants were Roman Catholics. After three hundred years of trial since the establishment of the Protestant church in Ireland not above one-seventh or one-eighth of the people of Ireland were Protestants of the Established Church. It is not to be wondered at that this grievance rankled, nor that the adoption of a plan of general education in Ireland should have been less successful because of the opposing claims of the clergy. In Ulster the proportion of Roman Catholic and Protestant children in the National Schools were about in proportion to the number of each denomination in the population; but the same proportion does not seem to have been maintained in the southern portion of the island. Not only was the Irish Church a source of perpetual discontent, but the injustice of the laws under which land was held by tenants in the southern portion of Ireland were such as to arouse the bitter feeling of the population. Nearly a century before, Grattan had spoken of Ireland as "a people ill governed, and a government ill obeyed," and in his speeches in the Irish parliament, had described

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the hardships suffered by cottagers who were forced to pay tithes for their potatoes till they were left in a state of impoverishment, ruin, and despair. In 1788 Grattan said, "In three-fourths of this kingdom potatoes pay no tithe; in the south they not only pay, but pay most heavily. They pay frequently in proportion to the poverty and helplessness of the countrymen. . . . What so galling, what so inflammatory as the comparative view of the condition of his majesty's subjects in one part of the kingdom and the other! In one part their sustenance is free, and in the other tithed in the greatest degree; so that a grazier coming from the west to the south shall inform the latter that with him neither potatoes nor hay are tithed; and a weaver coming from the north shall inform the south that in his country neither potatoes nor flax are tithed, and thus are men, in the present unequal and unjust state of things, taught to repine, not only by their intercourse with the pastor, but with one another."

This condition of things was abolished along with tithe and cess, and the Encumbered Estates Acts, brought in by Sir Robert Peel, tended to ameliorate the condition of landholders; but it took long even partially to undo the ill government of four hundred years, still longer unhappily does it take to apply healing remedies to old and deep wounds, and to convince the Irish people that apparently tardy governments have been anxious to repair the injuries inflicted during the four centuries from 1430 to 1829, when the evil policy was, as Earl Russell said, to check the industry, to repress the manufactures, to persecute the religion, and to confiscate the rights of the Irish people.

The Catholic Relief Act of 1829, the abolition of cess and tithes, the extension of the poor-laws to Ireland in 1838, and acts for the sale of encumbered estates, which put an end to a large amount of pauperism and misery, were all efforts to promote the equality and to remedy the wrongs of Ireland. The Church of Ireland had been freed from many abuses; a system of national education had been extended and improved; and on more than one occasion the position of the Irish Church had been threatened. It was discussed in 1835, inquired into in 1836, but not disestablished and disendowed till 1869. Again, to quote Earl Russell, "Truth and justice in England make sure but slow progress; parliamentary reform caused great agitation in 1780, but it it was not carried till 1832; the slave-trade provoked much indignation in 1780, but it was not abolished till 1807. Measures to promote free-trade were proposed in 1823; but the work was not completed till 1862, even if it can be said to have been then complete. The corporation and test laws were repealed in 1828; the edifice of religious liberty was only completed by the admission of Jews to parliament at a later time."

The claims on behalf of Ireland were still that the country should be released from the burden of an alien church, that a system of education should be provided suitable for the condition of the people, and that there should be a legal acknowledgment of the rights of tenants to profit by such improvements as they might have made in their holdings, and to enjoy a more equitable mode of tenure.

The land question was in reality the most important, and it had been associated with much of the crime that needed to be repressed or punished. Unhappily, conditions, at which we have already glanced, the confederacies to murder and to commit outrages, for which there were neither social nor political excuses, had made it necessary to use means of repression which retarded the course of beneficial legislation. The limits of our remaining pages would not suffice to record examples of the brutal assassinations and injuries inflicted under the name of "Ribbonism." Those who have read the records of Mr. Stuart Trench's *Realities of Irish Life* will remember the pictures they give of the atrocities perpetrated forty-five years ago. The Fenian outrages differed but little from some of those, and later examples of crimes committed apparently with the complacent indifference, if not under the actual direction, of associations with new titles, are equally, if not more abominable.

Still we should not lose sight of the fact, that while in one part of the kingdom the tenants held their land on equitable terms, and could claim something like adequately

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adjusted reward for improvements, in the other there was neither inducement to labour nor reward for the results of knowledge and experience.

It may have been the case that the tenant rights granted in Ulster, and known as the Ulster right or custom, could not be entirely applicable to neglected and unprofitable lands in other places. One reason for its not being so applicable was, that the tenants were too impoverished to make improvements which needed agricultural implements, proper fences, and the ordinary appliances of farm-work. To raise the wretched crops from their neglected unfenced patches, they only scratched the surface of the ground, or at the best kept part of it in cultivation by spade and hoe. What hope could there be for an agricultural country where the people who had to live on the land, and by what it produced, held their plots or farms at the pleasure of the landlords or their agent? The Ulster "custom," which had the effect of law, recognized the claim of the tenant to undisturbed possession as long as he paid his rent, and if he gave up his holding entitled him to compensation for unexhausted improvements. It also enabled him to sell the good-will of his farm to anyone whom the landlord was willing to accept as a tenant. In fact he possessed to a great extent the privileges of a farmer holding his land on a long lease.

In Ulster there was comparative prosperity, for the holder of land profited by his own industry. His improvements had a market value, even after he had reaped some of the benefit from them. In the south, and wherever the tenants were little more than tenants at will, the condition of the people was wretched, and their fields were neglected. In such a condition it was not very surprising that they became the prey of political agitators, or that they were ready to defy the law, which they believed, from bitter experience, was calculated rather to suppress than to protect or encourage them. It is not necessary to contend that the Ulster custom would not have worked to equal advantage among a people different in character and temperament to those of a province colonized or chiefly colonized by men of another race. The experiment was not made, and the inequality was therefore indefensible. Neither industry nor thrift could well be expected of people to whom the inducements to improve their position had been denied. The increased cultivation of their land, they too often had reason to believe, would be followed by the raising of their rents — the improvements that they could contrive to make in it might be liable to confiscation by the landowner in favour of another tenant who would offer higher terms for occupation. That was the condition of the peasant landholder; and it was no answer to the complaints against it that a number of the proprietors of the soil acted with reasonable fairness, and neither exacted exorbitant rentals nor permitted the unjust eviction of their tenants. There was no law giving actual security of tenure. The alleged rights of property in the soil have many a time stood in the way of just legislation in England as well as in Ireland, and have frustrated the attempts of honest and earnest statesmen to deliver the holder and cultivator of the land from the position of a tenant on sufferance. The landholder in Ireland was in fact living under something of a feudal law, as the tenure was much the same as that granted by the conqueror to the tiller of the ground. Hundreds of years before, conquest had given a kind of title to restrict the tenure to a mere privilege, and there had been no law passed to alter that state of things. At a remote period there had been open war; the victors had taken possession of the land; the vanquished could therefore only be tenants at will. Generations had passed—land had changed hands by purchase or otherwise—tenants had come and gone. All was altered but the feudal tenure. Government had failed to secure the holders of land against the assertion of an obsolete authority. Some of the holders listened to the evil counsel that a remedy might be found in a conspiracy to defy the government, to refuse both rent and possession of the land, and to assassinate landlords who took steps to recover either.

In 1866 Mr. Gladstone and Earl Russell were together in Italy, and there they dis-

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cussed the question of the Established Church in Ireland. "I found that he was as little disposed as I was to maintain Protestant ascendency in Ireland," wrote the earl in his *Recollections*, "and from that time I judged that this great question would be safer in his hands than in mine."

This and some subsequent remarks seem to show that it was to bring forward a measure on the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church that Mr. Gladstone took the place of the earl as leader of the House of Commons.

On the retirement of Lord Derby Mr. Disraeli had been commanded to form a new administration. The only changes that were made, however, were the appointment of Lord Cairns as lord-chancellor in place of Lord Chelmsford, and that of Mr. Ward Hunt to the chancellorship of the exchequer, Mr. Disraeli, of course, becoming first lord of the treasury.

It was felt that the affairs of Ireland demanded immediate attention, but it soon appeared to be equally evident that the ministry had no definite propositions to make. It was not till the end of February, 1868, that the new ministry was formed, and when in March the house had settled to business the subject was brought forward by Mr. John Francis Maguire, who was eminently capable of giving forcible expression to the serious claims of his countrymen. Mr. Maguire was a man of considerable ability, and though he was also known to be so opposed to all acts of lawless violence that he had on more than one occasion shown himself ready to forfeit his position rather than give any support to rebellious demonstrations, he had shown by unmistakable evidences that he was none the less true to the interests of his countrymen, because he well understood the differences between English and Irish characteristics and temperament. He had avoided, even if he had not actually refused, overtures which would have led to some remunerative office at a time when his pecuniary circumstances were narrow and discouraging. He had distinctly avowed that there could be no separation of England and Ireland, but had advocated what may be called a liberal measure of Irish local self-government. Mr. Maguire was liked and trusted by extreme agitators, who could not question his earnest love for his country, and also by cautious politicians, who admired the consistency and moderation of opinions, which were often, however, delivered in language of no little force, and with considerable vehemence of expression.

Mr. Maguire's proposals were, that the house should resolve itself into a committee to take into immediate consideration the condition of Ireland, and the debate that ensued showed that the government was not prepared to indicate any distinct policy on the subject. It was evident that the question of the Irish Church must be brought forward, and the ministry was not prepared to yield to the demands that would be made.

Lord Mayo, the secretary for Ireland, spoke of the wisdom of "levelling up" instead of levelling down, and appeared to suggest that religious equality should be secured by supporting the various denominations, but it was not represented that he uttered the opinions of the government, and the resolutions of Mr. Maguire were opposed during a debate which lasted for three nights. Mr. Gladstone in the course of the discussion had, in referring to the Irish Church, mentioned the word disestablishment, and the applause with which the expression had been received was significant,—so significant that Mr. Disraeli, who followed him, declared his determination to resist with all his power any attempts that might be made to overthrow the Established Church in Ireland, and in his argument maintained the inseparable alliance between church and state.

On the fourth night a decisive blow was struck. Mr. Gladstone unhesitatingly declared his opinion that the Established Church in Ireland must cease to exist as an institution upheld by the state. Religious equality must be established, difficult as it might be, but not on the principle of levelling up. His object also was to promote the loyalty and union of the Irish people, but it was idle and mocking to use words unless they could be sustained by the unreserved devotion of definite

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efforts. "If we are prudent men, I hope we shall endeavour as far as in us lies to make some provision for a contingent, a doubtful, and probably a dangerous future. If we be chivalrous men, I trust we shall endeavour to wipe away all those stains which the civilized world has for ages seen, or seemed to see, on the shield of England in her treatment of Ireland. If we be compassionate men, I hope we shall now, once for all, listen to the tale of woe which comes from her, and the reality of which, if not its justice, is testified by the continuous migration of her people:—that we shall endeavour to

"Raze out the written troubles from her brain,
Pluck from her memory the rooted sorrow."

But, above all, if we be just men, we shall go forward in the name of truth and right, bearing this in mind—that, when the case is proved and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied."

The government was unprepared for this sudden declaration, and Mr. Disraeli complained that at the very outset of their duties the new ministry should be called upon to deal with a difficulty, all the elements of which had existed while Mr. Gladstone, who had been converted by Mr. Bright and the philosophers, was himself in office.

The majority of the house was, however, manifestly in favour of the proposal to bring the question forward without delay, and Mr. Maguire having withdrawn his proposition, Mr. Gladstone lost no time in placing before it the following resolutions, to be moved in committee of the whole house:—"1. That in the opinion of this house it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property. 2. That, subject to the foregoing considerations, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity, or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of parliament. 3. That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that, with a view to the purposes aforesaid, her majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of parliament her interest in the temporalities, in archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland and in the custody thereof."

When it was proposed to bring these resolutions before the house in committee, Lord Stanley moved, "That this house, while admitting that considerable modifications of the temporalities of the united church in Ireland may, after the pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new parliament." He advocated this resolution on the ground that it would leave the parliament, which would be elected by the enlarged constituencies under the new Reform Bill, free and unfettered; but Mr. Gladstone was not slow to note that the admissions involved in such a resolution were a decisive proof that the days of the Irish Church were numbered. In one part of his powerful address he denied that the existence of that church was necessary for the maintenance of Protestantism in Ireland. Though the census of 1861 showed a small proportionate increase of Protestants, the rate of conversion was so small that it would take 1500 or 2000 years to effect an entire conversion if it went on at the same rate. The final arrangements in this matter might be left to a reformed parliament, but he proposed that they should prevent by legislation, this session, the growth of a new crop of vested interests.

Lord Cranborne spoke with bitter emphasis against the proposal of Lord Stanley, which had received the support of the ministry, and after events showed that his attack was not unjustifiable. The amendment, he said, was ambiguous; it either indicated no policy at all or a policy which the ministry was afraid to avow. The leader of the opposition offered them a policy, the foreign secretary offered them a paltry excuse for delay. The attitude assumed by ministers was neither wise, firm, nor creditable. The amendment was too clever by half. He was prepared to meet the

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resolution of Mr. Gladstone by a direct negative, but not to support an amendment to gain time and keep the cards in the hands of ministers to shuffle just as convenience or exigency might suggest.

Mr. Gathorne Hardy followed on the next evening with a speech which deeply impressed the house by its eloquence and earnestness. It was probably as powerful an appeal as could well have been made for the maintenance of the Established Church in Ireland, the cry against which he declared was a party cry. This declaration failed to strengthen even if it did not injure the cause he was advocating. It may have helped to cancel the impression left by Lord Stanley's proposals, as Mr. Bright suggested that it was intended to do, but it had little effect on the subsequent attitude of the house. Mr. Bright replied to one portion of it by saying that the Episcopal Church in Ireland, so far from having made Catholics Protestants, had made Catholics more intensely Roman than they were in any other country of Europe.

Mr. Lowe attacked the ministry and their policy with effective criticism. The attempt to link together the Irish and the English Church was like that of the tyrant Mezentius, who fastened a dead to a living body. The effect would be not to revive the dead but to kill the living. The government, instead of initiating measures, threw out, like the cuttlefish of which we read in Victor Hugo's novels, all sorts of tentacula for the purpose of catching up something, which it might appropriate and make its own. The Irish Church was founded on injustice, on the dominant rights of the few over the many, and should not stand. It was called a missionary church, but if so its mission was not fulfilled. As a missionary church it had failed utterly; like some exotic brought from a far country, with infinite pains and useless trouble, it was kept alive with difficulty and expense in an ungrateful climate and an ungenial soil.

Mr. Disraeli rose to reply. There had been much that was personal in the remarks of Lord Cranborne, much that was pungent and irritating in the speech of Mr. Lowe, and with his knowledge of the political atmosphere he must also have felt that he was fighting against almost certain defeat; but he could fight for a lost cause, and in retreat, with as much courage and address as most men display when they are advancing to victory. He turned sharply upon Lord Cranborne, who, he said, was at no time wanting in imputing to the government unworthy motives. The noble lord was a man of great talent, and there was great vigour in his language and no want of vindictiveness;—"I admit that now, speaking as a critic, and not perhaps as an impartial one, I must say I think it wants finish. Considering that the noble lord has studied the subject, and that he has written anonymous articles against me before and since I was his colleague,—I do not know whether he wrote them when I was his colleague,—I think it might have been accomplished more *ad unguem*." The references to Lord Cranborne's contributions to the *Quarterly Review* and other periodicals was telling, nor was the retort upon Mr. Lowe less so. "What is more remarkable than his learning and his logic, is that power of spontaneous aversion which particularly characterizes him. . . . He hates the working-classes of England. He hates the Roman Catholics of Ireland; he hates the Protestants of Ireland. He hates her majesty's ministers; and until the right honourable gentleman, the member for South Lancashire, placed his hand upon the ark, he seemed almost to hate the right honourable gentleman for South Lancashire." This was in the characteristic vein of the Disraeli of a good many years before, and perhaps the house was reminded of those days, for when the speaker went on to say that he had never attacked any one in his life, there arose cries of "Oh! oh!" and "Peel;" but when silence was regained the sentence concluded with, "unless I was first assailed." It was good heavy fencing of a sort; but what followed was more serious than fencing. He was, it may be supposed, thinking of the disposition of Irish Church endowments or grants which were under the royal authority when he intimated that his opponents were, he believed, about to seize upon the supreme authority of the realm, and announced that

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he would to the utmost of his ability oppose their attempts.

Mr. Gladstone afterwards said that there were portions of this speech which appeared to be due to the influence of a heated imagination; and the same explanation might have been given to a subsequent declaration made by Mr. Disraeli, that there were symptoms of a conspiracy between High Church ritualists and Irish Romanists,—a confederacy in the hands of which the Liberation Society was a mere instrument. These representations, the first of which was made on the last night of the debate, were repeated with the remark about the Liberation Society, in a letter to a clergyman (one of Mr. Disraeli's constituents) who had asked for an explanation of the assertion made to the house.

That they were intended to apply personally to Mr. Gladstone cannot be safely assumed, but that a good many people did so apply them can scarcely be doubted.

The argument, that if the proposed plans for disestablishment should be adopted, nearly two-thirds of the property of the Irish Church would remain in the hands of its ministers, and that they would be placed in a position as free as those of any dissenting body in England, probably had some effect. Lord Stanley's amendment was lost by a majority of 61. The motion for going into committee was gained by a majority of 56, among whom were five Conservatives; seven Liberals voting against it. The majority in a house where only 33 votes were wanting was larger than had been anticipated. The Liberal party was remarkably united. Large meetings were held in various parts of the country; one at St. James' Hall, at which Earl Russell presided, was considered of great importance.

It may be mentioned that, in opposition to the proposed measure, various personal accusations were brought against Mr. Gladstone, to the effect, that when at Rome he made arrangements with the pope to destroy the church establishment in Ireland, and to make other changes, he being a Roman Catholic at heart: that he had publicly condemned all support to the clergy in the three kingdoms from church or public funds: that when at Balmoral he refused to attend her majesty at Crathie Church: that he received the thanks of the pope for his proceedings respecting the Irish Church: that he was a member of a High Church ritualistic congregation. "These statements, one and all," wrote Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to the public journals, "are untrue in letter and in spirit, from the beginning to the end."

The Easter vacation arrived, and the measures which were to have been brought forward by the government were suspended. When the house again met some of the business was pushed on, the budget was brought forward, the results of the Abyssinian war were announced, and the ministry gave no sign of their intentions. After eleven nights' discussion a division took place on Mr. Gladstone's first resolution, and the majority against the government was 65. Mr. Disraeli then stated that this vote of the committee altered the relations between the government and the house. After an adjournment the house was informed that he had waited on the queen and tendered the resignation of the ministry, at the same time advising her majesty, that though the representatives of the existing constituencies were, no doubt, as morally competent to decide the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church as the representatives of the new constituencies would be, it was the opinion of ministers that efforts should be made to appeal to the new constituencies. If parliament could co-operate with the government arrangements might be made for a dissolution in the autumn.

The position was this. If parliament were immediately dissolved the new elections would be those of the constituencies already existing, because the provisions of the new reform bill had not been brought into operation; the result of this would be that the new parliament would cease after a few months of existence. Thus the ministry would be able to press forward government measures, with the alternative, that if they were defeated, an immediate dissolution would have the effect of necessitating two general elections within a very short period.

The tactics of the ministry were condemned

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by the opposition as being unconstitutional, and it was contended, that after such obvious defeats they should have resigned without recommending a dissolution. Much sharp questioning as to the statements made to the queen ensued; but it need scarcely be said that Mr. Disraeli was not led into admissions that would implicate the government. He had, temporarily, what is commonly called "the whip hand" of the house, but though the ministry recorded their strong opposition to the two remaining resolutions on the Irish Church, no division took place, and both were carried.

It is no new experience, that when the Liberal party appears to be having all its own way it begins to fall asunder. The reason is not far to seek. The independence of thought which is its boast is often fatal to that cohesion, we might even say to that loyalty to its leaders, which is essential to secure the success of measures which it has been most earnest in promoting.

No sooner had Mr. Gladstone's resolutions been carried than a Scotch member, Mr. Aytoun, persisted in proposing, as a distinct supplementary provision, that the Maynooth grant and the Regium Donum should be discontinued. The grant to the Irish College of Maynooth had been a well-gnawed bone of contention for many years, because the extreme Protestants of the house had grumbled over it during successive sessions, contending that it was in effect an endowment of the Romish Church. It had been originally conceded as a contribution towards the secular education of youths who were intended for the Irish priesthood, and who would, therefore, be teachers of the people. The question, it was argued, lay between helping them to acquire the knowledge that would enable them to be intelligent members of society, or leaving them almost as ignorant as the people over whom they were to exert not only spiritual but social influence. These were the grounds on which the grant was defended, and its appropriation was, at all events to some extent, guarded in accordance with the principle on which it had been voted; but the very fact of giving money for the support of a Roman Catholic college was regarded by many as a direct encouragement of Papacy.

The Regium Donum had existed from the time of Charles II., and was a grant of money from the crown for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. James II. discontinued it, but it was revived by William III., who made it a charge upon the customs of Belfast.

In vain did Mr. Gladstone explain that both these grants would be dealt with when the whole scheme was under consideration. Mr. Aytoun and those who agreed with him refused to leave the matter to any general arrangement. The house was in an uproar. Amidst the shouts and exclamations of contending disputants the occupants of the ministerial benches departed and left their opponents to fight it out. Amidst continued yells and violent denunciations Mr. Disraeli returned, and sardonically observed that it was just what he had expected; the gentlemen on the opposite side were quarrelling *over their booty*. The sarcasm added another discordant element to the scene; and at last, with considerable difficulty, a rider was added to the propositions, that when legislative effect should be given to the first resolution it would be right and necessary that the grant to Maynooth and the Regium Donum should be discontinued, due regard being had to all personal interests.

The amount represented by these two grants was about a million and a quarter.

The position which the ministry had taken had its effect in urging the house to deal promptly with deferred bills. The navy estimates, three months overdue, were passed, and it was necessary to hurry the Scotch Reform Bill before the dissolution. It was proposed to increase the number of members of parliament in order to give Scotland a fair share in the representation; but there was a general impression that there were already too many members; and Mr. Baxter moved that before the house went into committee on the bill there should be an instruction to the committee that they should have power to disfranchise English boroughs which the census returns of 1861 showed had fewer than 5000

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inhabitants. This would disfranchise ten boroughs, and was in direct opposition to Mr. Disraeli's declaration that the reform bill of 1867 would not disfranchise a single borough. Sir R. Knightley therefore moved that the ten seats required for Scotland should be obtained by taking a seat from every borough whose population was below 12,000, a motion which Mr. Disraeli warmly supported. On the division this motion was defeated by 217 votes to 196, and a subsequent proposition made by Mr. Bouverie, that the rate-paying clauses should be struck out as regarded Scotland, was also passed by a majority of 22 votes. This decision was declared by Mr. Disraeli to affect the principle of the Reform Act, and was corrected by a compromise founded on a resolution that no elector in Scotland should be allowed to exercise the franchise who was not rated to the poor, and had not paid his rates.

The Irish Reform Bill and other measures were rapidly pushed onward, one of them being the Bribery Bill, which was settled by reverting to the original proposition that the jurisdiction of the house over bribery cases should be transferred to the judges. The bill enabling the government to purchase the electric telegraphs from various private companies who were then working them, also passed through the house.

The business was then deemed to be sufficiently completed to warrant a dissolution, and on the last day of July parliament was prorogued, and preparations were made for an appeal to the new constituencies, though the actual dissolution and the commencement of the elections did not take place till November.

There is no need to dwell upon the addresses and manifestoes issued on both sides. The actual results of the contest are of more importance, for they completely falsified predictions that under the extended franchise the working-men would send to parliament members of their own body as their representatives.

The exertions on both sides were strenuous, and the excitement of the election was very great—for it was to test the sentiments of the country with regard to the two great parties of the state; and the question had to be decided how far some of the new constituencies would go in the direction of modern Radicalism. The struggle was severe, for it was almost universally recognized that Mr. Gladstone, as leader of the Liberals, had entered upon a policy which would involve widely-reaching measures and many important changes, for which timid politicians or those who sought shelter under the title of "Liberal-Conservatives" were not prepared. The Conservatives were active, and their plans were organized with considerable attention to those points of the contest by which they might obtain the most advantage. They had carried the war into the country of their foremost opponent, and though, in South-west Lancashire, when Mr. Gladstone appeared at the hustings, there appeared to be a great majority in his favour, and he called with some confidence upon his former constituents, he was defeated at the poll on the following day, two Conservatives, Mr. Cross and Mr. Turner, being elected, the former by 7729 and the latter by 7676 votes, while Mr. Gladstone, though he had preponderating numbers among the Liverpool electors, polled only 7415, and Mr. Grenfell, the other Liberal candidate, 6939. The probability of such a result had been foreseen by others, though it would appear not by Mr. Gladstone himself; therefore without his solicitation, and without any expense to him, the Liberal electors of Greenwich had put him in nomination along with Mr. Alderman Salomons, and he had already been elected as their representative by 6551 votes, Mr. Salomons polling 6645, and the two Conservatives 4661 and 4342 respectively.

Mr. Gladstone had asked the electors of South-west Lancashire to place themselves by their votes along with the unmistakable majority of the country. The result of the general elections proved that the Liberals had the national voice in their favour. At the same time there were some remarkable changes with regard to the public estimate of former Liberal representatives, and still more remarkable evidences, that the new constituencies had their own opinions of certain aspirants for parliamentary honours, and understood the difference between the real

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and supposed claims of those candidates who sought to represent the working-classes.

Among former Liberal representatives who were rejected was Mr. John Stuart Mill. He failed in the endeavour to resume his former place, and was defeated by Mr. W. H. Smith, a gentleman of education and of moderate Conservative opinions, who, as the head of a firm of booksellers and publishers, had achieved considerable commercial success by having obtained from most of the principal railway companies concessions enabling him to place stalls on the various station-platforms for the sale of books and newspapers.

There were several indications that Mr. Mill was not to be numbered with the popular representatives. With a philosophical simplicity, which may perhaps be regarded as a want of judgment, he recommended other candidates to other constituencies, and none of them were returned. In former pages we have had something to say about Mr. Mill's peculiar training and education; and probably he was a little too much of the philosopher for his former constituents. He was thought to be "viewy"—to have political crotchets which were all very well as cold theories, but would not bear the test of practical experience. Some of these "crotchets," like "women-suffrage" and women's title to independence, have since come from the region of mere theory, and are substantial or imminent questions.

One of Mr. Mill's distinctions was an aversion to the expenditure of money by candidates at elections. He was a charitable, and even a generous benefactor to many who needed help; and it is easy to see that the aversion had its grounds in a detestation of bribery and a desire to remove all opportunities for it. It was not that Mr. Mill was niggardly, though his means were not so large as to enable him to compete in extravagance with wealthy men; nor did it necessarily follow that the electors of Westminster objected to his views on this subject because they desired to sell their votes. In nearly every constituency there is a feeling that a free expenditure of money is a very desirable proceeding on the part of a candidate. It looks "hearty," and Mr. Mill was scarcely a hearty person in that sense. He might have been excused from drawing cheques if poverty had been his plea, but he distinctly declared that the expenses of an election should be borne by the constituency. There were people who declared that this caused his defeat.

If the people of Westminster had grown tired of Mr. Mill, the people of Sheffield appeared to have been offended by some of the utterances of Mr. Roebuck, who certainly seldom concealed his opinions for the sake of propitiating anybody in or out of parliament. His pugnacity seemed to have increased with years, or, at all events, it had taken the form of frequent displays of what seemed like irritability, and the nickname of "Tear-'em" which had been applied to him was supposed to express his honest irrepressible tendency to go at anybody or anything opposed to his own convictions or even his own prejudices, and to worry and bark at supposed abuses, as a terrier does when he has a suspicion of rats. True to his convictions, he had with his usual courage dared to oppose the trades-unions, and strong in his prejudices, he had displayed bitter antagonism to the Northern cause during the American war. The Sheffield voters rejected him, and elected Mr. Mundella, who very soon took an eminently useful part in some of the most beneficial work of successive parliaments. Sir Wentworth Dilke, who had represented Wallingford, failed to regain his seat, but his son (now Sir Charles Dilke) was returned for Chelsea. Mr. Miall, the stanch supporter of the Nonconformist interest, lost the election at Bradford, but was soon afterwards renominated, and obtained the seat. Mr. Milner-Gibson was defeated at Ashton-under-Lyne, and made no further effort to get into parliament. He had done good service to the state in the great battle for free-trade and afterwards, and was entitled to retire from public life. Mr. Bernal Osborne, whose sallies had so often roused and amused the house, and whom Dr. Gifford, when editor of the *Standard* newspaper, had happily named "the stormy petrel of debate," was among the rejected, but was afterwards returned to parliament. Mr. Lowe, as we have already

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noted, was returned as the first representative for the University of London.

One of the most marked contests was that between Lord Hartington and the younger son of Lord Derby—we might almost say between the houses of Cavendish and Stanley—for North Lancashire. Mr. Frederick Stanley was the successful candidate by a large majority, and it was only some months afterwards that Lord Hartington obtained a seat for the Radnor boroughs, and was included in the new ministry formed by Mr. Gladstone.

The names of some of those here mentioned will be recognized as belonging to the real representatives of "the working-classes" of the community; but it was very significant that those who professed to belong to that class, or to found their claims on being eminently fitted to uphold working-class interests, were unmistakably rejected. Mr. Ernest Jones, Mr. Mason Jones, even Mr. Beales, were not acceptable, and Mr. Odger, an actual workingman of no little ability, had even less success in commanding the suffrages of his fellow-craftsmen than some of the blusterous and self-assertive declaimers whose names need not be mentioned here, but who assuredly were not representatives of working-men in any true sense, but were the demoralizing parasites of "the working-classes," subsisting on the subscriptions or contributions which they could contrive to extract from their dupes.

The social and political aspect of the House of Commons was not much changed, but there had been a remarkable transposition of members. In several places which had formerly been conspicuous for Radical opinions, Conservatives had achieved the greatest success. The county of Lancaster had returned eight Conservatives, representing the whole of the divisions of the county, and in some of the towns equally unexpected changes had taken place. There could be no question, however, that the aggregate increase of Liberalism was equally remarkable. In the boroughs there were only 95 Conservative members returned as against 214 Liberals, while in Scotland the Liberal votes were overwhelming, the Conservatives taking only 7 county seats against 23, and receiving none in the burghs. An analysis of the election of 1868 showed the total Liberal vote in England and Wales was 1,231,450; the Conservative, 824,057—majority, 407,393. The total Liberal vote in Scotland was 123,410; the Conservative, 23,391—majority, 100,019, a few additions for undecided votes making the majority slightly greater. The total Liberal vote in Ireland was 53,379; the Conservative, 36,082—majority, 17,297. Thus there was a gross Liberal vote of 1,408,239, and a gross Conservative vote of 883,530, leaving a majority in favour of the Liberals of 524,709. But it is to be noted that the 92 constituencies gained by the Liberals throughout the elections contained a population of 6,611,950; while the 69 won by the Conservatives contained only a population of 5,177,534, leaving a balance on the side of the Liberals of 1,434,416. There were no fewer than 227 out of the whole number of members returned who had no seat in the previous parliament, being upwards of one-third of the entire House of Commons.

The situation of the Conservative government was so obvious that Mr. Disraeli announced the resignation of ministers without waiting for the verdict of the house. On the 4th of December Mr. Gladstone was summoned to receive the queen's command to form a new ministry. On the 9th he had completed it, and had succeeded in persuading Mr. Bright (who was still disinclined to hold office) to accept the position of president of the Board of Trade. For no other minister than Mr. Gladstone would he have consented to become a member of the cabinet, and he felt it necessary to assure his constituents in words of much pathos and evident sincerity that he should neither change his sentiments nor sacrifice his strong convictions because of his association with the ministry, though it might be necessary for him to abstain from the expression of independent opinions for the purpose of maintaining the united action which would be essential to the maintenance of the government. In fact Mr. Bright did not altogether abstain from taking independent ground outside the cabinet, but he felt that with Mr. Gladstone at the helm, and having in view that legislation for Ireland

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which they had both so earnestly advocated, he could not refuse to strengthen the Liberal policy by accepting a place in the ministry.

Lord Clarendon was foreign secretary, Lord Granville secretary for the colonies; Mr. Bruce, home secretary; and to the calm and methodical Mr. Cardwell was committed the war secretaryship, an office in which he had to carry out important measures of army reform. The Duke of Argyle was secretary for India, Lord Hatherly (Sir William Page Wood), a staunch Liberal, became lord-chancellor; the Earl of Kimberley, lord privy seal; and Mr. Childers first lord of the admiralty. Lord Dufferin had a place in the ministry as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Earl Spencer became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with Mr. Chichester Fortescue as chief secretary. The Marquis of Hartington was made postmaster-general, and Mr. Lowe chancellor of the exchequer, an experiment the consequences of which will be briefly noted hereafter. On the whole it was a strong government and well organized, and it was popular. The fact of Mr. Bright having become a direct coadjutor of the premier had great weight with those of the Liberal party who looked forward to decisive measures for the satisfaction of Irish claims.

In an address to his constituents at Greenwich Mr. Gladstone sounded the note of advance, not only with regard to the question of the Irish Church, Irish education, and the tenure of land in Ireland, but in other matters with which he knew that the government would have to deal promptly and decisively. The Irish Church came first. Amidst a storm of violent abuse, invective, and denunciation uttered at public meetings by noblemen, leading Orangemen, bishops, and clergy, as well as by his opponents in parliament, he braced himself to the task of bringing forward the complete scheme, of which his resolutions had been the intimation. "We confide," said the premier, "in the traditions we have received of our fathers; we confide in the soundness both of the religious and of the civil principles that prevail; we confide in the sacredness of that cause of justice in which we are engaged, and with that confidence and persuasion we are prepared to go forward."

On the 1st of March, 1869, he rose to bring forward the scheme which had been proposed. For three hours the dense crowd which filled the benches, the galleries, and every point from which he could be heard, listened with almost breathless interest.

A speech full of detail, full of strong appeal, but a speech, so Mr. Disraeli said, in which there was not a redundant word.

That should alone be a reason for not quoting extracts from it. It must be sufficient to indicate what were the provisions of the bill which was to make the significant and important change of dissolving the union between the two churches.

Those provisions were, that the existing Ecclesiastical Commission should cease, and that a new commission should be appointed for ten years in which the property of the Irish Church should be vested (making provision for life interests) from the time of the passing of the bill. This new commission was to be appointed immediately after the passing of the bill, so that disendowment would practically commence at once. The Irish Church would in effect be made a free Episcopal Church, and during the transitional period no new vested interests were to be created.

Disestablishment would commence on the 1st of January, 1871 (unless the date should for sufficient reasons be altered by the government), when the union between the churches of England and Ireland would be dissolved. The Irish Church would cease to be recognized by the state; all Irish ecclesiastical courts would be abolished, and ecclesiastical laws would remain only provisionally in force, not as laws, but as a voluntary compact between clergy and laity until they should be altered by the governing body of the disestablished church—a kind of synod elected to represent the clergy and laity and recognized by the queen in council as a duly constituted representative body to be legally incorporated. The crown was to resign the right to appoint Irish bishops, and Irish bishops would no longer sit in the House of Lords.

In the interval between the passing of the act and the date of January 1st, 1871, and during the reorganization of the church,

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SPENCER COMPTON CAVENDISH.
MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

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appointments were to be made to spiritual offices, but they were not to carry with them the freehold or confer vested interests. In the same manner appointments would be made to vacant bishoprics, but only on the prayer of the bishops to consecrate a particular person to a vacancy; and these appointments would carry with them no vested interests and no rights of peerage. Crown livings vacant during the same period would be filled up on similar principles.

This was the plan for disestablishment. That for disendowment was more complicated, and its practical settlement would be more difficult, since the titles to many of the claims that would be made were intricate. There were vested interests of incumbents, including bishops and dignitaries as well as beneficed clergy, receiving certain annuities from the property of the church, and the commissioners would ascertain the amount of each incumbent's income, deducting what he paid for curates. Such incumbent might then either continue to receive the annuity as long as he continued to discharge the duties or might have it commuted into an annuity for life. Permanent curates, or those who had been employed in the same parish from January 1, 1869, to January 1, 1871, or had left their employment not from their own free-will or through misconduct, would be entitled to the same kind of compensation as the incumbent, and such compensation would be paid by the incumbents. "Transitory" curates were to be dismissed with a gratuity. Private endowments arising from money contributed from private sources since the year 1660, and not including churches and glebe house, would not be touched, and would be the only marketable property conveyed to the church. Glebe houses were not marketable property, for though there could be traced an expenditure of £12,000,000 upon them their annual value was only £18,600, and there was a quarter of a million of building charges upon them which the state would have to pay on coming into possession. If the governing body paid the building charges they might acquire the glebe houses and could purchase glebe land at a fair valuation.

When the proposed governing body made an application, and declared that they intended either to maintain any church for public worship or to remove it to some more convenient position, it would be handed over to them. Churches not in use and incapable of being restored for purposes of worship would be handed over to the Board of Works, with an allocation of funds sufficient for their maintenance. The burial-grounds adjoining churches would go with the churches, all existing rights being preserved, and other burial-grounds would be transferred to the guardians of the poor.

Presbyterian ministers, recipients of the Regium Donum, would be compensated on the same principles as the incumbents of the disestablished church. In these cases and with respect to the grant to Maynooth there would be a valuation of all the interests at 14 years' purchase of the capital amount annually voted. An elaborate scheme for the final extinction of the tithe rent charge in 45 years, provided that landlords would be allowed, if they chose, to purchase it at 22½ years' purchase, and if they did not accept the offer, they would come under another and a general operation. There would be a compulsory sale to them of the tithe rent charge, at a rate which would yield 4½ per cent; and, on the other side, they would be credited with a loan at 3½ per cent, payable in instalments in 45 years. The power of purchase would remain in the hands of the tenants for three years after the passing of the act, and it was also proposed that the tenants should have a right of pre-emption of all lands sold by the commission, and that three-fourths of the purchase money might be left on the security of the land.

The following were the particulars of the expected results:—The tithe rent charge would yield £9,000,000; lands and perpetuity rents, £6,250,000; money, £750,000—total, £16,000,000; the present value of the property of the Irish Church. Of this the bill would dispose of £8,650,000, viz. vested interests of incumbents, £4,900,000; curates, £800,000; lay compensation, £900,000; private endowments, £500,000; building charges, £250,000;

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commutation of the Maynooth grant and the Regium Donum, £1,100,000; and expenses of the commission, £200,000. Consequently, there would remain a surplus of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000; and the question then arose, "What shall we do with it?" Mr. Gladstone held it to be indispensable that the purposes to which the surplus was applied should be Irish. Further, they should not be religious, although they must be final, and open the door to no new controversy. Government proposed to apply the surplus to the relief of unavoidable calamities and suffering not provided for by the poor-law. The sum of £185,000 would be allocated for lunatic asylums; £20,000 a year would be awarded to idiot asylums; £30,000 to training schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind; £15,000 for the training of nurses; £10,000 for reformatories; and £51,000 to county infirmaries—in all, £311,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone claimed that by the provision of all these requirements they would be able to combine very great reforms; and they would also be in a better condition for inviting the Irish landlord to accede to a change in the county cess, as they were able to offer by this plan a considerable diminution in its burden.

The debate was characterized by eloquent speeches from both sides. Mr. Gladstone had scarcely ever approached, and has never exceeded the magnificent effort which he made on that occasion, an effort which received the admiration and encomiums even of his opponents. Mr. Disraeli's contribution to the discussion was witty, brilliant, and telling; but there were evidences, that though he professed to offer unyielding opposition, he spoke under the conviction that the measure would be triumphantly carried. He spoke of the title of the church being stronger than that of any other landlord, and called disendowment spoliation, if it were effected without reason, and confiscation whether the reason were valid or not; but when he came to apply the argument he used suggestions and illustrations which were afterwards spoken of as being conspicuously illogical and delusive, especially when he pictured one set of landless Irish gentry demanding, from no other motive than jealousy, the confiscation of the estates of those who were more fortunate, or the unendowed hospitals of London claiming the revenues of St. Bartholomew's, Guy's, or St. Thomas's.

Dr. Ball and Mr. Gathorne Hardy were among the principal speakers, and while the former predicted that the measure would cause general discontent and agitation, the latter broke forth into a powerful oration, which was enthusiastically applauded on the Conservative side, and in which he touched upon the various points of the proposed measure, and vehemently denounced them all. He represented that in Ireland the institutions were satisfactory, that freedom there was complete, the law as justly administered as it was in England; while the people, badly influenced by the priesthood, were discontented without real cause and ready to sympathize with crime. This speech Mr. Gladstone afterwards characterized as showing fitness for a task which Burke had disclaimed—that of drawing an indictment against a whole nation.

Mr. Bright brought to the debate the influence of his incisive statements and his great eloquence. He had already estimated the position when he asked the house, "What is the condition of Ireland at this moment with which you have to deal?" and answered the question by saying: "There is not only the Church which it is proposed to disestablish, but you have the Regium Donum, which, if the Church be disestablished, must necessarily be withdrawn; and you have, if these two things happen, a grant to Maynooth, the act conferring which must necessarily be repealed. Now, in doing these things the house will observe that we shall disturb all the three principal sects or churches in Ireland, and we can only do it, or attempt to do it, on the ground that we are about to accomplish some great public good. . . . It is a great thing in statesmanship when you are about to make a change which is inevitable, and which shocks some, disturbs more, and makes hesitating people hesitate still more—if you can make the past slide into the future without any great jar, and without any great shock to the feelings of the people. And in doing these things the government can always

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afford to be generous and gracious to those whom they are obliged to disturb.

I observe honourable gentlemen talk of the Protestants of Ireland as being one-fourth of the whole population—of being a million and a half. All that is fanciful exaggeration. According to the census the Episcopalians are not more than 700,000, and let honourable gentlemen bear this in mind, when the census enumerators go round, if a man is not a Catholic or a Presbyterian, he is put down, unless he can state he is of some other sect, as an Episcopalian. And judging from what we know there must be out of the 700,000 a considerable number who never go to church, and, politically or religiously, have no interest in it. Therefore, I believe, speaking correctly, it would not be possible to show that there are Episcopalians in Ireland in intimate connection with the Established Church to the amount of more than from 500,000 to 600,000.

Now, this will not come to more than 100,000 families, that is, will not be very much more than the population of Liverpool, or Manchester, or Glasgow; so that, in point of fact, this question, which is held to be a revolution—this great question—affects only a population equal to that of the city of Glasgow, or of Liverpool, or of Manchester. And it is for a population so small as this, I am told—for I am not versed in computations of this kind,—you have no less than twelve bishops and archbishops, and that you have devoted for their service—for their religious services—not less than the annual income arising from a capital sum estimated to be, at least, ten or twelve millions sterling. Now, if their system of teaching is really very good, I must say there ought to be in Ireland a more perfectly moral and religious population among the Church Protestants than there is in any other country in the world.

What, then, are we about to do? . . . If the house accept the advice of the majority sitting on this side what will be done? We are not going to commit any vital wrong upon that one city population of 500,000 or 600,000. . . . We shall leave them in as comfortable a position as the majority of the people of Scotland are in at this moment. We shall leave them as well off as eight or nine tenths of the population of Wales are; we shall leave them as well off as half, and not the least religious half, of the people of England are; we shall leave them as well off as the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish people who form the population in our colonies, whether in North America or Australia. And what can be more monstrous than for gentlemen to come here from Ireland—and there may be some from England—and tell us we are bringing about a revolution, that we are committing an enormous oppression, that we are hazarding the loyalty of the people of the north of Ireland, when, after all, the most and worst which any of us proposes to do is that the church population of Ireland will be left at least as well off as any of the various populations of the empire I have just described? I hope honourable gentlemen opposite will be convinced that is not a bottomless abyss we are going to plunge their friends into."

Mr. Gladstone having replied to some of the chief objections brought against the bill, the house divided, and 368 votes were recorded in favour of the second reading, only 250 appearing against it, a majority which showed not only that the Liberals could command a secure position, but that as a party they had become more completely organized. The bill had still to be discussed in committee, and legislation on other matters was sadly behindhand. The army and navy estimates were in arrear; the budget had to be brought forward; and the troubles caused by Fenianism in Ireland were so serious that it was feared another coercion bill would be necessary.

Mr. Lowe brought forward his financial statement on the 8th of April, and though it provoked no enthusiasm it was eminently satisfactory. The reductions made (chiefly in military and naval expenditure) provided for the expenses of the past year, including the balance for the war in Abyssinia. This, however, left only £32,000 as a surplus, and the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a new plan of collecting taxes, transforming the assessed taxes into excise licenses payable at the beginning of the year, and making the income-tax, land-tax, and house duty

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payable in a single payment early in the year between January and April. This, it was calculated, would place at the disposal of the government £3,380,000, and make the actual surplus of the year £3,382,000, which would enable them to take a penny off the income-tax, abolish the shilling duty still remaining on corn, and entirely remit the duty on fire insurance. There was to be some rearrangement and reduction of assessed taxes, an abolition of the licenses for the sale of tea, and the taxes on post-horses and hair-powder, and a reduction of the cab and carriage duties; these changes would come into operation during the current year, and a net amount would be left of about £442,000.

Meetings against the Irish Church Bill continued to be held not only in London but by its opponents in Ireland, where the speeches were often violent and scandalously vituperative against Mr. Gladstone and the chief promoters of the measure. Threats of forcible opposition and outrage were frequently expressed by clergymen as well as laymen. In parliament the discussions on the third reading were long and excited; but the division showed a majority of 114, and it then had to be sent up to the Lords.

More meetings were held; Mr. Gladstone and his supporters continued to be assailed with abuse, and it was sought to defeat the measure on the second reading by the peers. At one time this result seemed possible, and awkward rumours were heard. Mr. Bright, in a letter addressed to a Birmingham meeting, had said that if the Lords persisted in thwarting the national intentions they might "meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of." This was, of course, considered to be very indiscreet language for a cabinet minister to use; but Mr. Bright, in pursuance of his usual personal independence, had not spoken as a cabinet minister, though, perhaps, the indiscretion remained. At anyrate the words he used seem to have produced some effect. Some of the newspapers hinted (apparently without authority) that the expedient of creating a number of new peers might be adopted. Probably a great majority of the Lords did not for a moment contemplate a rejection of the bill, though there were some among them who did so. Lord Derby lifted up his voice in the house for the last time in speaking against a measure the operation of which he did not live to contemplate. Lord Cairns was one of its most powerful opponents; but he foresaw that it must be accepted, and therefore set himself to secure such amendments in committee as would, he thought, help to neutralize its effects. This was the course recommended by the Duke of Richmond, and ultimately followed. On the Episcopal bench the Archbishop of Canterbury, though he could not approve of the bill, spoke with great moderation. Other prelates were more emphatic in their opposition. One striking exception was the eminent Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, the scholar and historian, who had once been at the chancery bar, and who was as much admired as a scholar and an orator as he was respected for his character. He declared that the vain and superstitious notion that church property was in any sense divine, or that material offerings might be accepted by the Most High as supplying some want of the divine nature, was heathenish. Miss Burdett Coutts's market at Spitalfields was as religious a work as Mr. Guinness's restoration of Dublin Cathedral. He was as eager as any one for Protestant ascendency, but ascendency of a religious, moral, and intellectual character, the ascendency of truth and reason over error. Of that ascendency he did not believe the Irish Church to be a pillar. He had no fear of, because no belief in, the power of the pope. Everywhere he saw it on the decline, and a serious blow would be dealt at it in Ireland by removing a grievance which gave the priesthood an artificial hold on the sentiment of the people.

On the other hand, Dr. Magee, the new Bishop of Peterborough, attacked the bill by a slashing onslaught which elicited considerable applause from those who agreed with him. Neither of the English archbishops voted; but the Archbishop of Dublin voted against the bill, which was supported by the solitary vote of Dr. Thirlwall. The Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce), though present,

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did not vote. Thirteen English and two Irish bishops pronounced against the bill, while there were many absentees, including the Bishops of Carlisle, Exeter, Manchester, Salisbury, and Winchester.

The second reading was carried by 179 against 146—majority for the bill, 33. This was the largest division in the House of Lords within living memory, no fewer than 325 peers having taken part in it. It eventually passed through committee by 121 votes to 114, and under a protest signed by Lord Derby and forty-three temporal and two spiritual peers. The amendments made in committee, however, were most of them rejected when the bill went back to the House of Commons; some of the proposed modifications and one or two alterations were accepted; and the bill was sent back. After much contention, a stormy discussion, and the application of some rather unparliamentary names to Mr. Gladstone, an agreement was arrived at that a conference should be held between Lord Granville and Lord Cairns, the end of which was that a compromise was effected, which Mr. Gladstone said was a satisfactory settlement. Comparatively little change had been made. Mr. Disraeli endorsed the compromise as a wise, well-considered, and conciliatory arrangement, and the bill became law by receiving the royal assent on the 26th of July.

The work of the "commissioners of the Church temporalities in Ireland" was not soon or easily accomplished. Not till the end of the year 1880 had they completed the task imposed on them by the Irish Church Act, as far as it was possible without further legislation. Some remarkable facts appeared in their report respecting the life incomes commuted and the commutation money paid, including cases where 12 per cent bonus was allowed. The amount depended, of course, on the age of the holder. The net annual value of the Archbishopric of Armagh was £10,225, commutation money £88,442; Bishopric of Derry, annual value, £6847, commutation £111,867; Archbishopric of Dublin, £8845, commutation £93,045; Bishopric of Cork, £2485, commutation £18,500. The following were the net annual values of some of the benefices and the commutation:—Clogherney, £1563, commutation £19,124; Louth, £1329, commutation £12,941; Carnteel, £1167, commutation £9469; Clones, £1290, commutation £13,298; Killoughory, £905, commutation £16,450; Cappagh, £1234, commutation £18,527; Carrigallen, £819, commutation £12,495. The least valuable benefice was Balscadden, in the diocese of Dublin, which was worth only £4 a year, and was commuted for £47. Examples were given of the values of vicar-generalships and registrarships, which were held by laymen, and the sum for which they were commuted. The smallest income stated was that of the vicar-general of the dioceses of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, which was only £37, and the largest the registrarship of the province of Dublin, which was £1015. The others generally averaged about £400. All commutation monies were calculated at 3½ per cent, and the average of the lives of all the clergy at 10·9 years' purchase. The total number of ecclesiastical persons who commuted up to the end of 1874 was 2282, their net incomes being £589,665, and the commutation money £7,546,005. The number of lay commutants was 2857, their net incomes being £33,060, and the commutation paid £454,700. The total paid under the compensation clauses, including all heads, was £11,343,703. The sales of all the property vested in the commissioners by the act realized £9,794,790, of which a sum of £3,362,648 was received in cash. The commissioners in January, 1881, had no actual balance in the nature of a surplus, but had instead an annual income, partly permanent, partly terminable, of £574,219.

For a short time members were able to take breath after the struggle on the Irish Land Bill, and some useful measures were pushed forward before parliament was prorogued. The exertions which he had undergone had affected Mr. Gladstone's health, which, perhaps, suffered even more from the aspersions to which he had been subjected than from the arduous task that he had undertaken. During the recess a meeting of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland was held in St. Patrick's

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Cathedral to draw up a constitution suitable for the altered condition of the church. A "solemn protest" was issued against the recent act of the legislature, and a scheme was adopted for the formation of a church body from the clergy of each diocese to elect representatives varying in number; the total for Ireland being 124. One dean and one archdeacon for each united diocese, and the regius professor of Divinity, Trinity College, were to be ex-officio members, the provost and fellows of the college returning one member; questions of doctrine and discipline were to be reserved for the bishops and clergy.

This was the movement made in reference to the act which had been passed for the redress of the first Irish grievance.

In relation to another which it was now sought to remove, the Catholic clergy had published a series of resolutions, adopted at a meeting in Maynooth College on the education and land questions, condemning the mixed system of education, demanding complete secular education on purely Catholic principles, a share of the funds of the royal and endowed schools, and a rearrangement of the Queen's College on the denominational system. These resolutions were sufficient to indicate what would be the insurmountable difficulties with which Mr. Gladstone would have to contend when he should set himself to hew off the third branch of that upas-tree which he had said was overshadowing and blighting Ireland.

But, first, the government had to address itself to the land question. On this the meeting at Maynooth had added a general resolution expressing the belief, in which the majority of the people of this country agreed, that its settlement was essential to the peace of the kingdom.

It was known that a land bill for Ireland would be brought in. It was inevitable that some considerable change should be made. Before the introduction of the church bill, even before Mr. Maguire's motion which preceded it, the necessity for dealing with both the land question and the church question had been discussed by leading members of the house, and notably by Mr. Bright, whose speeches both in and out of parliament were uttered without reserve, and with his usual emphasis even when he was addressing audiences of Irishmen. In the house he had declared—"All history teaches us that it is not in human nature that men should be content under any system of legislation, and of institutions such as exist in Ireland. You may suppress the conspiracy and put down the insurrection, but the moment it is suppressed there will still remain the germs of this malady, and from these germs will grow up as heretofore another crop of insurrection and another harvest of misfortune. And it may be that those who sit here eighteen years after this moment will find another ministry and another secretary of state ready to propose to you another administration of the same ever-failing and ever-poisonous medicine. I say there is a mode of making Ireland loyal. I say that the parliament of England having abolished the parliament of Ireland is doubly bound to examine what that mode is, and, if it can discover it, to adopt it. I say that the minister who occupies office in this country, merely that he may carry on the daily routine of administration, who dares not grapple with this question, who dares not go into opposition, and who will sit anywhere except where he can tell his mind freely to the house and to the country, may have a high position in the country, but he is not a statesman, nor is he worthy of the name."

Out of the house he had dwelt upon the injustices inflicted upon the people of Ireland by the maintenance of a church originally thrust upon them as a conquered nation, and by the perpetuation of a system by which the tenant of land remained under what might be regarded as a continually threatening penalty.

When the house reassembled on the 8th of February, 1870, Mr. Gladstone at once asserted that the duty of parliament in regard to the condition of Ireland was absolutely paramount and primary, and on the 15th of February he brought forward his proposals for an Irish Land Bill. The work that lay before the government was almost appalling. The Irish question, as Mr. Bright had told the people of Birmingham, was one of the greatest

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and most difficult that had ever engaged the attention of the legislature, and there were other measures of great importance to be considered: bills for the improvement of the constitution and procedure of the superior legal tribunals; for settlement of the religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge; for regulating the application of large sums of money raised by local rates; for amending the beer and spirit licenses; for relieving the members of trade combinations from certain disabilities which prevented their joining in acts that were perfectly legal, and mutually beneficial; for improving the law of succession to the estates of intestates; and for regulating merchant shipping. To endeavour to pass all these would be like attempting to drive six omnibuses abreast through Temple Bar, Mr. Bright said. Mr. Forster replied that the plan would be for the six omnibuses to follow one another in safety. Probably he scarcely expected that all would get through, but he was just preparing to take the reins of one that required skilful coaching, namely, the Elementary Education Act, for which some preparation had been made by the Endowed Schools Act of the previous session.

But immediate and undivided attention was first called to the Irish Land Bill, and again the house was crowded to hear the exposition which Mr. Gladstone was ready to offer. The opponents of the Irish Church Bill twelve months before had predicted that it was the land and not the church which lay at the root of Irish grievances. He therefore trusted that the opposition would approach the question with a due sense of its importance. The necessity for closing and sealing up the controversy was admitted by all fair-minded and moderate men on both sides. He called attention to fallacies, such as that the land laws were the same in Ireland as in England, and ought therefore to produce the same results in both countries; that Ireland had been prospering for the last twenty years, and that the people had no occasion to exhibit feelings of discontent. With regard to this last item he showed that the rate of wages had not risen within the previous ten years, that the number of persons receiving poor relief had increased, the cost of subsistence had risen, and some of the most imprudent and violent interferences with the fixed usages of the country had occurred. The course of legislation for the past fifty years, though intended in a beneficial spirit, had possibly been detrimental to the interests of the occupiers. The Act of 1793 giving the franchise to Roman Catholics had induced the creation of 40*s.* freeholds, and the abolition of the franchise in 1829 vastly extended the mischief, and, perhaps, under the circumstances of Ireland, the still greater mischief of mere yearly tenancy. The Encumbered Estates Act, which had since passed into the act for dealing with the sale of landed estates, by not protecting the improvements of the tenants, had operated as an extensive confiscation. Parliament also, during the previous half century, had completely changed the conditions of eviction against the tenants. Speaking broadly, Mr. Gladstone asserted that after we had been legislating for a century in favour of Ireland, it was a matter of doubt whether, as far as the law was concerned, the condition of the occupier was better than before the repeal of the penal laws. The present bill would reverse the presumption of law in favour of yearly tenancies, and would not leave owners and occupiers full freedom of contract.

The bill brought forward was of a decisive and comprehensive character. In the first place it proposed the enlargement of the power of the limited owner in regard both to lease and rate. Assistance was to be given by loans of public money to occupiers disposed and able to purchase the cultivated lands then in their occupation, where the landlords were willing to sell. Facilities would also be given to landlords by means of loan, to prepare waste lands for occupation by the making of roads and the erection of necessary buildings; and to assist purchasers of reclaimed lands upon the security of the seller and buyer, or the provision of other security of an adequate nature. These transactions were to be managed by the Board of Works in Dublin. With regard to occupation, the new law was to be administered by a court of arbitration and a civil-bill court, with an appellate tribunal consisting of two, and in case of necessity three, judges of assize, the judges having

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power to reserve a case for a court for land causes in Dublin, to be composed of equity and common-law judges.

At that time there were four descriptions of holdings in Ireland, which Mr. Gladstone thought it his duty to keep specially in view. The first of these was known as the Ulster custom. This custom, where it existed, the bill was to convert into a law, to which the new courts would give effect. The second class of holdings were those which prevailed under customs and usages other than that of Ulster; and these, too, were to be legalized, subject to the restriction, that the tenant might claim the benefit of them as an absolute right only in cases where he was disturbed in his tenancy by the act of his landlord, if he had not been evicted for non-payment of rent, and had not sublet or subdivided his holding without the landlord's consent. All arrears of rent and all damages done by the tenant to the farm might be pleaded by the landlord as a set-off, and the landlord might bar the pleading of any such custom if he chose to give his tenant a lease for not less than thirty-one years.

Where the buildings were not connected with any custom, there was to be a scale of damages for evictions. In the case of holdings above fifty pounds a year, the parties might contract themselves out of the scale of damages on the landlord giving a thirty-one years' lease, and undertaking to execute necessary improvements.

In cases of eviction the following was to be the scale of damages. If the holding was not valued in the public valuation over £10 a year the judge might award the holder a sum not exceeding seven years' rent; between £10 and £50 a year, a sum not exceeding five years' rent; between £50 and £100 a year, a sum not exceeding three years' rent; and above £100 a year, not exceeding two years' rent.

In addition to this the question of permanent buildings and the reclamation of land had to be dealt with.

For the purpose of promoting improvements, advances of money would be authorized to landlords, to enable them to defray any charge made against them in the way of improvement in the case of tenants retiring by an act of their own. The principle on which it was proposed to deal with improvements was, that they must have a rentable value, and be suitable to the holdings, and the burden of proof was to be laid on the landlords. In other words, improvements should be the work of the tenant, and the landlord should show that they were not necessary; and the measure was not to be limited to future improvements, but was to be extended to those already made. No claim would be allowed for any improvement made twenty years before the passing of the act, unless it was an improvement of the nature of a permanent building, or a reclamation of land, nor if the tenant held under an existing lease or contract which forbade it; and in the case of past improvements the court might take into consideration the terms for which, and the terms on which, they had already been enjoyed by the tenant. No claim would be allowed in respect of improvements contrary to a future contract voluntarily entered into by the tenant, and which were not required for the due cultivation of the farm.

As to lands under lease, a landlord might exempt his lands from being subject to any custom except the Ulster custom, provided that he agreed to give his tenant a lease for thirty-one years; but the lease must leave to the tenant at the close of that term a right to claim compensation under three heads—namely, tillages and manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of lands.

From the moment the bill was passed every Irishman was to be absolutely responsible for every contract into which he entered. Non-payment of rent would be held as a bar to any claim on the landlord, reserving, however, discretion to the courts in certain cases. Notices to quit were to be for twelve months instead of six, and to date from the last day of the current year; and the notice must have a stamp duty of two shillings and sixpence.

The bill also proposed to deal with the question of the county cess, which it would assimilate to the poor-rate. In every new tenancy it would have to be paid in moieties

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by landlord and tenant, as the poor-rate was then paid, and in every old tenancy under £4 a year the occupier was to be at once relieved.

Such were the principal provisions of the bill. Mr. Gladstone, in concluding his explanation, said that the government were far from believing it to be a perfect measure, and invited in thorough good faith the co-operation of all parties to make it as nearly perfect as possible, for their desire was that it should become a great gift to Ireland, and be the means of putting an end to the grievances and sufferings that had so long been associated with the tenure of land in that country. "I am sanguine," said Mr. Gladstone, "in the hope that it will pass, not as the triumph of a party, but as a great work of good-will for the common good of our common country, and that its result will be to diffuse the blessings of peace, order, and industry over a smiling land."

Mr. Gathorne Hardy, acting for Mr. Disraeli, seemed disposed to receive the proposed measure in a more frank and friendly manner than was afterwards displayed by his chief, who, touching upon the various objections which had been taken, wound up by saying that a more complicated, or more clumsy, or a more heterogeneous measure, had never been brought before parliament. He ended in his satirical vein, ridiculing the proposed tribunals for settling claims, and wound up with the advice to the house to decide in a becoming manner upon the matters to be brought under their consideration.

Of course there was a strong opposition, especially on the part of some Irish landlords, who regarded as revolutionary the changes which gave the tenant an interest in the land. They virtually argued that land was either a privileged possession or a commodity for freedom of contract. Mr. Gladstone had pointed out, that though the general effect of the measure might be to impose the possibility of an immediate loss on the landlord, he would not be ultimately a loser. There was a huge fund of national wealth in the soil of Ireland yet undeveloped. By imparting a stimulus to the agriculture of the country the price of labour also would be raised because of the increased demand for strong arms to carry on the necessary work. On the second reading a division was insisted on by a few members who had determined to vote against it. Mr. Disraeli and all but four or five Conservatives went into the lobby with the government, and a minority of only eleven (chiefly Irish members who were not satisfied with the proposed changes) were left to make their demonstration. In the course of the bill there were three hundred notices of amendments, since such a movement in favour of Ireland was calculated to arouse demands in the interests of English tenants. Every clause of the bill was jealously examined. When it went to the Lords, final amendments were proposed; but ultimately, without any serious alteration, it passed both houses, and received the royal assent on the 1st of August.

The question of National Education had become of such immediate importance that it engaged the attention of parliament and the country, at the same time that the Irish Land Bill was being so closely discussed. At the instance of Mr. Gladstone morning sittings were held for the purpose of securing time to consider several other measures. The most important of these in public estimation was that which had been brought forward only two days after the introduction of the Irish Land Bill. With dauntless courage and an energy that nothing seemed able to subdue, the prime minister had determined to deal with several great and difficult questions, and he was supported by colleagues who shared his enthusiasm and responded to the call made upon their ability and endurance.

To Mr. Forster as vice-president of the council fell the arduous duty of dealing with the subject of national education, a question which at intervals during nearly the whole period with which these pages have been occupied had repeatedly been discussed, and even the approximate settlement of which had been frustrated because of the apparent impossibility of reconciling the demands of the various religious bodies. By certain sections of Nonconformists and Dissenters it had been argued that the state had no claim to introduce or to

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support religious instruction, and that, therefore, no state aid should be given to schools of any religious denomination; that the rates contributed by Roman Catholics, Protestants of all denominations, Jews, and persons of no religious persuasion whatever, should not be devoted in any degree to the teaching of tenets to which the contributors were opposed; and that those schools alone should receive grants for their support, in which the teaching was strictly secular. Many speakers represented that the larger part of the state-aided schools had for years been under the influence, or wholly under the control of the clergy of the Established Church, and that numbers of persons who had conscientious objections to sending their children to be taught doctrines from which they themselves differed, were compelled to avail themselves of schools supported by voluntary contributions, or of private schools of an inferior class where the teaching was inadequate.

These "genuine non-cons," as they were sometimes called by their admirers, did not, of course, object to the teaching of religion; but they opposed its introduction into any national system of education in elementary schools, contending that it was the duty of the schoolmaster or schoolmistress in such institutions to impart only secular instruction; religious teaching being left to the ministers of religion, the parents, or the conductors of Sunday-schools.

It is no part of our present purpose to discuss the question how far it is possible to give lessons in history, or to carry on the education of children at all, without some kinds of appeal, in which an extreme analysis might discover religious doctrine; but it may be mentioned at once that a very large number of those who strongly objected to the introduction of what may be called dogmatic or denominational teaching did not insist on the entire exclusion of Scripture reading, nor oppose references by the teacher to those sanctions which are acknowledged by most religious sects. The necessity was, they thought, to secure the schools against any ordination of denominational teaching, or even religious teaching, as a part of the regular instruction for which aid was given by rates or government grants, and to provide "a conscience clause," by which parents might obtain for their children the full benefit of the secular instruction without being compelled to keep them at school during the reading of Scripture or any other observance which could be reasonably regarded as religious teaching.

Again, however, there were large numbers of persons belonging to various religious bodies, who were unable to believe that there could be any true or effectual teaching at all which did not include, and even depend upon, that religious influence which, they contended, could alone make it of real worth.

These were the conditions under which the "Elementary Education Act" was brought forward, and the chief difficulty against which it had to contend was the resistance of those uncompromising Nonconformists, of whom Mr. Richard (representing the Welsh dissenters), Mr. Miall, and Mr. Dixon were regarded as the champions. The difficulty was increased by the fact that these gentlemen had been firm supporters of Liberal measures.

Nearly everybody agreed that something should be done. In agricultural districts the church schools had held some sort of authority, but the actual amount of secular teaching was often so meagre that the children were committed to an unintelligible routine which left them ignorant even of the elements of education. In the large towns, such as Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Liverpool, to say nothing of London, there were hosts of children between the ages of three and thirteen who received scarcely any primary instruction at all. In Leeds only 19,000 out of 58,000 were at school, in Manchester 25,000 out of 60,000, in Liverpool 30,000 out of 90,000, in Birmingham 26,000 out of 83,000. In London it was not easy to estimate the amount of ignorance, for though free schools, parochial schools, and so called national schools provided a very defective and inadequate elementary education for a large number, there was a vast horde of neglected and destitute children who roamed the streets and appeared to be without parental care or responsible guardianship; while a still larger number were either kept in

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ignorance because they were able even in infancy to contribute to the family support, or only occasionally attended the "ragged" or evening schools provided by the voluntary efforts of benevolent subscribers and unpaid teachers. No system was in existence possessing the controlling power or the settled resources which alone could ensure even the primary instruction of the poorer class of children. Nearly every church and chapel seemed to make an effort to provide day-schools or infant schools, many of which languished for want of funds and employed inefficient teachers, who frequently had to perform their duties in buildings not only inadequate but dangerously unhealthy. In many schools which claimed and received grants of money the conditions were so hopelessly unsatisfactory that various expedients had to be adopted to secure the attendance of a sufficient number of children to obtain external support; while in some cases endowments were misapplied, and funds originally intended for the maintenance of an efficient foundation had been diverted, either because there were few poor inhabitants remaining in the district, or because there was no authority which could compel the parents to avail themselves of the teaching provided for their children, even if it had been in accordance with modern requirements.

The provision of the means of education was not the chief difficulty. The problem was how to overcome the indifference of parents, and to compel them to take advantage of such a provision. How could the vast number of boys and girls, amounting to two-thirds of the juvenile population, be brought under instruction? In large towns, and especially in London, destitute, neglected, and apparently friendless children formed a phalanx which appalled benevolence, and dismayed the administrators of justice. Boys and girls, untaught and uncared for, were to be seen in the large thoroughfares as well as in by-ways and slums, some of them making pretences of selling matches or sweeping crossings, others begging or haunting the doors of eating-houses and taverns, many of them hanging about the markets to seize upon the refuse, or to pilfer from the stalls. What were known as "the dark arches of the Adelphi," that series of arches which ran along the river bank at the upper part of the Strand, and spanned the steep lanes and alleys leading to remote and mostly solitary wharves—were the resort of a horde of wretched children who slept there at night, and by day sallied forth starving, wretched, and with the scared cunning look of hunted creatures. The number of neglected children in London had been more than a disgrace and a reproach; it had become a terror and a danger for the future. Magistrates, because of the want of any regular provision, were unable to deal with prisoners whose heads (to use the phrase of police-court reporters) "scarcely reached above the level of the dock." To send them to prison was to brand them with the criminal mark, to promote their graduation in dishonesty and vice. Nor were the industrial schools, the schools providing for a comparatively small number of children convicted of offences against the law, much better than the prisons. The evil was, that no provision had been made for friendless, houseless boys or girls, except they had made themselves of some importance to the state by committing crime. The urchin who lacked food and shelter, but who had too much virtue or too little courage to pilfer from a shop-door, or from the back of a market cart, was an unconsidered fraction in the national estimate. Only by committing an offence against the law did he or she become an integer of some social importance—of sufficient importance to be arrested, charged at a police court, and sent somewhere to be fed and warmed and clothed, and taught,—what?—perhaps to become an habitual criminal by the artful communications of fellow-convicts, or by the difficulty of obliterating the prison taint. The Elementary Education Act aimed at remedying this condition of things, and to a certain extent it diminished the number of "gutter children," by directing its officers to seek out the parents and bring them under the compulsory clauses which demanded that the children should be sent to school; but as a matter of fact, the schools which came to be established did not for a long time lay hold of this class. The actually homeless and destitute

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children they could not bring under instruction, for the provision of food and clothes came first, and there were no elementary breakfast and dinner tables. To voluntary efforts, which had chiefly grown out of the ragged-school movement, the most necessitous of the children of the large towns were left, and are left still. Industrial schools, however, now include refuges as well as reformatories. Crime is still regarded as a primary claim to participation in the advantages of schools where the reformatory system is adopted, and such schools are entirely apart from the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, but the school-boards, through their officers, make use of industrial schools for the purpose of rescuing children who are so friendless that they are not eligible for the board-schools. Like many of the institutions of this country, the two systems have come to work affinitively, though they differ so greatly that at first they appeared to be opposed in principle. The authorities of the board-schools, supported partly by rates, partly by government grants, and partly by fees paid by parents, soon discovered the value of schools originally founded by benevolent contributions, as refuges for the reception of the homeless and the destitute, and many of these institutions were made certificated industrial schools, supported partly by benevolent support, partly by the government grant—which is now in some instances their chief dependence.

While philanthropists were almost disheartened by the aspect of large towns, and especially of the metropolis, with regard to the condition of destitute children, there were agricultural districts in which no less stringent measures were needed to protect children employed in farm or field labour.

A commission of inquiry into the employments of women and children in 1865–66 had disclosed a large amount of suffering among a million and a half of young persons and children, occupied in various manufactures and employments not coming under the regulations of the Factories Act. The details of the evidence elicited on the subject were so painful that bills were brought in to place all manufactures previously carried on without government inspection under regulations analogous to those under those acts. The sixth and final report of the commission, however, related to women, children, and young persons engaged in agriculture, and its revelations respecting the system of employing agricultural gangs, or companies of young persons and children of both sexes, in Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Nottinghamshire, and to some extent in Bedford, Rutland, and Northampton, were appalling.

Gang-masters, — mostly depraved and drunken ruffians,—were employed to provide field labour, and they did so by collecting from the surrounding villages, companies of boys, girls, and women—some of the children being mere infants, whom the parents, miserably poor, sent out with the rest for the sake of the few pence they could earn. The gang-masters had almost entire control of the children, for they alone could find them regular employment, and that employment could scarcely have found a parallel in negro slavery, for the gangs were driven to labour under conditions in some respects worse than those to which slaves on plantations were subject. Of children of eight years old, or even younger, and lads and girls of 14 or 15, or older, these gangs were composed, and the report on the evidence says—

"When the gangs are working at a considerable distance from home the children leave as early as five in the morning and do not return before eight at night, and the few who attend the Sunday-schools after the labours of the week are described as in a state of exhaustion which it is distressing to witness. A little boy only six years of age is stated to have regularly walked more than six miles out to work, and often to come home so tired that he could scarcely stand. Walking, the gang-masters themselves admit, is more trying to the children than working. When the gang has a long distance to go the children become so exhausted, that the elder ones are seen dragging the younger ones home, sometimes carrying them on their backs. In winter the children often return from the fields crying

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from the cold. 'Last night,' said the mother of a little boy seven years of age, 'when my Henry came home he lay up quite stiff and cold; he is often very tired, and will fall down and drop asleep with the food in his mouth.' In some parts of the fen districts the children are compelled to jump the dykes, an exertion causing frequent accidents, and one poor girl died from the effects of an effort beyond her strength."

"It is a common practice for the gang-master to carry a stick or a whip, but rather, it is said, to frighten the children with than for use; but the treatment depends entirely upon his disposition. There is no control or possibility of control, for the children know that remonstrance would be immediately followed by expulsion from the gang, and the parents, having a pecuniary interest in their labour, would but too certainly shut their ears to any complaints. Instances are not uncommon of severe and lasting injuries having been inflicted by brutal gang-masters, and gross outrages, such as kicking, knocking down, beating with hoes, spuds, or a leather strap, 'dyking,' or pushing into the water, and 'gibbeting,' *i.e.* lifting a child off the ground and holding it there by the chin and the back of the neck, are said to be frequent."

The labour in the wet fields was dreadful, the worst being stone picking, at which exhausting toil children worked eight or nine hours a day; but turnip pulling was nearly as bad, and, indeed, the manner in which the work was often urged on by a brutal taskmaster had effects, which need not be repeated here, but were quite as serious as many of those recorded in the worst accounts of West India slavery.

The physical consequences were horrible enough, the moral consequences worse. In those mixed gangs of women, boys, and girls the depravity was beyond description. All purity, even the semblance of it, often disappeared. A policeman, speaking of the gangs in his district, and especially of the gross immorality of the girls at an early age, said that although he had been employed for many years in detective duty in some of the worst parts of London, he never witnessed equal boldness and shamelessness; and that the obscenity of their conversation and of their songs was such as needed to be heard to be believed. And this was little more than seventeen years ago.

It was not till July, 1867, that a bill, brought in by the Earl of Shaftesbury, forbade the employment of girls of less than 13 years old in agricultural labour for hire, or the employment of women under 18 in public gangs. Yet there existed schools supported by voluntary subscriptions, and having no connection with the government, and schools aided by the state and under the control of the committee of the privy-council of education. There were Dissenting schools, Church schools, national schools, infant schools; there was an education department, administering a sum of money annually granted by parliament "to promote the education of children belonging to the classes who support themselves by manual labour." The means employed were to aid voluntary local exertion, to establish or maintain schools for the elementary instruction of children, or for training teachers in normal schools. The schools were to be in connection with some recognized religious denomination, or to include besides secular instruction the daily reading of the Scriptures from the Authorized Version. Aid was given to establish schools, and to support such as were open to inspection by appointed inspectors, upon whose reports the grants were made. There were thus building grants and annual grants.

Whatever may have been the endeavour to make these provisions into a system of national education, it had signally failed, or rather it had never approached success. On all hands it was felt that a wide and inclusive measure must be brought in, and the act introduced by Mr. Forster was received with serious interest. It was, he explained, intended to secure by enactment efficient school provision in every district in England where it was wanted. The districts were to be the civil parishes. Any district supplying a sufficient amount of primary secular instruction would be let alone so long as it continued to do so. Schools entitled to government aid were to be efficient according to a fixed standard, and compulsory

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inspection would be applied to every school without any denominational conditions, while the adoption of a conscience clause would be the condition of any grant, whether for building or any other purpose. The bill was calculated to establish a system of schools under the direction of school-boards throughout England and Wales, each board to have powers to frame bye-laws, and to compel the attendance of children in the district who were between five and twelve years of age.

The reference of the compulsory clause to the boards offended the extreme sticklers for absolute compulsion; the compromise of a conscience clause for some time alienated hard-and-fast advocates of secular education only; while a third party objected to the provision of funds by the mixed method of school fees, rates, and government grants for efficiency. Though free schools were to be provided in districts where the poverty of the inhabitants made gratuitous instruction necessary, there were some who advocated the provision of free education all round. We need not further discuss the questions which arose, many of which continued for some time after the vigorous exertions of the boards had multiplied schools with amazing rapidity. The first chairman of the London School Board was Lord Lawrence, whose powers of organization were well applied to this important work, and he was ably assisted by Sir Charles Reed, who, after the death of the famous Indian administrator, became chairman, and carried on the work with a vigour against which there were some remonstrances, though the answer was to be found in the statistics, published by the board, of the number of children still waiting to be received.

The government could not satisfy all the objections that were urged against the bill, and the Nonconformists afterwards showed their disaffection in a manner which contributed to the defeat of the government. Mr. Bright was absent from the house, suffering from a severe illness which for a time made it doubtful whether he would ever again be able to resume either ministerial or parliamentary duties, or he might have mitigated the wrath of those Nonconformists who demanded exclusively secular education.

Some particulars of the work which had been accomplished when the Elementary Education Act had been for ten years in operation, may do more to illustrate the working of the scheme than any general remarks upon the predictions which attended its introduction. We find by statistical returns in the report of the committee of council on education for 1881 that in the year ended August 31, 1881, the inspectors visited 18,062 dayschools in England and Wales, to which annual grants were made, these furnishing accommodation for 4,389,633 scholars, or rather more than one-sixth of the population. There were on the registers the names of 4,045,362 children, of whom 1,268,250 were under seven years of age, 2,573,081 between seven and thirteen, 157,584 between thirteen and fourteen, and 45,727 above fourteen. These figures show some improvement upon the returns quoted in the previous report, the accommodation having increased by 148,880 school places (or 3·51 per cent), and the scholars on the registers by 149,538 (3·84 per cent). The average attendance also had increased by 112,619 (4·09 per cent), and the number of children individually examined by 91,465 (4·8 per cent). The annual government grant to elementary dayschools rose in the year from £2,130,009 to £2,247,507, or from 15*s.* 5¾*d.* to 15*s.* 8¼*d.* per scholar in average attendance; while the grant for the current financial year was estimated at 16*s.* per head. The number of voluntary schools was 14,370, with accommodation for 3,195,365, and an average attendance of 2,007,184; while the number of board-schools was 3692, with accommodation for 1,194,268, and an average attendance of 856,351. The expenditure per scholar in average attendance was for the whole of England and Wales £1, 14*s.* 11½*d.* in voluntary, and £2, 1*s.* 6*d.* in board schools. Of the latter the highest was London (£2, 15*s.* 10½*d.*), and the lowest Hull (£1, 9*s.* 11*d.*—1*s.* 9½*d.* lower than the Roman Catholic, which are the lowest of the voluntary schools); whilst Bradford was £2, 6*s.* 6*d.*, Liverpool £2, 3*s.* 3¾*d.*, Manchester £1, 19*s.* 0½*d.*, Birmingham £1,

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18*s.* 1¾*d.*, and Leeds and Sheffield both £1, 17*s.* 5½*d.*

At the same time it was averred by those who were likely to be well informed that the system of estimating the true value of the teaching did not in all instances work satisfactorily. The National Union of Elementary Teachers was protesting against the over-pressure on scholars and teachers under the education code. It was stated that inspectors, school managers, and school-boards attached so much importance to the mere percentage of passes in the annual examinations, and made so little of the higher results of moral and intellectual training, or the quality of the passes, that teachers were compelled against their wish to adopt a cramming system, and to bring undue pressure upon dull and weak children in order to keep up the reputation of the schools and to maintain their professional position. The teachers implied that practically the code was based on the principle that all children can progress at the same rate, and that its provisions endangered the so-called "results" if such children were educated naturally. Special difficulties existed in girls' and infants' schools, where an inordinate amount of needlework was demanded from children of tender years in addition to the ordinary subjects of instruction. It was stated that the extra worry and labour caused by regulations in the code, might be greatly reduced by allowing the managers to withhold from examination, or to present again in the same standard, children not able by reason of dulness or bad attendance to advance at the average rate, such power not to extend beyond 10 per cent of those on the books for the last 22 weeks of the school year.

The final passing of the education bill concluded the session of 1870 so far as important measures were concerned. It may also be noted that an order in council directed that from the 31st of August appointments to the civil service of the state would be by competitive examination. The announcement of the intended release of the Fenian prisoners undergoing sentences for treason or treason-felony, on condition that they should not remain in or return to the United Kingdom, was also an event which was regarded with considerable interest.

The Franco-German war — that terrible conflict which made Napoleon III. a prisoner and an exile, and gave occasion for the King of Prussia to accomplish North German unity under his own empire—has its own history. It need bear no prominent part here, for it has little directly to do with the social and political progress of England, except, indeed, that our having remained strictly neutral was some evidence of our advance in wisdom and in judgment. The greatest anxiety of the government was for Belgium, and it was much increased, while public suspicion was excited, by the publication in the *Times* of an alleged draft treaty between Count Bismarck and M. Benedetti, when the latter was French minister at Berlin. This treaty was obviously intended to secure Belgium to France. The matter was serious, but Mr. Gladstone preserved a calm and moderate attitude, while waiting for explanations from the French and Prussian governments. Count Bismarck, it appeared, had published the document to show what kind of proposal had been made, and by that means to secure the alliance of England and Belgium. All that Mr. Gladstone did when France first denied and then admitted that the document was authentic, was to ask for two millions of money and an increase in the army by 20,000 men. His desire was to remain on friendly terms with the antagonists, that England might take the earliest occasion (should it arise), either alone or with others, to bear a message of peace. This was in accordance with the general feeling of the country, and a new treaty was signed between Russia, France, and England, engaging to maintain the independence of Belgium as provided in the treaty of 1839.

As the war between France and Prussia went on there appeared to be a peculiar change in public feeling here, and though after the siege of Paris, where the inhabitants had suffered dreadful privations, we were prompt in sending relief to the famished

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people, something like adulation was heard in reference to German prowess. For a time German tactics, German promptitude, German organization were the foremost topics of conversation, and perhaps deservedly so, and then in relation to our own board-school teaching, the German method of education was everywhere lauded as something very near perfection, only a few people venturing to doubt whether it was as effectual as its admirers represented it to be.

The position of affairs in Europe, and some movement in public opinion on the subject of a comparison between England and other nations in the matter of military government, made the time seem favourable for bringing forward the proposed system of army reform, which had been prepared by Mr. Cardwell, the minister of war. To purchase a commission, and to follow that up by purchasing successive steps in the service, had been the rule, so that a commission represented actual property, just as a horse, a house, or the good-will of a business might. It was, in fact, a matter of bargain and sale, and the regulation price of a commission at the Horse Guards was often far exceeded by its actual selling value. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that whenever abolition of purchase had been proposed, as it had been by Sir de Lacy Evans, and more recently by Mr. Trevelyan, a whole contingent of officers frantically declared that the service was going to the bad; and another contingent, believing purchasing a commission was the only way to keep the commodity in the hands best fitted to adorn it, determined to fight the bill to the last. It soon became evident that they were strong enough, aided by the opposition, to arrest the progress of the bill so that it might go over the session, and therefore the part of it relating to reorganization of the army was abandoned, and only the abolition of purchase clauses retained; with a strong hint to the clamorous opponents that as all premiums on the original price of commissions were illegal, the law might be put in force. The bill passed the Commons, but in the House of Lords a clever expedient was tried for the purpose of delaying and then shelving the whole matter. The Duke of Richmond moved an amendment to the effect that the Lords could not consider the proposal till a more comprehensive scheme was brought before them. This plan of burking the bill was ingenious, but the intention was obvious, and Mr. Gladstone frustrated it by a plan which aroused much remonstrance among some of his own supporters, including Mr. Fawcett, a very thorough Liberal of the school of Mill, who was returned for Brighton in 1865, and was a noted man in the house, not only because of his great ability, but because several years previously an accident had deprived him of his sight, a calamity which made little difference in his pursuits, in his intellectual achievements, or even in his robust recreations. Mr. Gladstone checkmated the Lords by an expedient which, for a moment, at all events, looked unconstitutional, and for which nobody seemed able to find a precedent. The purchase system was originated by a royal warrant, making it a privilege, and therefore he had advised the queen to aid the reformation of the army by cancelling the warrant. Perhaps her majesty may not have been unwilling to do so, when she remembered some opinions of the Prince Consort on the subject. At all events it was done, and purchase was made illegal. The only effect of the Lords rejecting the bill now would be that they would vote against compensation to the holders of purchased commissions, for that was all of the bill that was left. They therefore passed a vote of censure on the ministry by a majority of eighty, and then passed the measure without more delay.

The University Tests Bill was also carried without any serious alteration, and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill put an end to another intolerant demand which had remained ever since the "papal aggression." The Trades Union Act, while forbidding the violence exercised by workmen in the case of strikes, yet defined what was and what was not illegal interference, and did something to bring about a better understanding between employers and their "hands." The Local Government Acts extended to small towns and villages the advantages of managing their corporate business, which had previously been confined to cities

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and boroughs with municipal institutions. We can scarcely part from the year 1871 without referring to the budget by which Mr. Lowe became for a time not only notorious, but what was worse, ridiculous. It is difficult to say why he should have been subject to ridicule, except that he made a mistake which ended in an almost absurd situation. There would, he said, be a deficit of £2,713,000, looking at the probable amount required for the abolition of purchase in the army. There was no surplus revenue, and he proposed to alter the probate duty, place a two per cent duty on all property liable as intestate, alter the legacy duty, and increase the succession duties. His argument was that they had never realized as much as had been expected by former ministers who imposed them. He then proposed to tax lucifer matches, by a halfpenny stamp on every box of 1800 matches, a penny stamp on a box of 100 wax lights or of fusees; this he calculated would raise £550,000. He would then make up the rest of the required amount by charging a percentage on incomes, in lieu of the 4*d.* in the pound.

The proposal to tax matches was met not only with a howl of derision but by a cry of indignation. A vast procession, or rather a confused but decent and orderly assembly, of poor girls, women, and boys who represented the match-sellers of the metropolis, went along the Strand and by the Embankment to the Houses of Parliament, and in a quietly demonstrative manner, with which the police could not easily interfere, assembled there in great numbers, and presented a monster petition. Their prayer was granted and the budget collapsed, another penny on the income-tax making up the deficiency both of the abandoned legacy duties and of the condemned impost on matches.

In the last month of the year great anxiety was everywhere manifested because of the serious illness of the Prince of Wales. His royal highness had been visiting Lord Londesborough at his house near Scarborough, and it was supposed that some defect in the drainage or sanitary arrangements had caused an attack of low fever. Other visitors had also been affected, and the Earl of Chesterfield had died. On his return to his own house at Sandringham the prince became very ill, and his condition soon appeared to be very dangerous. For some time before, there had been a good deal of loose talk among people supposed to be inimical to the royal family, or at least to royalty in general; people, that is to say, who professed belief in the French Republic and in democratic institutions. Directly the report of the prince's sickness was circulated, however, these conversations ceased, or were suppressed to a lower tone, and throughout the country the people waited with troubled hearts to learn the latest intelligence of his condition. On the 14th of December, the anniversary of the death of the prince-consort, the popular sentiment was wrought up to a great height, and sympathy for the queen found constant and deep expression. At churches and chapels belonging to all denominations prayers were offered for his recovery. Bulletins were issued daily; a number of reporters from the daily papers anxiously waited near Sandringham to obtain any item of intelligence with regard to the changes of the disorder, that they might telegraph it to London or the chief towns; so eager was the public to become acquainted with the particulars. The day which had appeared to bode calamity passed, the prince's condition had slightly improved.

Everywhere the most loyal sympathy was expressed for the queen and the princess. On the 19th of December the prince was slowly recovering, and the day after Christmas-day her majesty wrote a letter to her people expressing her deep sense of the touching sympathy which had been manifested by the whole nation. In the last week of February the prince had recovered, and with the queen, the princess, and the rest of the royal family, publicly went to St. Paul's Cathedral to offer grateful thanks to God for the great mercy. On the 29th of February, for it was leap-year, her majesty again addressed a letter expressing sincere acknowledgments to her subjects, who had assembled in millions and filled all the great thoroughfares with an orderly, loyal, and sympathetic crowd.

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The liquor traffic, as the sale of wine, beer, and spirits had come to be called, was still opposed with great pertinacity by the United Kingdom Alliance, which had collected a large sum of money, and was constantly circulating its periodicals and appeals throughout the country. Doubtless a great change had been wrought among a large class of the population, and drinking habits had greatly diminished, so that there was little difficulty in passing a bill regulating public-houses, giving magistrates the power to grant or refuse licenses, increasing the penalties for drunkenness, and lessening the number of hours for keeping taverns open both on Sundays and week-days. The publicans were also protected in some important particulars; but they were of course opposed to the bill, which, however, was carried in spite of opposition.

More important in a political, or rather in an international sense than any other occurrence of the session of 1872, was the effort to come to a definite settlement of the long outstanding question of damages demanded by the United States government for the injuries inflicted by the *Alabama*. Mr. Reverdy Johnson, who was a jovial man, and liked the English people, came here to negotiate the matter, but, to use a modern phrase, was "too gushing" in his after-dinner speeches, and was so complimentary to England that his countrymen came to the conclusion that he would never properly support their claims. He was recalled, and Mr. Motley the historian, and Mr. Fish, the foreign secretary of the United States, resumed negotiations. It was decided that commissioners from England should go to Washington, and as our government had already expressed regret at the ravages of the piratical vessels which went out of English shipyards, the conference became easier. Some international rules on the duties of nations to prevent privateering were agreed on, for the guidance of the arbitrators who were to be chosen to decide the question. Our commissioners contended that we had not committed any breach of international faith; but they accepted the rules, and supposed that the only point for consideration would be the actual damage inflicted. The United States government, however, claimed indirect damages for the expense they had incurred, and the losses they had sustained in consequence of the failure of our government to prevent the privateers from leaving our ports. These claims were for losses in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag, the enhancement of the payment of insurances, and the prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of it.

The arbitrators were Count Frederic Sclopis for Italy, president; Chief-justice Cockburn for England; Mr. Charles Francis Adams for America; M. Jaques Staempli for Switzerland; and Viscount Itajuba for Brazil. They met on the 15th and 19th of June, and agreed that the indirect claims should be rejected. The discussions were resumed at intervals till the 25th of December, when the decision of the tribunal was announced, namely, that in the cases of the *Alabama* and the *Florida*, Great Britain had failed to fulfil the duties prescribed by the rules of the treaty, in not having used due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, and equipping vessels which, there was ground for believing were intended to carry on war against a power with which she was at peace. In the case of other vessels it was decided that there had been no failure of due diligence. The award for the satisfaction of all claims was 15,000,000 dollars. This settled the question. At about the same time the Emperor of Germany decided against us as to the right of possession of the island of San Juan, which he declared belonged to the United States. Both conclusions were accepted with dignity and endorsed with honour, and at a cost which would have been far exceeded even by a temporary resort to hostilities, while there was a gratifying sense on both sides that the dispute was settled in accordance with reason and humanity.

It may well be supposed that the untiring energy and rapidity with which the Liberal government advanced measures of remarkable importance, produced a feeling of restlessness among the less ardent of their followers, while the opposition marked with satisfaction the

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signs of reaction. Such a number of bills, embracing so many important interests, could not be passed without a great many people being affected by them, and every fresh change touched some interest and aroused some animosity. At the same time, as we have before seen, the very tendency to independent thought and the want of compact following among the Liberals tended after every new achievement to diminish that unanimity by which a strong party can alone be maintained. The time now arrived in the session of 1873 when Mr. Gladstone was to bring forward the third of the measures which he had promised for Ireland. This was the introduction of a national system of education under which the rights of conscience would be secured. As a preliminary measure in this direction Mr. Gladstone proposed to create a new university in Dublin, of which Trinity College and other colleges should form a part, just as the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge belong to their universities. Certain careful provisions were to be made to recognize the preponderance of the Roman Catholic religion, one of them being the exclusion of the teaching of theology and moral philosophy, upon which subjects, however, voluntary examinations would be held. The bill was opposed both by Roman Catholics and Protestants. Another bill brought in by Mr. Fawcett in the previous year—had been supported by the governing body of Trinity College, and Mr. Gladstone therefore declared that the ministry would stand or fall by the measure which he now advocated. Some of the professed Liberals were averse to it. Mr. Horsman bitterly opposed it, and though the debate was sharp, able, and well spiced with checks and counterchecks, it was soon seen that the division for the second reading would be a narrow one. It went against the government by 287 votes to 284.

Mr. Gladstone's ministry adhered to their determination to resign office, and Mr. Disraeli was sent for to form another administration; but though he had obstinately opposed the bill on which the government was defeated, he was not ready to take the place offered him by their resignation. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were therefore reluctantly compelled to remain in office, and all that was done was to abolish tests at Trinity College.

The Judicature Bill had already been brought forward by Lord-chancellor Selborne. It was based on the report of the commission appointed in 1869 to inquire into the subject, and was one of the most important measures of the Liberal government, for it was intended for the reconstruction of the whole judicial system, by uniting the higher courts of justice in one great tribunal, the operations of which were to be free from the old distinctions and restrictions between law and equity, so that suitors might be spared expense, time, and trouble in seeking redress. The lord chief-justice, the chief-justice of the common pleas, and the chief-baron of the exchequer were to remain in the positions they then occupied, and some of the existing divisions were retained as courts of the high court of judicature. The appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords exercised by the law lords was to be transferred to a tribunal composed of the lord-chancellor, the chief-justice of England, the chief-justice of common pleas, the chief-baron, the master of the rolls, and other judges not exceeding nine in number. The bill was not at first adapted to Scotland and Ireland because of some question of privilege, but was soon carried through both houses with the understanding that it would eventually be adapted to the whole kingdom.

But the Liberal government had been beaten, there was already a Conservative reaction which afterwards became more evident, and preparations were made for the general election in 1874. Changes were made in the ministry. Mr. Bright, who had returned to the house, consenting to be chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Gladstone undertook the duty of chancellor of the exchequer as well as that of prime minister, and Mr. Lyon Playfair and Mr. Vernon Harcourt also took office. The government had deserved well of the country, not only for the number of important measures it had passed, but for removing £12,000,000 from the taxation. It had spent £10,000,000 in buying the telegraphs as arranged by the previous minis-

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try, had devoted £2,000,000 to the army during the Franco-Prussian war, had paid off half the *Alabama* claim without the aid of either loan or tax, and had reduced the national debt by £26,000,000. Yet Mr. Gladstone announced at the commencement of 1874 that there was a surplus of £5,000,000 at their disposal, and that he intended to prepare a plan for totally repealing the income-tax, improving local administration, and advancing the interests of consumers.

Quite early in the year, however, it was announced that parliament would be dissolved. It was determined to try the strength of the Liberal interest, and the result was that that interest was for the present in abeyance. Some people were ready to rest and be thankful. They had been dazed by a whirl of legislation. Others belonged to the classes who feared that the ministry might go too far, that nothing was stable, and that nobody could tell what might go next. These divisions paralysed the action of the Liberal party. The Conservatives on the other hand were united, compact, and cautiously confident. On the 16th of February the cabinet met. Mr. Gladstone recommended an immediate resignation, which was agreed to, and Mr. Disraeli was called upon to form a ministry.

In one of the speeches delivered before his constituents, Mr. Gladstone had intimated that if the country resolved upon the dismissal of the Liberal ministry, he should reserve to himself the right of limiting his future services to his party as he might think fit. He desired to enjoy a period of repose. In a letter to Lord Granville, dated March 12, he explained the reasons for his decision:—

"My dear Granville,—I have issued a circular to members of parliament of the Liberal party on the occasion of the opening of parliamentary business. But I feel it to be necessary that, while discharging this duty, I should explain what a circular could not convey with regard to my individual position at the present time. I need not apologize for addressing these explanations to you. Independently of other reasons for so troubling you, it is enough to observe that you have very long represented the Liberal party, and have also acted on behalf of the late government, from its commencement to its close, in the House of Lords.

"For a variety of reasons personal to myself, I could not contemplate any unlimited extension of active political service; and I am anxious that it should be clearly understood by those friends with whom I have acted in the direction of affairs, that at my age I must reserve my entire freedom to divest myself of all the responsibilities of leadership at no distant time. The need of rest will prevent me from giving more than occasional attendance in the House of Commons during the present session.

"I should be desirous, shortly before the commencement of the session of 1875, to consider whether there would be advantage in my placing my services for a time at the disposal of the Liberal party, or whether I should then claim exemption from the duties I have hitherto discharged. If, however, there should be reasonable ground for believing that, instead of the course which I have sketched, it would be preferable, in the view of the party generally, for me to assume at once the place of an independent member, I should willingly adopt the latter alternative. But I shall retain all that desire I have hitherto felt for the welfare of the party, and if the gentlemen composing it should think fit either to choose a leader or make provision *ad interim*, with a view to the convenience of the present year, the person designated would, of course, command from me any assistance which he might find occasion to seek, and which it might be in my power to render."

The time had now arrived when the predictions of the friends of the Marquis of Hartington were to be fulfilled. The retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership of the Liberal party had indeed made it from one point of view difficult, from another point of view easy to appoint a successor. The great ability, the long experience, and the yet abundant energy of the Liberal chief had been so lately manifested by a session, in which measures of immense importance had been carried, and the progress of the country had been measured by rapid strides, that whoever should

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be chosen to represent the great party that had temporarily fallen apart and been vanquished, could not hope and would not be expected to exhibit equal qualifications for the task of leadership. At the same time there was, if not an insurmountable reluctance on the part of other distinguished men, at least a grave disinclination to assume a position where comparison might tend to depreciate their real attainments, or where, however eminent those attainments might be, there would be great doubt as to their efficacy in reuniting the sections of the Liberals in such a manner as to restore the probability of their ready return to power.

However, a meeting was held at the Reform Club on the 3d of February, 1875, and there it was to be determined what course should be pursued. Mr. Bright was chairman of the meeting. Lord Granville, it was understood, was the trusted chief in the Upper House. Who among the members of the late cabinet would be chosen to be the real leader where influence and authority would be more constantly required? The general attention was fixed on Mr. Forster. He had displayed remarkable power of elucidation, no little tact, and that genuine earnestness of purpose which was of the greatest importance, and to him had been intrusted a measure which had met with the concurrence of the whole house, and was now heartily accepted by the country. Yet Mr. Forster's earnestness, allied as it perhaps necessarily was with remarkable positiveness, was, perhaps, the very quality which he felt, would prevent him from becoming in any real sense the parliamentary leader of the party. Two days before the meeting he wrote, declining the candidature on the ground that he felt he could not reckon on that general support without which he could not fulfil the required duties.

Mr. Goschen had been spoken of as a candidate, and the choice was supposed to be between him and Lord Hartington. Mr. Goschen, however, had scarcely been in a position to give to the Liberal party the kind of hostages which entitled him to occupy so responsible a position. At anyrate it was evident that those who composed the meeting, and who were really representative men of various shades of Liberalism, had little doubt or hesitation when Mr. Forster had declined to occupy the place vacated by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Villiers simply rose to remind the meeting that Lord Hartington had been before the public and the House of Commons for sixteen or seventeen years; that they had seen him filling subordinate offices, and also filling the higher offices in the state. He had been chief secretary for Ireland; he had presided over the post-office, and he had been under-secretary for war; he had presided over committees of great public importance, and on all these occasions he had displayed good feeling, good sense, tact, and judgment that fairly entitled him to the confidence of the party. Mr. Villiers added that he would not believe any prejudice could fairly be raised against the Marquis of Hartington merely from the circumstance of his family connections, seeing that his family happened to be associated with the great principles which had been professed in the Liberal party for at least two centuries. Without further remarks he proposed him to the acceptance of the meeting, sincerely believing that the noble lord would do honour to their choice.

The proposal was responded to by Lord Frederick Cavendish, who spoke on behalf of his brother, and Mr. Bright, as chairman of the meeting, spoke in terms of hearty commendation of the new leader of the Liberal forces.

Ten years before, when Lord Hartington was promoted to office, a close and frequent observer of parliament had written amusingly as follows:—We shall not soon forget the effect upon certain members of the house, and they not few in number, of the announcement that the Marquis of Hartington was to be the under-secretary for war, and take the management of the business of the war department in the house. "It is an insult to the house," said one. "The cheekiest thing *I* ever heard of," said another; "but it is like old Pam." "It *is* very bad, I must confess," said a cautious old gentleman, who has lived long enough to speak with reserve. "However, let us trust there may be more in him than we

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know." "Ah! there's nothing in him, I'll venture to say; and if he had not been a duke's son he would have stood no more chance of being under-secretary for war than I should," exclaimed a young sprig, as he lounged against the door of the house. And perhaps this was the strongest condemnation of the appointment that had been uttered, for only think of young "Noddy" as under-secretary for war, or, indeed, in any other office, except it might be one of those snug traditional berths in which a man has nothing to do but to take his salary and hold his tongue! The appointment, however, was certainly a very strange one to outsiders, by which we mean those who have never been within the charmed circle of the "Upper Ten," and have no means of knowing more of the scions of the great houses than one can gather from their looks, for the Marquis of Hartington, as he lounges into the house with his hands in his pockets, in that easy nonchalant manner of his, does not strike the beholder as having any special capacity for governing. On the contrary, you would take him to be, from his appearance, about as commonplace a person as you would find in a day's march. But we remember that a very experienced, sharp-sighted official said to us, very emphatically, when we were talking about this appointment, "You are all mistaken; there is some good, solid stuff in this young fellow; and in my opinion this will turn out to be a very capital appointment." Another member of parliament—one who, if not within, stands upon the very verge of the sacred inclosure of higher life—gave a similar opinion. "Wait a while," said he, "and you will find that the marquis will turn out better than you imagine." And now how do matters stand? Are there any signs of these last prophecies being fulfilled? Well, the time is young yet; but, nevertheless, his lordship has several times appeared before the house, and, it is but fair to say, has gained greatly in the opinion of the members. He will never be an eloquent speaker. He has neither the affluence of language nor the manner of an orator. But hitherto he has done his work well. He has shown that, notwithstanding all that nonchalance of manner which would lead you to suppose that he was indolent in mind and body, he can master his subject—which means that he can work, and also that what he has mastered himself he can explain to others clearly and concisely. And here we leave his lordship, with the expression of a well-grounded hope that, if he do not achieve a high position as a debater, he will gain the character of an able, solid, and useful administrator.

It was confidently expected that the queen would again appear in public to open parliament; but this was prevented by the sudden illness of Prince Leopold, her majesty's youngest son, who had always been in such delicate health that he could not enjoy much active exercise, and was suffering from some kind of low fever, supposed to have been taken at Oxford, and the effects of which, upon a weak constitution, were greatly feared. Happily the prince recovered, but her majesty could not appear, and the speech was read by the lord-chancellor.

Efforts to put an end to the East African slave-trade were vigorously continued, and the protected tribes on the Gold Coast had assented to abolish it there. The king and chiefs of the Fiji Islands had offered to cede their territory to England unfettered by any conditions, and it had been thought right to accept it, not only because of its natural resources, but because of the maritime advantages it would confer on the British fleets in the Pacific.

An ample harvest had restored prosperity to the provinces of India, and the great loss of life which had been feared had been averted, because the Indian government had been able to convey food to the districts where the famine had been so severely felt.

The harvest in England, too, had been plentiful, and the prosperity of the country had been maintained; for though our trade of 1874 had somewhat fallen off, and was less than that of 1873, the reduction of taxation had steadily increased the consumption of the necessaries of life, and of articles which contributed to the revenue, so that the national finances were in a satisfactory condition. Such were the agreeable conditions which

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attended the succession of the new government to power.

Measures for simplifying the transfer of land, for completing the reconstruction of the judicature, for improving the dwellings of the working-classes in large towns, for amending the sanitary laws, preventing the pollution of rivers by the operation of factories, the waste of mills, or preventible discharge of sewage and other noxious matters, all were to receive attention. And a bill was also to be laid before the house for the amendment of the Merchant Shipping Acts.

Among other matters to be considered was one of great importance, namely, legislation for the purpose of protection against personal violence, and for more effectually securing the trial of offences by appointing a public prosecutor.

Among other proposals it had been suggested that some of the exceptional or temporary statutes for preserving the peace in Ireland might be dispensed with; but parliament had scarcely met before John Mitchel, the Irish agitator, who had, as we have seen, been transported for the part he took in the rebellion of 1848, reappeared upon the scene. It will be remembered that he had broken his parole and had escaped to the United States, where he became a naturalized American. It was, of course, obvious enough that he was precluded on both grounds from representing a constituency in the House of Commons. By becoming a naturalized subject of another state he had forfeited his rights as a British subject, and as he had not fulfilled the term of his sentence he was still a convict. These considerations were so far from influencing him and his supporters, that they were regarded as affording an extraordinary opportunity for raving defiance against England by electing Mr. Mitchel as member for Tipperary, and insisting that he should enter the House of Commons, where his brother-in-law, John Martin, sat as member for Meath.

Mitchel, who was in very ill health, had issued an address from New York to the electors of Tipperary, declaring himself to be in favour of Home Rule, by which, he explained, he meant the sovereign independence of Ireland; the total overthrow of the Established Church; universal tenant rights (his address did not specify what were the conditions he would insist on) and abolition of ejectments (by which it would seem that he meant the right of the tenants to keep possession of the land); free education—that is, denominational education for those who like it, secular education for those who like that, with the express organic provision of law that no persons should be taxed for the education of other persons' children; and the immediate liberation of those prisoners of state whom the English government kept in prison as Fenians. That was his declaration, and so far as it was explicable at all, it at least had a merit which some subsequent declarations of "Home-Rulers," "Land-Leaguers," and others have lacked: it was distinct in its emphasis. That compliance with it would have been impossible, not to the English government alone but to any government—even to a conceivable Irish government,—was nothing to the purpose. Tipperary evidently cared for nothing more than that the candidate was the irreconcilable opponent of England, and sought to force himself into the British legislature. That, at all events, seems to have been the conclusion of those electors who returned him without opposition. The next day he landed at Queenstown, and parliament had to decide what was to be done with him. Without delay Mr. Disraeli gave notice of a motion that John Mitchel, having been adjudged guilty of treason-felony and sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and not having endured the full term of his sentence, nor having received pardon under the great seal, has become and continues to be incapable to sit in parliament. He also announced that he should move for a new writ for Tipperary. A curious legal debate followed, during which the attorney-general admitted that Mitchel could not be proceeded against and compelled to serve out his original sentence. He might have been arrested for prison-breaking, but it had not been worth while to arrest him; and it was argued that having been adjudged a felon, and not having either completed his

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felon and could not sit in parliament. The debate continued, and the proposal of Lord Hartington and Mr. Forster for a committee was resisted by Mr. Disraeli, who declared that there were no contradictory opinions which needed reconciling. The proposal was rejected without a division. Mr. Disraeli's resolution was agreed to, and the new writ was issued. The Irish "National" papers published denunciations and exciting appeals. The new writ was issued and another candidate appeared—Captain Stephen Moore. Mitchel was re-elected by a large majority, but Captain Moore claimed the seat, since the votes given to his opponent were illegal. The question was then tried by the Irish Court of Common Pleas, which found in his favour. Mitchel, who would make no defence, then declared that he would become candidate for each county of Ireland in turn, so that they might all be disfranchised, and so awaken the Irish people to their oppression; but he was unequal to the task. Before he could commence such an undertaking the excitement he had undergone acting upon an enfeebled frame caused his death, which took place on the 21st of March, at Drumlane, near Newry. His brother-in-law and staunch supporter, John Martin, a man who, in spite of some extreme views, was much liked in the house by members of both parties, was taken ill while attending the funeral, and died a few days afterwards.

It may be mentioned that at the same time that Mitchel was elected in Tipperary, Dr. Kenealy, the barrister who had become so notorious for his defence of "the Claimant" in the Tichborne trial, was returned for Stoke-upon-Trent. So disinclined were the members on all sides to recognize him, that no two persons were found to give him the usual introduction to the house, and he was obliged to come forward alone to take the oaths and his seat. He frequently afterwards contrived to make himself so offensive as to justify the dislike that had been manifested, but there were some reasons to suspect that he was suffering from mental disturbance, aggravated if not caused by the strain he had endured, inveterately argued to the end.

We can scarcely leave this period of our story and enter upon the brief chapter that will indicate rather than narrate the social and political progress of the late seven years, without once more glancing at the attitude assumed by a certain number of the clergy, who, with a section of their congregations, refuse obedience either to ecclesiastical or to civil authority, though they retain the assumption of belonging to the church which is supported and defended by both. If the Ritualists represent the Church of England and the national observance of religion, then it is time that disestablishment and disendowment should be effected; they are doing their utmost, whether they mean it or not, to aid the opinions of those who declare that the Church of England so called is only one among many religious bodies, and should no longer claim to be national in any special sense, but should form itself into a kind of church union represented by a council or assembly, much as one of the large nonconformist bodies is more or less represented by what is known as the Congregational Union.

To no such union would the Ritualistic priests and people be likely to conform. The congregations which they represent practically acknowledge no external authority for the regulation of church observances, and differ more from the Evangelical or Low Church bodies than the latter do from most forms of dissent or nonconformity.

It is usually supposed that the Ritualists are more in sympathy with the Church of Rome, and it is obvious enough that they imitate the Romish ceremonial, elevate the paten, use incense, observe genuflexions, separate themselves from the congregation by screens, deck the altar, and even celebrate the communion under the name of "mass." It is doubtful, however, whether these apparently Romish inclinations have induced the Papal Church to seek for converts in Ritualistic congregations. That church would scarcely be likely to regard with pleased expectation, the accession of people or clergy who are distin-

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guished for disobedience to the authority under which they profess to remain, and for disloyalty to the repeated injunctions of the superiors, to whom by their very office they have promised to be dutiful.

Earl Russell had come to the conclusion, that until the religion of the Church of England became assimilated to the religion of Rome, of St. Thomas Aquinas, and of Aristotle, the Ritualists would not be satisfied. Perhaps he did not see that before that could take place either the Ritualistic clergy must be the prevailing body in a church, the authority of whose bishops they only acknowledge as a mere matter of convenience, or they must join the opponents of all ecclesiastical authority supported by the state, and therefore reduce the so-called Church of England to an important and generally recognized sect, the members of which, however, would no more authoritatively form a national church than do the Wesleyan Methodists, the Baptists, or the Congregationalists. But let it be remembered, that though many of the "Ritualistic" clergy displayed what to ordinary people appeared to be an absurdly dogged obstinacy, by persisting in wearing certain costumes, and introducing peculiar gestures and postures in the service, decking the altar with flowers and candles, using a monotonous twang in the sermon and a gabbling recitative in the prayers, as though these were things to hold to and be martyred for, there were others who, having fallen upon times of church restoration, open pews, memorial windows, and choral services, held that the whole mode of conducting the service needed to be made more picturesque and emotional in order to awaken the sensibilities. There were young men who, apart from the merely sensuous revivals of ceremonial, were devoted workers, and assiduously visited the poor and the sick, organized charitable efforts, and set about improving or establishing schools, societies, week-day meetings, and even concerts, lectures, and recreations among the members of their churches and the inhabitants of their districts. The number of these, however, did not counteract the effect produced by the more fanatical upholders of ornamental dresses, mysterious symbols, and strange ceremonies, which had a weak because an uninterpretable resemblance to those of the Romish chapel. Some of the churches where these practices were observed had been built or endowed by private munificence, and this made the interposition of the bishops more difficult. In many cases the introduction of what had come to be called Ritualism (though it was not only in excess of, but contrary to the settled ritual of the Reformed Church) aroused the bitter opposition of a large number of the congregation, the "rector's warden," the "people's warden," and the synodsmen became leaders of opposite factions; and scenes of scandalous disorder ensued because of the attempts of the reforming party to prevent Romish innovations. The painful riots which had disgraced St. George's-in-the-East were repeated in some other parts of London at this time, and at a later date. In some instances the service was interrupted, and actual fighting went on inside and outside the church. Appeals were made to the bishop of the diocese, whose declarations were disregarded by the "priest." All was confusion and disorder, and the house of God was profaned, the name of religion dishonoured.

The aspect of affairs was somewhat different from that which prevailed at the time of the St. George's-in-the-East riots, for before the struggle became violent, compulsory church-rates had been abolished. In February, 1868, a bill, introduced by Mr. Gladstone for the abolition of compulsory church-rates, was read a second time amidst considerable opposition, with respect to which Lord Cranborne asked what was to be gained by adhering to the principle of "no surrender." That question, he said, was to be answered by the circumstances of the time. We must look not only to the position of the nation out of doors, but to the course of events in the house; the principles upon which parties guided their movements, the laws by which public men regulated their own conduct. He did not think that any gain to the church would result from prolonging the contest; and though he gave up any possession of the church with the deepest reluctance, he could not content himself with a stolid opposition nor give way to

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that tendency, by which it seemed so many were apt to be affected, of pursuing for many years a steady obstruction, and then giving way to an unreasonable panic. It was wiser to accept the terms offered them, because they might go further and fare worse.

These terms stopped short of actual abolition; but the rates were made voluntary, inasmuch as their payment could not be compelled by legal process. The act passed on the 31st of July, 1868, and its preamble stated, that as church-rates had for some years ceased to be made or collected in many parishes by reason of the opposition thereto; and, in many other parishes where church-rates had been made, the levying thereof had given rise to litigation and ill feeling, it was expedient to abolish the power to compel payment of such rates by any legal process. The first section of the act provided that no such process could be taken for the enforcement of payment of any church-rate made in any parish in England or Wales. Thus this vexed question was at last settled.

While we are noting this subject it may be observed that the introduction of the Elementary Education Act again revived the question, not of church-rates, but of the payment of rates for the partial support of denominational schools by grants, in places where there was no demand for the establishment of a board-school, the provisions of the existing voluntary rate-aided schools being sufficient for the instruction of the children. For some time the discussion grew clamorous on this subject, and doubtless, from the point of view of the Dissenters and those who demanded a merely secular education, the support of denominational schools by a grant from the rates appeared to be objectionable. Just as under the modified forms of the old system, church-rates, when voted by a majority of ratepayers, had been payable by all householders, these school-rates were payable by all householders, if the supporters of church schools were sufficiently numerous to sustain them against the demand for affiliation of the parish or district to that of the school-board and the provision of a board-school. As a writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* said even as late as January, 1874, the positions respectively occupied by the contending parties, seemed to be — "We will not pay denominational fees, because it does violence to our religious scruples;" and, "You must pay denominational fees, because to refuse them does violence to other people's religious scruples." As a matter of fact, the general sense of public opinion soon rectified this impression. The operation of the school-boards, and the manner in which it satisfied the requirements of various classes of the public, helped to assimilate the voluntary rate-aided schools, and even in rural districts the working of the Education Act has gradually established board-schools in place of many of the ineffectual and ill-supported schools formerly maintained by voluntary subscriptions aided by occasional grants.

It will be perceived that what we have now been considering has its bearing on the question of Ritualism, for it is easy to understand that Dissenters, or men of decidedly Protestant views, regarded with dismay the probability of being required to send their children to the schools of those other Dissenters or Nonconformists who yet were recognized as belonging to the Church of England, though they stood on the Romish side and were known as Ritualists. It will be seen, too, that all these subjects had a very direct relation to the question of possible church disestablishment. That was a matter on which people were compelled to think seriously; and though the disestablishment and disendowment of the church in Ireland had no necessary connection with, and was not at all preliminary to, any movement affecting the Establishment in England—the relations of the church to the two countries being essentially different — men looked the proposal in the face. Mr. Gladstone did. The arguments of those who opposed church disestablishment in Ireland on the ground of the probability of its being followed by a similar measure in England did not cause him to protest too much. In that chapter of autobiography, written in September, 1868, in which he refers to his early declarations with regard to the church, and his correspondence with Lord Macaulay, he says:

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"I can hardly believe that even those, including, as they do, so many men both upright and able, who now contend on principle for the separation of the church from the state, are so determined to exalt their theorem to the place of an universal truth, that they ask us to condemn the whole of that process, by which, as the gospel spread itself through the civilized world, Christianity became incorporated with the action of civil authority and with the framework of public law. In the course of human history, indeed, we perceive little of unmixed evil and far less of universal good. It is not difficult to discern that (in the language of Bishop Heber) as the world became Christian Christianity became worldly: that the average tone of a system, which embraces in its wide-spreading arms the entire community, is almost of necessity lower than that of a society which, if large, is still private, and into which no man enters except by his own deliberate choice, very possibly even at the cost of much personal and temporal detriment. But Christ died for the race: and those who notice the limited progress of conversion in the world until alliance with the civil authority gave to His religion a wider access to the attention of mankind, may be inclined to doubt whether, without that alliance, its immeasurable and inestimable social results would ever have been attained. Allowing for all that may be justly urged against the danger of mixing secular motives with religious administration, and, above all, against the intrusion of force into the domain of thought, I for one cannot desire that Constantine in the government of the empire, that Justinian in the formation of its code of laws, or that Charlemagne in refounding society, or that Elizabeth in the crisis of the English Reformation should have acted on the principle that the state and the church in themselves are separate or alien powers incapable of coalition.

But there are two causes, the combined operation of which, upon reaching a certain point of development, relaxes or dissolves their union by a process as normal (if it be less beneficial) as that by which the union was originally brought about. One of these is the establishment of the principle of popular self-government as the basis of political constitutions. The other is the disintegration of Christendom from one into many communions. As long as the church at large, or the church within the limits of the nation is substantially one, I do not see why the religious care of the subject, through a body properly constituted for the purpose, should cease to be a function of the state, with the whole action and life of which it has throughout Europe been so long and so closely associated. As long as the state holds by descent, by the intellectual superiority of the governing classes, and by the good-will of the people, a position of original and underived authority, there is no absolute impropriety, but the reverse, in its commending to the nation the greatest of all boons.

But when, either by some revolution of institutions from their summit to their base, or by a silent and surer process, analogous to that which incessantly removes and replaces the constituent parts of the human body, the state has come to be the organ of the deliberate and ascertained will of the community, expressed through legal channels, then, indeed, the inculcation of a religion can no longer rest in full or permanent force upon its authority. And when, in addition to this, the community itself is split and severed into opinions and communions, which, whatever their concurrence in the basis of Christian belief, are hostile in regard to the point at issue, so that what was meant for the nation dwindles into the private estate as it were of a comparative handful, then the attempt to maintain an established church becomes an error fatal to the peace, dangerous perhaps even to the life, of civil society. Such a church then becomes (to use a figure I think of John Foster's) no longer the temple, but the mere cenotaph of a great idea. Such a policy is thereafter not simply an attempt to treat what is superannuated and imbecile as if it were full of life and vigour, but to thwart the regular and normal action of the ruling social forces, to force them from their proper channels, and to turn them by artificial contrivance, as Apollo turned the rivers of Troas from their beds, to a purpose of our own. This is to set caprice against nature; and the end must be

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that, with more or less of delay, more or less of struggle or convulsion, nature will get the better of caprice.

But does it follow from all this that the tone of moral action in the state should be lowered? Such a fear is what perplexes serious and sober men, who are laudably unwilling to surrender, in a world where falsehood has so wide a range, any portion of this vantage-ground of truth and right. I, who may have helped to mislead them by an over-hasty generalization, would now submit what seems to me calculated to reassure the mind.

I make an appeal to the history of the last thirty years. During those years, what may be called the dogmatic allegiance of the state to religion has been greatly relaxed; but its consciousness of moral duty has been not less quickened and enhanced. I do not say this in depreciation of Christian dogma. But we are still a Christian people. Christianity has wrought itself into the public life of fifteen hundred years. Precious truths and laws of relative right and the brotherhood of man, such as the wisdom of heathenism scarcely dreamed of, and could never firmly grasp, the gospel has made to be part of our common inheritance, common as the sunlight that warms us and as the air we breathe. Sharp though our divisions in belief may be, they have not cut so deep as to prevent, or as perceptibly to impair, the recognition of those great outlines and fences of moral action. It is far better for us to trust to the operation of these our common principles and feelings, and to serve our Maker together in that wherein we are at one, rather than, in aiming at a standard theoretically higher, to set out with a breach of the great commandment which forms the ground-work of all relative duties, and to refuse to do as we would be done by."

In reading these words we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the writer perceived the probable effects of the diverse movements in the church—upon the position of the church itself—in relation to a claim for state support and a subjection to state control. At a later date, however, in 1874 and 1875, Mr. Gladstone wrote with characteristic emphasis on the subject of Ritualism, and repeated a declaration which he had made thirty years before, that the prosecution of the clergy for matters of observance, or the interference of legal tribunals would be ineffectual, and would at the same time perpetuate that moral disturbance which is itself more mischievous than the divergence of observances in public worship which an appeal to the law is designed to punish or to control. Mr. Gladstone did not regard the apparent spread of Ritualism with the apprehension expressed by numbers of people who professed to be jealous for Protestantism. There was a much more practical and important question at issue than whether a handful of the clergy were or were not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanize the church and the people of England. At no time since the sanguinary reign of Mary had such a scheme been possible. But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth, when Rome had substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith, when she had refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused, when no one could become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another, and when she had equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history. He could not persuade himself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and that although he did not undervalue her great powers of mischief by persevering proselytism.[1]

Mr. Gladstone regarded so-called Ritualism as the result, sometimes the exaggerated result, of that reformation in the structure of the buildings, and in decent, orderly, and reverent celebration of Divine worship and the services of the church, which superseded the mean and inconvenient edifices, the slovenly observances, the uncouth singing, and the indifference of the congregation, which had been painfully prevalent forty years before. He reminds his readers that the use of the

[1] *Contemporary Review*, October, 1874, reprinted 1875; *Gleanings of Past Years*, vol. vi. 1879.

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surplice in the pulpit was once regarded as an innovation suggestive of Romish tendencies, that a surpliced choir was to many an abomination, and that many changes which had become established customs in the most simple and distinctly Protestant churches, and some of them even among non-episcopal congregations, were opposed on the ground that they were intended to favour popish or heretical doctrines.

"There cannot," said Mr. Gladstone, "be a doubt that the beauty of the edifice, the furniture and the service, though their purpose be to carry the mind forward, may induce it to rest upon those objects themselves. Wheresoever the growth and progress of ritual, though that ritual be in itself suitable and proper, is accepted, whether consciously or unconsciously, and whether in whole or in part by the individual, as standing in the stead of of his own concentration and travail of spirit in devotion, there the ritual, though good in itself, becomes for him so much formality, that is, so much deadness. Now there are multitudes of people who will accede at once to this proposition, who will even hold it to be no more than a truism, but with a complacent conviction in the back-ground of their minds that it does not touch their case at all. They may be Presbyterians or Nonconformists, or they may be Churchmen whose clergyman preaches against Popery open or concealed, or who have themselves subscribed liberally to prosecute the Rev. this or the Rev. that for Ritualism. No matter. They, and their clergyman too, may nevertheless be flagrant Ritualists. For the barest minimum of Ritualism may be a screen hiding from the worshipper the object of his worship; nay, will be such a screen, unless the worshipper bestirs himself to use it as a help and to see that is not a snare."

The limits of our remaining pages forbid further quotation from an article, which the student who desires to estimate the aspect and attitude of the "Ritualistic" controversy would do well to read. It is necessary, however, to remember that Mr. Gladstone prefaces it by saying, "I have nowhere questioned that those are outward usages, which may and must be of doctrinal significance. My proposition is simply this:—That, where external usages have become subjects of contention, and that contention is carried to issue in courts of law, the field should not be unnecessarily widened; and the usage should not be interpreted for judicial purposes with reference to this or that particular dogma so long, but of course only so long, as it naturally and unconstrainedly bears some sense not entailing such a consequence."

These had been Mr. Gladstone's views during the long and bitter controversy, which did not cease when a new act of the legislature was passed for the purpose of bringing ritualistic priests into conformity, or rendering them liable to suspension, inhibition, or even imprisonment. There had been numerous protests, numerous appeals to the bishops, frequent warnings, and it cannot be said that instances were wanting calculated to alarm and disturb those who differed from Mr. Gladstone in their estimate of the power of the Papal Church and the influence of its emissaries or of the admirers of Romish ceremonies and practices. In February, 1867, a deputation from the National Club waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury to present an address, asking him to use his influence to suppress the attempt of some of the clergy to revive Romish practices in the Reformed Church. Among those innovations particularly specified were habitual confession to a priest, wearing Romish vestments, the use of incense and of candles lighted in the daytime, the mixing of water with the sacramental wine, and the offering of the Holy Sacrament as a propitiatory sacrifice. The reply of the archbishop was, "Whatever changes may be fairly considered to be symbolical of erroneous doctrine, and to favour that which was deliberately rejected by the Church of England—whatever I have reason to believe is offensive to the great bulk of a congregation, and calculated to estrange them from the church of their forefathers—all this I shall readily discountenance; but I must not be understood to promise any interference with that legitimate latitude which is permitted in the ordering of the services of the church."

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In the following May a royal commission was authorized to inquire into the differences of practice which had arisen in the church from varying interpretations put upon the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the cause and conduct of public worship, more especially with respect to the ornaments used in churches and chapels, and the vestments worn by the ministers. The question, therefore, had been for some years under discussion; but it was felt that any attempt to settle it by putting stringent laws in force would be followed with difficulties which might endanger the Establishment. When a definite measure was at length brought forward Mr. Gladstone, as we have seen, opposed it on the ground that for the purpose of restraining a few persons who desired to import into the observance of the Church of England an imitation of the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, it would tend to deprive the former of its freedom without any real certainty of effecting the object desired. As a matter of fact it had not been easy to compel the abandonment of these practices by those who first declared that in observing them they were obeying the real injunctions of the church, and who secondly challenged a decision on the charge that they were breaking the law of the state, while they denied the authority of a civil court to pronounce on church matters.

It was in opposing the "Public Worship Regulation Bill" that Mr. Gladstone reappeared in the House of Commons in 1874, and Mr. Disraeli uttered some congratulatory words on his again presenting himself in parliament, and expressed the loss which the house had felt during his absence. There were two measures about to be brought forward. One was the Church Patronage of Scotland Bill introduced in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond, for the purpose of abolishing the remaining lay patronage in the Established Kirk and vesting it in the members of the congregations. The qualification was to be that which existed in other Presbyterian bodies in Scotland; the compensation to patrons was not to exceed one year's stipend, where any compensation was demanded. This bill went apparently a long way towards instituting a system of congregationalism in Scotland, and though it was advocated by the Duke of Argyll and other Liberal peers, Mr. Gladstone warmly supported an amendment proposed by Mr. Baxter on the second reading in the House of Commons, to the effect that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject of patronage in the Church of Scotland without further inquiry. Mr. Gladstone objected to the exclusion of the "heritors" from a distinct share in the election of ministers, to the omission of any provision for the needs of Highland parishes, and to the effects which the measure would have on the Free Church. What, he asked, were they going to do for those people whom they had driven out of the Established Church, and compelled to find ministers for themselves, to build churches, manses, and schools, and in fact to organize and pay for the establishment of a complete system of church government? If they would receive them back in bodies he would withdraw his opposition to the bill. If the General Assembly would, on terms of fraternal equality, communicate with the Dissenting bodies, and endeavour to bring about an union of equality, he would assist them to the full extent of his power; but the present bill was neither fair nor generous. He wanted to know what the General Assembly had done towards reuniting itself to bodies which it turned out holding the view which formed the basis of the present bill. Speaking of the effects which the measure had already produced, he said:

"There was scarcely any disestablishment movement in Scotland until the date of the introduction of this crude, premature, and insufficiently considered bill. But is it true that there is no promise of a disestablishment movement in Scotland now? What has happened since the announcement of this bill? The representatives of 1,200,000 of the Scottish people have, in their General Assembly, declared for disestablishment. . . . There were 295, as I understand the number, against 98, those 98 not voting in favour of establishment, but for the previous question. I do not wish myself to be responsible for raising the question of disestablishment in Scotland. I am not an idolater of establishments."

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Here Mr. Gladstone was interrupted by an ironical cheer from the ministerial benches, but he continued amid the counter cheering of his own supporters:—

"Neither am I one of those who would wish to raise a controversy of that kind, excepting under very strong justifying circumstances, and excepting with a perfect preparedness to abide the issue of that contest. If the cheer we have just heard—and it was perhaps a very fair, natural, and legitimate cheer—was intended to imply that I am a great enemy of establishments, because I used every effort in my power to put an end to an establishment in Ireland, I must say, in answer to that cheer, that I do not repent the part I took. So far from repenting it, if I am to have a character with posterity at all—supposing posterity is ever to know that such a person as myself existed in this country—I am perfectly willing that my character should be tried simply and solely by the proceedings to which I was a party with regard to the Irish Church Establishment. I would, however, in this case recognize distinctions that are founded in the nature of things. In Scotland there has been no general movement of principle towards disestablishment; and although an established church in a minority is an anomaly, it is an anomaly which I was well content to tolerate, and which the masses of the people of Scotland were justly and wisely prepared to tolerate, and not to be guided by abstract principles, but by a careful regard to the state of facts. But when in that state of things the government throws down the challenge before them; proposes to invest this ecclesiastical body, or even the committee or commission of it, with powers never before intrusted to an ecclesiastical body, but which will infallibly be quoted in support of high clerical pretensions in other quarters; and when in doing that, it does it, as the right honourable and learned lord says, in the sense of strengthening the Established Church, but declining to recognize, for every practical purpose, the existence of those great Presbyterian communities whom you drove out and compelled to become Dissenters, entirely declining to recognize them, except as bodies from whom you make a certain profit by withdrawing one adherent from them here and another from them there—that is a challenge, I think, to them to take up a question of the public and national endowment of religion such as was never before issued by a government under any circumstances, and such as, in my opinion, it is totally inconsistent with prudence and wisdom to issue. If we have been rash—which I do not admit—our rashness will certainly fade into utter insignificance by the side of the gratuitous hardihood of the government, which, as it appears to me, determines to initiate a religious war in Scotland under the influence of the best motives, but under circumstances the most slippery and dangerous."

The bill, however, was carried by a very large majority, and it afterwards became evident that the Public Worship Regulation Bill would also be carried. This measure was introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords, and after some amendments, provided that, in accordance with what seemed from some parts of the canons to be the intended constitution of the church, the bishop of the diocese, guided by the advice of clerical and lay assessors, should have the power of directing the mode of worship observed in the churches. A single parishioner, or the rural dean, or the archdeacon, was to have power to appeal to the bishop against the practices of an incumbent with regard to public worship, and the bishop might then, if he thought the complaint sufficiently well grounded, summon the assessors to inquire into it. If the assessors condemned the practice or observance the bishop could issue a monition, against which the incumbent might appeal to the archbishop and *his* board of assessors, who would be competent to pronounce a final decision.

We have already noted what was the nature of the resolutions which Mr. Gladstone brought forward against the proposed measure. They were supported by a speech of remarkable energy and power, to which the house listened with rapt attention; but the government had already, to some extent, adopted the bill, and at a later stage, near the close of the discussion, Mr. Disraeli—who declared that the

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object of the bill was to put down Ritualism, and remarked that if Mr. Gladstone did not know what Ritualism was he was in a very isolated position—unmistakably adopted the measure.

Most of us have seen how little true effect the measure has secured. Some of the Ritualistic clergy preserve an undignified attitude, in which they resemble the publican who is constantly endeavouring to exceed the terms of his license, and yet contrives to recede in time to prevent that license from being cancelled. Others maintain an obstinate appearance of indifference either to monition or to sentence, and continue the practices against which they have been warned, and even defy the law, supported by a section or a majority of their congregations, and unmindful of those who remonstrate. Some have experienced the utmost penalty which the ecclesiastical law can inflict, and have gone for a short time to prison, where they have not been made insupportably uncomfortable, but have had the satisfaction of appearing for a brief space as martyrs to a religious cause. Others—and happily, perhaps, the majority—have accommodated their sincere admiration for a more pronounced ritual with the provisions of the rubric, and have abated excesses which were declared to be objectionable. So that to people who are not members of the Established Church the difference between sanctioned and prohibited observance often appears to be so slight that the only explanation of prohibition is to be sought in the intention to express doctrine by certain external ceremonies.

These ecclesiastical discussions were remarkable for the differences of opinion which appeared between members of both parties when the questions were brought forward. Lord Salisbury, who was characterized by Mr. Disraeli as a great master of jibes and flouts and jeers, was again opposed to his subsequent chief, and denounced the bill in the House of Lords. Mr. Gathorne Hardy condemned it in the House of Commons. But still more remarkable was the defence of the bill and the fervid appeal against Mr. Gladstone's propositions made by Sir William Harcourt, the solicitor-general of the previous government. He paid a high tribute to Mr. Gladstone's incomparable eloquence, but described the speech to which the house had listened as a powerful plea for universal Nonconformity. He called upon Mr. Disraeli to show that he was the leader of English opinion and to identify the government with the measure brought forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was believed that the vehement appeal of Sir William Harcourt had much influence in determining the premier to put down Ritualism; but it was evident, at the same time, that public opinion was in favour of some steps being taken to assert the principles of the Reformed Church against "Popish practices" by some of her professed ministers. The Public Worship Regulation Bill became law, and the patronage and direction of Mr. Disraeli doubtless accelerated it; but neither the influence of the government, the authority given to the bishops, nor the power of the judge of the ecclesiastical division of the judicature proved to be efficacious in making it a measure truly and effectively regulating public worship. Not even the advocacy of the former solicitor-general — who appeared for the time to abandon, if not to denounce, his political chief—could invest the bill with the power which was claimed for it.

The series of letters which appeared in the *Times* with the signature of "Historicus" in the early part of the decade now under our notice had excited no little attention, and were regarded as valuable contributions to the discussion of international law. Those who knew that they were contributed to "the leading journal" by William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt—who, beside having made a reputation at the bar, was already recognized as an effective speaker and an able writer on political subjects—predicted that he would not be long out of parliament, though in 1858 he had unsuccessfully presented himself as a candidate to represent the Kirkcaldy burghs. In 1866 he became a queen's counsel, and two years afterwards was returned to parliament by the Liberals of the

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city of Oxford. In the following year he was elected professor of international law in the University of Cambridge, and was a member of the royal commissions for amending the naturalization laws and the neutrality laws.

Mr. Harcourt was grandson of the former Archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1859 was married to the stepdaughter of the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and after her death to the daughter of the late John Lothrop Motley, the famous writer of the history of the Netherlands, who was for some time minister for the United States in London.

It was not till after his appointment as solicitor-general in Mr. Gladstone's ministry in 1873 that Mr. Harcourt received the honour of knighthood, but it may be said that the title added nothing to the reputation which he had already achieved. His tall, burly figure and outspoken language were already familiar to the house, where many members, as well as people outside parliament, regarded him as somewhat of the typical Englishman, especially when the manner of his assailants seemed to arouse in him a certain blunt directness, which sometimes strongly resembled defiance, a quality which has not been altogether without effect in recent parliamentary contentions.

Mr. Gladstone was now not only out of office, but had in a great measure secured an opportunity for exercising independent action. He needed repose—the kind of repose which such men as he find in change of employment and in temporary freedom from the onerous responsibilities of political leadership. His occasional presence in the house was marked by the vigour with which he took part in the debates. He had supported Mr. Forster in his strenuous opposition to the proposed Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, especially to those clauses which would have restored to the Church of England the administration of schools of which the founders had recognized Episcopal authority, or had directed attendance on the service of the Church, or had appointed that the master should be in holy orders. This the Liberals declared would be a retrogressive enactment—an endeavour to cancel recent legislation, which had thrown open such schools to the whole nation. So decided was the opposition, that, though the bill passed its second stage, and afterwards went into committee, Mr. Disraeli abandoned the obnoxious clauses. Mr. Forster had shown that out of 1082 grammar-schools 584 had been founded before the Toleration Act, 35 before the Reformation, and 44 during the Commonwealth. The Nonconformists were strong in their denunciation of the proposed measure. The prime minister declared that he could not himself understand the disputed clauses; and eventually the measure was so curtailed that it chiefly consisted of an act to abolish the Endowed Schools Commission and to transfer its powers to the Charity Commissioners.

Mr. Gladstone had already begun to devote some portion of the leisure which his retirement afforded him to the discussion, by means of published essays, of the questions which had arisen out of his declaration with regard to the attitude assumed by the Church of Rome. That declaration, part of which has been quoted in a previous page, aroused considerable excitement, not only in England, but abroad; and many eminent Roman Catholics in this country entered into the controversy, some of them protesting, and others in the main agreeing with the conclusions of Mr. Gladstone on the subject of the recent demands of the Vatican for absolute papal infallibility in relation to civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs.

It is not surprising that while many eminent converts to the Roman communion opposed Mr. Gladstone's views with considerable display of indignation, distinguished representatives of old Roman Catholic families endorsed them. It is nothing new in our history for English members of the Roman communion to avow that they owe no supreme political or civil allegiance to the pope. The men who sprang forward to fight against the Spanish Armada were ready to disregard or even to defy papal denunciations; and therein they only followed the traditions of English Catholicism. It was not to Mr. Gladstone's essay on Ritualism that the controversy referred. Partly in reply to the remonstrances

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which followed, but also apparently because he deemed it right to speak out upon the whole question, especially as he had been so closely identified with legislation which had secured religious liberty and had removed the civil and political disabilities of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, Mr. Gladstone, a month after the publication of the essay, issued a pamphlet on *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance.* In this he justified his former statements. The sale of the pamphlet was enormous. The disputants who entered the field were many, and included Cardinals Manning and Newman, Bishops Ullathorne, Vaughan, and Clifford, Monsignor Capel, Monsignor Francisco Nardi, Lord Petre, Lord Herries, Lord Robert Montague, Sir George Bowyer, Lord Camoys, and Lord Acton. Among his numerous opponents, of course, were some who charged him with insulting and accusing the Roman Catholics of this country. He absolutely denied any such intention, and when the cries of anger, of surprise, and of rebuke had somewhat subsided he issued a second pamphlet—*Vaticanism: an Answer to Reproofs and Replies,* in which he reiterated his assertions, saying:

"The Vatican decrees do, in the strictest sense, establish for the pope a supreme command over loyalty and civil duty. To the vast majority of Roman Catholics they are, and in all likelihood will long in their carefully enveloped meaning remain, practically unknown. Of that small minority who have spoken or fitted themselves to speak, a portion reject them. Another portion receive them with an express reserve, to me perfectly satisfactory, against all their civil consequences. Another portion seem to suspend their judgment until it is determined what is a free council, what is moral unanimity, what are declarations *ex cathedrâ*, whether there has been a decisive and binding promulgation so as to create a law, and whether the claim for an undue obedience need be considered until some act of undue obedience is asked. A very large class, as it seems to me, think they receive these decrees, and do not. They are involved in inconsistency, and that inconsistency is dangerous."

In this ecclesiastical controversy Mr. Gladstone seemed now to be immersed, but he actively engaged in other duties. Other essays appeared from his pen; he spoke at public meetings and at assemblies for the promotion of education; though he seemed so far to have withdrawn from political leadership that not only his former followers, but many Conservatives also, were deploring his abstention from taking a more decidedly prominent part, and were speaking of it in terms of regret. This is not the place to enter into the discussions which engaged him, and the declarations which were made that he was showing a want of discretion in alienating the friendly support of a large number of the members of the Roman Catholic Church. In reading the essays themselves one readily perceives that he felt the time had come when it was his duty to speak out, beyond the possibility of mistake. To the essays themselves, which are published in an inexpensive form along with others, we would refer not only for a more complete comprehension of the subject with which he dealt, but as an aid to the study of his mental, and, if we may be excused for the word, of his temperamental characteristics.

Mr. Gladstone, then, was taking only an occasional, though sometimes a prominent, part in parliamentary discussions. The Liberal party was, so to speak, in abeyance; the government of Mr. Disraeli was united, and the Conservatives seemed likely to hold a long lease of power. The country was apparently inclined "to pause and to consider," when to pause was difficult, and to consider was too likely to be interpreted to mean going back. The restless fervour of activity which had carried the late administration forward was not calculated to last; even if it had continued the government would not have been able to drag the country after it when once the national foot began seriously to flag.

We have already seen to what a handsome financial legacy the new government had succeeded; and there were other achievements by which they were able to profit. Perhaps it might not be reasonable to include in these the successful termination of the war in Ashantee;

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LIEUT. GEN. SIR GARNET JOSEPH WOLSELEY G.C.B.

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before the news of that result could be said actually to belong to them. The fall of the late ministry had been sudden—they seemed to have swiftly slid from power. The appeal to the country had taken the opposition unawares, and they were scarcely ready for the successes of their predecessors.

The very name of Ashantee had to many people something mysterious about it. It was remembered that the Gold Coast had always been associated with thoughts of slavery, of the cruelty of native savage rulers, of bloodshed indulged in as a common ceremony or as a pastime. The Ashantees were the fiercest of the tribes of Western Africa, and lost few opportunities of killing or oppressing the weaker people about them, among whom were the Fantees, under British protection, but incapable of defending the territory or supporting the few troops which garrisoned the forts.

Our trading settlements on the Gold Coast, founded in the seventeenth century, had frequently been a source of trouble. They had been relinquished in 1830, after a conflict with the Ashantees, who were afterwards defeated, and a treaty was concluded with them by the governor of Cape Coast Castle, Mr. Maclean, the husband of Letitia Elizabeth Landon (L. E. L.), whose verses of a sentimental and somewhat melancholy cast were once much quoted. This lady, who married Mr. Maclean in 1838, was found dead in her room, with a phial which had contained prussic acid clasped in her hand. No reason could be alleged for this tragic occurrence; and it excited considerable attention, and probably gave greater interest to her poems than their intrinsic merits would have secured.

For some years the affairs of the Gold Coast settlements were administered by a body of merchant traders, but subsequently were placed under the control of the colonial office. In 1863 hostilities again arose, and were brought to an unsatisfactory end, because of the fatal effects of the climate on the troops. Still later some of the settlements were made over to the Dutch in exchange for other territory, but in 1872 these possessions were by treaty transferred to England for the removal of some of the restrictions which former treaties had placed upon the Dutch in Sumatra. The result of this was that the Dutch became involved in a war with the Sultan of Acheen, who was supported by the Malays; and the King of Ashantee, who claimed from England the continuance of a pension or allowance which he had formerly received from the Dutch, occupied the ceded territory, and commenced a desultory war by attacking the Fantees. Then ensued a series of harassing assaults on our garrisons; and though, when the King of Ashantee was met by a small body of English troops and marines, he was signally beaten, it was believed that while his tribe held possession of the open country the other tribes would make common cause with them. It was determined, therefore, to send a large force, which in the cooler season of the year might push on towards Coomassie, the Ashantee capital, Captain Glover, a commander of much experience in dealing with the natives, having collected on the east of the proposed line of advance a number of Houssas, one of the warlike Mahometan tribes of the country.

Such an enterprise as that of marching an English force through a country swarming with savage enemies, and so pestilential, that, unless a successful termination of the war could be achieved within a few months, the men might be stricken down—the army wasted away with fever—required a commander quick in discerning opportunity, skilful in tactics, and of unflinching resolution. There appeared to be little hesitation in naming to this command Sir Garnet Wolseley, an officer who had already given ample proofs of remarkable ability and rapid decision in circumstances of difficulty on several occasions, and notably in his direction of the Red River expedition in 1870. The promptitude, which was this general's characteristic, was shown by his immediately setting out for the Gold Coast in advance of his troops, and there, at the head of small bodies of men, holding the Ashantees in check, and inflicting upon them several defeats while waiting for the arrival of his regiments.

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Sir Garnet Wolseley, son of Major Wolseley of the 26th Foot, may be said to have been born a soldier. In 1852, when he was nineteen years of age, he had entered the army as ensign. In 1855 he became captain, and in 1858 major of the 90th Foot. In the next year he was made lieutenant-colonel, and he obtained his colonelcy in 1863. During nearly the whole of these thirteen years he was actively engaged, and on several occasions had performed distinguished services. After the Burmese war of 1852–53 he obtained a medal. With the light infantry in the Crimea he was severely wounded during the siege of Sebastopol, and received the legion of honour and the Turkish order of the Medjidie. After the siege of Lucknow and the defence of Alumbagh, where he was made brevet lieutenant-colonel, he was specially mentioned in the despatches. In 1860 he was in China on the staff of the quartermaster-general, and served throughout the campaign. In 1867 he became quartermaster-general in Canada, where his success in the Red River expedition was conspicuous for the ability with which he could estimate a situation and take immediate advantage of an opportunity. In 1870 he was nominated a knight-commander of the order of St. Michael and St. George, an honour which was followed by his appointment to be adjutant-general at headquarters. Activity, fertility of resource, and that judicious confidence which appears to follow a readily formed but complete plan of operations were important qualities against a foe whom it was necessary to impress by rapid and effectual successes, and in a country where the enemy must be driven from every standpoint and defeated within so short a time that the victorious troops would be able to return to the coast ready to re-embark before the sickly season had set in. The punctuality with which this was actually effected was something remarkable. The march of the English troops, who fought their way in a series of skirmishes, was almost unchecked; and the final engagement, when the enemy made a stand near the capital, ended in the decisive defeat of the Ashantees. The advance had begun in the last days of 1873, Captain Glover in the east and other officers in the west raising native forces with which to converge on the capital. It soon appeared that the native tribes were almost useless as auxiliaries, and it was difficult to secure the services of the camp followers and bearers who were necessary to assist an army in such a country. On the 5th of February, 1874, however, Sir Garnet had entered Coomassie with his troops, and there he received the submission of the king, who agreed to appoint commissioners to conclude a treaty. It was, however, time to make the return march, and the troops retired to Adamsi to await the Ashantee agents, with whom there might have been more trouble had not Captain Glover already arrived with his contingent on the north of the capital, through which he marched without opposition. The king relinquished all sovereignty over the tribes who were under English protection, and some of his tributary chiefs soon renounced their allegiance to him. The army was marched back to the coast, and though many officers and men had succumbed to the hardships of that brief campaign, the troops re-embarked within the time that had been proposed, and before the sickly season had commenced. The power of the Ashantee tyrant was over, and the native savage chiefs had been impressed by his defeat. The English government then determined to retain the settlements on the coast as a colony of the crown, forming the neighbouring districts into a protectorate. The native tribes were informed that the protecting power would include complete control, and would assign the limits of native authority or interference. One of the first intimations made by the directions of Lord Carnarvon to the native chiefs was that the purchase or sale of slaves would not be any longer permitted, and that thereafter the law would not recognize the right of a master to the possession of a slave.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE LATEST STRIDE.

Footprints of Advance—A Brief Chronicle—Aspects in 1876—Vote by Ballot—Agriculturists and Artisans—Sailors and Ships—Disraeli, Earl Beaconsfield—Imperial Policy—India—Egypt—Suez Canal—The Eastern Question—Russia—Turkish Provinces—Bulgaria—War—"Peace with Honour"—Afghanistan: General Roberts—South Africa: Cetewayo—The Enemies of Ireland—Liberal Reaction, 1880—Two Years Ago—The Makings of History—Conclusion.

The more recent occurrences with which we are chiefly concerned in estimating the latest steps of social and political progress can be touched but lightly. We cannot to-day estimate the influences of yesterday. Our remaining observations must necessarily be few and brief. They will indicate some vast and important objects; but our attention can now be directed only to superficial appearances. The events of the years since 1878 have not yet passed into the sphere of history, for they have not developed complete results, and at present are full of suggestions for some future chapter of the story of our national life. The chronicler must stay his hand, for he can give no more than an imperfect outline of the forms that loom large in the present, but the real dimensions of which it is not easy to compute.

We have already noted some of the financial advantages to which the Conservative government had succeeded after the Liberal defeat; but it may be said that when they commenced office the old order had given place to the new. The very mode of entering parliament had been changed, for constituencies elected their representatives by secret voting. The measure for which Mr. Grote, and afterwards Mr. Berkeley, had long contended in vain, and which had at one time become a mark for ridicule, had been passed. Vote by ballot had been made a reality, and the old system of public nominations of candidates and the consequent riots and "humours" of elections, such as those described by Dickens in his account of the visit of the Pickwickians to Eatanswill, were abolished. The ballot bill, introduced by Mr. Forster on the 20th of February, 1871, proposed to secure secret and therefore uncontrolled voting, and to prevent personation by compelling each voter to attend at the polling place, where, after stating his name and place of residence, a stamped official voting paper would be handed to him on which he was to inscribe his vote. He was to take this paper into a separate compartment, where, without the possibility of being overlooked, he was to mark a cross in the space opposite the name of the candidate in whose favour he desired to vote. He was then to fold the paper so that this mark could not be seen, and to drop it through the aperture in the ballot-box or urn in the presence of the official in charge. Candidates were to be nominated by a proposer, seconder, and eight assenters, all of whom were to be registered voters, and to sign a nomination paper, the handing of which to the returning officer would alone be necessary for nomination. Of course the "secret vote" was denounced by the supporters of bribery and by those who for years had been able to intimidate or unduly influence the electors; but it was also opposed by many who regarded the concealment of the vote as unmanly and degrading. Among these were Mr. John Stuart Mill, who had at one time been an advocate of the ballot. He and others did not seem to reflect that open voting did not prevent the meanness and unmanliness of the landlord who coerced the tenant, the rural

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magnate, who, as it were, carted electors to the poll to vote according to his will, the patrons who bought the votes of the local tradesmen by their "good custom," or the employer who could "see after" his workpeople. The ballot was to be regarded less as a measure for promoting manly independence than as one to check and frustrate the shameless corruption maintained by those who had authority, wealth, or influence. It was to prevent immorality rather than to inculcate morality, and that is mostly all that can be done by act of parliament.

Those who assailed the proposed bill said that it would enable electors to give their vote in a sneaking underhand manner instead of openly and boldly. They seemed to forget that there was plenty of sneaking underhand bribery as well as too much bold bullying and intimidation exercised on unscrupulous voters who were for sale, or necessitous ones of whom it was too much to expect that they should support the principle of purity of election at the expense of being ruined by their resentful and powerful superiors. Some such measure had been advocated at intervals for nearly two centuries. In 1708, according to a letter of Addison, the question of deciding elections by ballot was discussed in parliament. In 1815 it was a "burning question." The omission of some clause relating to the ballot from the Reform Bill was explained by Lord John Russell to have arisen from the desirability of bringing in a separate measure. Lord John Russell was personally averse to such a measure; but he sometimes gave unmistakable signs that he thought the prevailing corruption might render it necessary. Lord Palmerston had jested about the ballot-box, and had argued that voting for members of parliament was a public trust, and should be exercised openly, that everybody might see it was done fairly; a representation which must have provoked a grim smile among electioneering agents. Mr. Gladstone had been against the ballot, but the conviction was forced upon him that the prevailing corruption could only be remedied by some such provision, and the revelations made before a commission of inquiry of which Lord Hartington was chairman in 1868–69 had led him, and others also, to advocate its prompt adoption. Public opinion was mostly in favour of it. Its opponents in the House of Commons, however, nearly talked it out of the session; and when it went up to the Lords, a majority had already made up their minds to reject it, on the ground that it had been brought before them too late to be considered. It was supported by the Marquis of Ripon (a title conferred on Earl de Grey for his services in the *Alabama* commission); but the Earl of Shaftesbury moved for its rejection, and the Lords appeared to think, that though it passed the House of Commons the delay showed that nobody cared much about it. Mr. Gladstone, however, had adopted it as a necessary measure, and some members of the house who would willingly have voted against it knew that their constituents were in its favour, and would resent their opposition at the next election. In the session of 1872 Mr. Forster returned to the charge. Again the bill passed through the Commons; but the Lords were still determined to punish Mr. Gladstone for having placed the royal prerogative against their opposition to the Army Reform Bill. On the second reading a resolution was carried in committee making secret voting optional. This was, of course, absurd, as it was nearly equivalent to cancelling the objects for which the ballot was to be introduced. There had been a pretty smart debate in the Commons, where Mr. Fawcett was among the opponents of secret voting. There had been a sharp discussion over a clause making it punishable by imprisonment with or without hard labour for an elector to make known his vote at the polling place. This was modified, and a proposition was adopted, that any one inducing a voter to show his voting-paper after he has marked it, should be liable to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. The optional clause of the Lords was immediately rejected when the bill went back to the lower house. There was the usual contention, amidst which many adopted the proposition of Mr. Disraeli, "to apply secret voting only as a degrading punishment for the electoral excesses of society." This, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out,

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was an admission that the ballot would be a remedy for existing evils. The Lords were obliged to give way; but they succeeded in making the measure experimental by introducing a proviso that it should only remain in force to the end of the year 1880 unless parliament should see fit to continue it. In that form it passed, and parliament as well as the nation has too completely recognized its advantages to allow it to be rescinded.

It was not unnatural that the change which had taken place in the mode of election should direct attention to a further extension of the franchise, and one of the objections made by the Lords to the ballot was that it would lead to a redistribution of seats. No direct proposal was brought before parliament, however, till 1877, when Mr. Trevelyan moved for a uniform parliamentary franchise in boroughs and counties, and a redistribution of political power for the purpose of obtaining a more complete representation. This proposition, which was debated in a full house, was advocated by Lord Hartington, and Mr. Gladstone. He and Mr. Lowe, who both voted for it, afterwards supported it by articles contributed to leading magazines. Mr. Goschen, though on the Liberal side, was opposed to it, and that opposition has since been maintained, though it has perhaps had the effect of preventing him from taking a more forward position in Liberal councils. Mr. Trevelyan's proposal was rejected by 276 against 220 votes, and there was no very strenuous demand made outside parliament for further parliamentary reform, though certain conditions had arisen, which seemed to indicate that some extension of the franchise, and especially some change in the county franchise, would not be very long delayed.

In the industrial and mining centres the effects of recent and continued strikes among workmen were being felt, and had had some influence on the general prosperity of the country. We have already glanced at some of the results of this disturbance and the poverty and suffering at the East End of London, where the refusal of the shipwrights to work at a rate of wages higher than the masters could afford to pay, and yet keep their yards open, had the effect of driving the greater part of the shipbuilding trade from the Thames to the Clyde. After the capitulation of Paris and the disasters which had ensued from the corrupt imperialism of the French government, the atrocities of the Communists had to be punished and suppressed by a republican organization, and the political derangements there, seemed to have some disturbing influence on the uneducated portions of most European communities. In this country they appeared to affect a number of artisans and labourers with a sullen disinclination to argue the matter of the strikes; and in some indirect and not easily explained way to associate with an attempt at despotism the refusal of the masters to yield to all their demands. It is only under very eminent and judicious leadership that large bodies of people can be brought to discriminate, and there was frequently manifested a disposition to confound the economic necessities which control demand and production, labour and wages, with an arbitrary and oppressive exercise of the will of employers.

Doubtless there were industries in which the rate of wages and the hours of work were unfairly against the operatives; but in numerous instances it was pretty clearly shown, not only that the masters could not make further concessions, but that they were willing to submit the disputes to examination and to the decision of arbitrators. We cannot here consider in which of the trades important grievances existed; but the general industry of the country suffered seriously, and has since suffered, from the interruption of production and the uncertainty which had become an element in those great manufactures where the operations must be continuous in order to fulfil the terms of extensive contracts. In many cases, especially in railway and marine engineering, a good deal of the business left England and went to the great workshops of France and Belgium. At Newcastle in 1871 above 9000 men were on strike for the purpose of reducing the hours of work to nine hours a day for the same amount of payment that they were then receiving, and it was declared by the masters

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meal times, this would practically mean eight hours a day, to say nothing of the frequent "Mondays" taken by numbers of the men as holidays from work, and the consequent danger of delay in the fulfilment of contract engagements.

For sixteen weeks the engineers were supported by the contributions of other societies belonging to the trades-unions. As a result of the communistic theories then afloat, there was a general notion—and not an unworthy one from another point of view—that an international trades-union of artisans, mechanics, and labourers throughout Europe or throughout the world might be effected, by which the rate of wages and the hours of labour might be controlled. The effects of such a confederation (if it had been possible) in the corresponding modification of production, and the cost of commodities necessary alike to the workman and all other men, and in the crushing of individual aspiration under the wheels of a society, did not seem to occur to the delegates and their supporters who advanced the theory. To some extent, too, there was a recognition of community on the part of foreign workmen. Many of them who had been applied to by English manufacturers to take the place of men on strike, either refused to come, or after having been appealed to by the representatives of the trades-unions, returned without entering on their engagements. But while half England was on strike, the workshops of other nations were growing busy. If foreign labour did not come here, foreign trade and British trade could go elsewhere, and much of it did. Early in the decade with which these pages conclude there were between 30,000 and 40,000 ironworkers and miners idle in South Wales and Monmouthshire. The colliers of Northumberland and the Forest of Dean, the ironworkers of North Staffordshire, the mechanics in the building trades in London and some parts of the provinces, and even those engaged in more casual and worse-paid employments, joined in the general attempt to obtain the better conditions which some of them sorely needed. Perhaps the movement may be said men employed at the London gas-works struck without sufficient notice of their intention, and threatened to leave a great part of the metropolis in darkness unless their unreasonable demands were complied with; or when a number of the police force clamoured for increased pay without having made proper representations at headquarters. These two developments of the prevailing epidemic were checked by the promptitude of the superiors, and their recurrence was made improbable by a special enactment which, while it removed some penalties for endeavours made to maintain strikes, ordained punishment for any person engaged in the public service leaving or neglecting their duties without proper notice according to a specified regulation.

Perhaps the most startling appearance in the sphere of "strikes" was the agricultural labourer. It will be remembered that years and years before an attempt on his part to assert the right to combine for the purpose of resisting slow starvation had been met by a penal enactment. It was supposed that he had neither the spirit nor the power to manifest his dissatisfaction by effectual remonstrance. The repeal of the corn-laws had somewhat improved his position by enabling him to share in the reduced prices of the first necessaries of life; but on the whole he was little better off than Cobden had described him to be. In some localities his poverty was mitigated by certain allowances from his employers; in others his children might find employment in the intervals of school attendance. Wages varied considerably in different districts; but on the whole the body of agricultural labourers in England seemed incapable of being roused to make any active effort to improve their condition. There were few signs of individual ambition among them—few examples of the energy which was to be observed among the operatives of large towns. Continuous and monotonous toil, no doubt, has the effect of suppressing the individual life of men; but it would be thought that effect would be more obvious in the factory or the mill than in the farmyard and the fields. Life in the open air would be supposed to be in itself an aid to

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dition of the farm labourers was against their combining with any hopeful result. They were intellectually uninformed; they seemed to be a body too numerous to command employment at other wages than the farmers or landowners were able or willing to pay; and their employment was to a great degree dependent not only on the seasons but on the nature of the soil and crops and the system of farming adopted in the county in which they happened to be settled. They were for the most part believed to have little more ability to assert their "rights" or to represent their wrongs and to seek redress by any organized method than the teams they drove or the cattle they tended. The wretched cottages in which their families herded together, the privations which they endured, their hopeless, aimless lives, which after years of ill-paid labour had no prospect but the workhouse—all these things were known, and people read about them in newspapers; but the very fact of their existence, and of the slow endurance of those who suffered them, made it seem impossible that there should ever be an agricultural labourers' union. "A bold peasantry a country's pride" existed only in the imagination of the poet. The artisan of the large towns, sympathize as he might with the poverty and sufferings of Giles Clodpole, could scarcely bring himself to think that unions and committees and combinations were meant for him; and yet it was an established, though an unremembered fact, that Giles or George, when he left the plough or the byre and took the queen's shilling, had soon developed into a sturdy soldier who had fought the battles of the country —or of statesmen—in almost every clime, and with almost unvarying resolution, courage, and success. The time had arrived for the movement in favour of an improved condition of the population to reach the tillers of the soil; and it was first to touch South Warwickshire.

Few people in London knew much about the peasantry of Shakspere's county until it was rumoured that they had begun to take some measures for endeavouring to obtain an addition to the wages on which they were starving. Some faint and imperfect protests had been taken. The farmers said they could not afford to pay higher wages on account of the rents demanded by the holders of the land; the landowners maintained their right to follow out the rules of commerce with regard to other commodities, and to obtain all the rent that their land would bring them. Farmers seemed at all events to have enough to eat, and warm clothing, and most of the comforts, as well as many of the luxuries of life. Landowners had all the purchasable comforts and a majority of the luxuries and amusements of town and country. Hodge had almost forgotten the taste of real meat; bread and weak tea, a bit of hard cheese, a bowl of bad potatoes, and an occasional scrap of bacon, with intervals of porridge or water gruel, and not quite enough of any of these things; old and patched clothes, leaky boots; a cottage in which his family herded together in sleeping rooms such as a sporting nobleman would not have tolerated for horses or hounds—these were the circumstances of the field or farm labourer in many parts of the country.

In South Warwickshire the pinch was close, and hurt sorely, just at the time that a man returned to his native village after a visit to some friends in the manufacturing districts beyond. Such a journey made him an authority, and people were eager (if any mental attitude of theirs could be called eager) to hear an account of his travels.

Among the news with which the wanderer returned was that of the strikes among operatives, and the slowly stirring imagination of the suffering peasants was moved by what they heard. They could scarcely be worse off, and desperate as the attempt might be to combine in a demand for wages sufficient to keep them from actual starvation, they might hold out if they could get a little help from outside while they made their cause known. The principal organizer of the movement was Joseph Arch, a labourer who, by his character and natural ability, had been for some time regarded as a leader among them. He was somewhat better educated than most of his neighbours, and knew how to address them, for he had been accustomed

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to preach to a Methodist congregation. He undertook to call a meeting, and on the appointed day a thousand men met under a great chestnut tree, and there, in plain, homely, but effective language, Arch addressed them. The thing was done: the union was formed there and then, and various branches were afterwards organized. The movement soon spread, and though the men had great difficulty in finding the means for support, they contrived to hold out. In Suffolk the labourers' strike became serious. The demand was for a shilling a week more wages. The farmers formed an association for the exclusion of union men from employment, and for opposing their claims; but aid came to the men on strike from miners' and artisans' unions, and even the Dorsetshire peasants contributed. Mr. Mundella, Lord Waveney, and Mr. Brand, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in vain endeavoured to effect a compromise. The men asked for fifteen shillings a week. The allowance from the strike committee was nine shillings.

In Lincolnshire Mr. Samuel Morley and Mr. Dixon were more successful, and the men returned to work, but in Suffolk 2000 men were locked out by the farmers, who refused to countenance the union, and the number greatly increased. A weekly organ of the strike was published, entitled the *Labourers' Chronicle*. The hay harvest had to be gathered by casual hands engaged with some difficulty. The labourers then organized a pilgrimage, and a large number of them started on a journey, accompanied by a waggon and team bearing a chest which was "the money-box." They appealed for contributions as they tramped to Newmarket, Cambridge, Bedford, Luton, Northampton, Wolverhampton, and as far as Halifax. The procession was a strange one, but the men were orderly, sober, and inoffensive. In some places they received money contributions, in others they were invited by leading inhabitants to substantial dinners; but the "pilgrimage" was on the whole not very successful. The funds of the union were rapidly diminishing, and at length the committee was obliged to declare that the allowances could not continue, but that the residue of the money would be applied to assist emigration. The struggle had lasted for eighteen weeks, and the union had spent about £25,000, including the sums paid towards emigration. Out of 2400 men 870 returned to work, 400 migrated, 440 emigrated, 350 returned to work without leaving the union, 350 surrendered and left the union, and many remained unemployed.

The movement had, however, extended to various parts of the country, a new power had arisen against which some of the farmers continued to fight, while in some places the grounds of the demands put forward by the labourers were recognized, and efforts were made to improve their condition. At any-rate the agricultural labourer had vindicated his right to be regarded as an integer in the national estimate, and his claims could not thenceforth be ignored.

Sailors scarcely seemed very likely persons to join in a strike, but at some of the seaports there was a temporary combination among the merchant seamen for higher wages. There had, however, been stronger reasons than a desire for increased pay to account for the dissatisfaction of the seamen of the mercantile marine. The practice of sending out ships overladen and without a sufficient crew was one of them; the frequent neglect to provide adequate and wholesome rations was another; but worse, perhaps, than either of these was the crazy condition of some of the craft, in which a man who had entered for a voyage was compelled to fulfil his agreement under the penalty of imprisonment. Worse still, marine insurance was so easy that owners could secure themselves against the loss of any ship or cargo by paying a premium. It is certain that vessels, which could not be sent out without peril to the lives of all on board, frequently left port short-handed and overladen. It was darkly hinted that there were owners who calculated on probable loss, and habitually so over-insured as to make that loss more profitable than a safe return. Such suggestions, horrible as they may seem, were not very astonishing. Instances were broadly mentioned which seemed to give emphasis to the dreadful suspicion.

The subject was taken up by Mr. Samuel

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Plimsoll, the member for Derby, a man of great sympathy and fervid temperament. Mr. Plimsoll published a book in which he brought some amazing accusations against individual shipowners, who appealed to the law and sued him for damages. He next brought a bill into parliament for the protection of the lives of seamen, proposing a strict inspection of all outgoing vessels, the adoption of a load line, and other restraints, which were opposed by the shipping interest in parliament as being harsh and impracticable, and by others as removing the responsibility from the owners and placing it on parliament. On a division the bill was rejected, but Mr. Disraeli's government promised to bring in another bill that should deal with the subject. In the next session (1875) a measure was brought forward of a much less stringent character than that of Mr. Plimsoll; but he was ready to accept it, in the hope that it might eventually be carried further, when, to his dismay, he found that it was to be delayed and then postponed to some uncertain date. Mr. Plimsoll suspected that the government had deluded him, and all his suppressed indignation against former delays and the shortcomings of the bill burst forth as he sprang to his feet, with words and gestures of hysterical vehemence denounced some of the shipowners, shook his fist in the face of ministers, waved his arms wildly, and declared that he would expose those villains who had sent brave men to death. The speaker interposed. The honourable member must not apply the word villains to members of that house. But the honourable member would not withdraw, and repeating the word vociferously rushed from the house. It was a painful scene, and with evident reluctance Mr. Disraeli moved that Mr. Plimsoll should be reprimanded by the speaker for his disorderly behaviour. Other members, among whom were Mr. A. M. Sullivan and Mr. Fawcett, interposed on behalf of the member for Derby, who was, as they said, obviously in a distressing condition of health and of mental disturbance, caused by his exertions and by the disappointment he had experienced. It was decided to postpone the decision of the house for a week till Mr. Plimsoll could be in his place. The impression was deep and general that the breach of etiquette or of manners was as nothing when compared with the apparent indifference of the government, and the exasperating delays and denials with which the effort to save men from being drowned at sea had been received. Mr. Plimsoll became for a time a national hero. Before the week was up he reappeared in parliament, where he tendered a frank and manly apology for his former violence, and begged the pardon of the house.

Mr. Disraeli had fully and readily withdrawn his motion for a reprimand, and the government, awakened to a sense of the feeling of the country by the utterances at public meetings, pushed forward a very inadequate measure for regulating the structure of merchant vessels, to be supplemented by subsequent legislation on the subject of marine insurance. That promised legislation did not appear, however, and Mr. Plimsoll continued his agitation, reiterated his demands, and even ran the risk of another threat of reprimand for his violence, before, in a new Liberal ministry, further advances were made, in providing for some kind of inspection of outward bound vessels, restriction of loading, and the regulation of insurance.

As Mr. Disraeli sat and listened to the wild tempestuous words, and saw the clenched hand and whirling arm of Mr. Plimsoll, he may have remembered the day, so many years before, when he had himself displayed scarcely less vehemence, and had declared that the time would come when the jeering cynical contemptuous house *should* hear him. By what an arduous, brilliant, and successful career—by what an exhausting expenditure of vital force he had made good those words! It may be taken for granted that he at least sympathized with Mr. Plimsoll in that moment of fierce assertion, for Disraeli was one of the first to appreciate and admire genuine emotion of that kind, as he would be one of the first generously to obliterate all records of its excesses. Sitting there, the foremost man in the realm, the head of a strong government, and revolving a policy of which he had hitherto only given some scintillating suggestions, he represented many

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qualities which Englishmen held dear. The leaders in the parliamentary arena have often been compared to gladiators, and doubtless the heat and conflict of debate stirs up that fighting instinct which is mostly hidden and subdued, but sometimes glares out with lion eyes, and alarms its possessor even more than it startles his antagonist. If leading statesmen are to be spoken of metaphorically as gladiators, Disraeli was a veteran whose reputation had been made by many an eager contest. His onslaught was quick, his feints crafty and dangerous, his thrust often deadly. He advanced boldly, got away readily, was self-contained and imperturbable in defeat, in victory neither implacable nor ungenerous. He preserved no personal animosities. The combat over he could do full justice to his recent opponent — speak gracious words, if need were, and recall the skill with which some stroke was dealt. Can more be said in relation to the gladiatorial character?

He would be a strangely misled man who would say that Disraeli did not love England. The influences of race were strong in him, but they had joined with an influence as powerful. He was English plus Hebrew rather than Hebrew plus English after all, for his will and his devoted service were with the country of his birth. The characteristics of race were there, and asserted themselves, especially unsuiting him for playing that part of the squire in which he sometimes tried his skill, but they were subordinated to what he believed was for the honour and the welfare of the country to which he belonged. They were subordinated, that is, in many instances, but when the time came they reappeared in the policy which he first suggested and then avowed. The cast of his aspirations was oriental. The scene which he imagined as the triumph of his later years had something gorgeous in it. Calmer and more severely thoughtful minds felt that it was theatrical. To him no doubt it was the natural outcome of some systematic policy, the gradations of which he had never declared. To make the queen the acknowledged ruler of an empire as well as of a realm, to be the prime minister of a government that was to hold a great, perhaps a paramount place, and to bear a personal part in representing its power and influence;—if that had been his dream it was no unworthy one, and in a measure it was to be realized. When Benjamin Disraeli sat in the front ministerial bench in the autumn of 1875, the reward of his unremitting labour in parliament was awaiting him; the crown of the peerage was to mark the step which led to the culmination of his extraordinary career. He already felt the effects of the long strife. It was not till some time afterwards, when the resignation of Lord Derby from the cabinet on the question of a demonstration by England against Russia, led to his speaking in graceful and pathetic language of his regret at losing the official support of one so trusted and admired, that he referred in a marked manner to the symptoms of failing physical powers which were among the reasons for his accepting a seat in the Upper House.

On the 22nd of August, 1876, Mr. Disraeli was elevated to the peerage with the title of Earl of Beaconsfield. In his farewell address to his constituents he wrote: "Throughout my public life I have aimed at two chief results. Not insensible to the principle of progress, I have endeavoured to reconcile change with that respect for tradition which is one of the main elements of our social strength, and in external affairs I have endeavoured to develop and strengthen our empire, believing that combination of achievement and responsibility elevates the character and condition of a people."

Before the date on which this title was conferred, "the Eastern question" was again stirring discussion. Once more the unspeakable Turk was agitating Europe, and the demands and ambitions of Russia were exciting deep suspicion in England.

In "Les Memoires sur la Chevaliere d'Eon" that man or woman who had once been famous as one of the first sword-players in Europe, and whose familiarity with almost every country and every court was attributed to the opportunities enjoyed in the capacity of a secret agent, there occurred a passage purporting to be an extract from the will of Peter the Great. It was as follows:—"Approach as near as pos-

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sible to Constantinople and towards the Indies. He who reigns at Constantinople will be the real sovereign of the world, and with that object in view provoke continual wars with Turkey and with Persia: establish dockyards in the Black Sea; get possession of the shores of that sea as well as those of the Baltic, these two things being necessary for the ultimate success of our project; hasten the decay of Persia; penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf, re-establish the former trade of the Levant by appropriating Syria; and, if possible, extend the power of Russia to the Indies, which are the emporium of the world."

The first Napoleon published this alleged extract from the plan for compassing European supremacy left by the Czar Peter for his successors, and deposited in the archives of the Palace of Peterhoff. The whole matter was declared to have been an invention of the French emperor for his own purposes, and the existence of any such document was positively denied by the late Emperor Alexander. Whether it ever had any existence or not need not be discussed. Nothing could have been more ingeniously devised to express what has more than once appeared to some European politicians to be the practical aim of Russia. During the Franco-German war Russia had demanded that as some of the provisions of the treaty made after the Crimean war had been disregarded, the clause restraining her from maintaining armaments in the Black Sea should be expunged. There was a conference at Berlin, and the demand became a request to which the powers conceded. This "concession" turned out to be important, as Russia, no doubt, foresaw it might be. In 1875 she was already advancing into Central Asia by steady strides, and at the same time Turkey had declined into the condition from which she had previously suffered because of an evil and corrupt government. There came rumours of oppression and barbarous cruelties perpetrated against the people of the Danubian principalities. It soon became evident that the Emperor of Russia would claim the right to interpose for the protection of the Christian populations on the frontier, whatever might be his ultimate object. The British fleet in the Mediterranean was ordered to Besika Bay, not, as Mr. Disraeli afterwards declared, with the intention of menacing anybody, or to protect the Turkish Empire, but to protect the British Empire. At a conference of representatives of the powers held at Berlin, it had been proposed that there should be a suspension of hostilities between Turkey and the provinces for a month, during which a peace should be negotiated, and that if the negotiations failed the powers should agree to adopt further measures to secure peace and compel Turkey to observe her former promises.

Lord Derby was opposed to the proposed concerted action, which he believed was the outcome of a former secret agreement between Russia, Austria, and Germany. There was also a suspicion that Russia had fomented the insurrection in some of the provinces. The memorandum was not adopted, and public excitement was kept at a high pitch by intelligence that the Mussulmans at Salonica had risen against the Europeans and murdered the French and German consuls; that at Constantinople a revolutionary party had succeeded in deposing the sultan Abdul Aziz, who shortly afterwards had committed suicide by opening the veins in his arm with a pair of scissors; that his nephew Murad had been appointed his successor, and had promised to appoint a government to secure the liberties of all his subjects. In three months, however, he also was dethroned, and his brother Hamid reigned in his stead. Then came the news of the insurrection in Bulgaria, and of the horrible cruelties of the savage Bashi-Bazouks, who were sent to suppress it. The bodies of slaughtered women and children lay in heaps. Forty girls who had shut themselves in a house were burned to death; 12,000 persons had been killed in Philippopolis; at Batak above 1000 persons had taken refuge in the church, which resisted the attempts of the Bashi-Bazouks, who thereupon fired through the windows, climbed to the roof, and dropped burning faggots and lighted rags, which had been dipped in petroleum, amongst the refugees. Mr. Gladstone urged that the European powers should combine to settle the Eastern question. Mr. Disraeli explained that the

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European powers approved the attitude of England, which was one of strict neutrality. The duty of the government, he said, was to maintain the empire of England at a critical moment, and they would never agree to any step, though it might obtain for a moment comparative quiet and a false prosperity, which hazarded the existence of that empire.

Before parliament was prorogued it was announced that the prime minister had been honoured with a peerage, and would sit in the Upper House. During the recess the public feeling on behalf of the wretched people of the insurgent provinces became intensified by the report received from Mr. Baring, our representative. Mr. Gladstone had already come forward as the leader and exponent of the popular sentiment, and now he issued a pamphlet entitled *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, in which he advocated a concert of the European powers to extinguish the Ottoman executive power in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. One passage in this pamphlet was afterwards urged against him, as though he had advocated the expulsion of the whole Turkish population from Europe. "The bag-and-baggage policy," as some wit had named it, became a long-standing jeering accusation.

What he wrote was:—"Let us insist that our government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned."

There was soon a plain issue before the nation—those who thought with Mr. Gladstone would have renounced Turkey rather than have prolonged for an instant the crimes which were being perpetrated by her emissaries, or have seemed to countenance them by refraining from joining in their practical condemnation. Those who thought with Lord Beaconsfield would have ignored the necessity for interfering with what the Turkish government chose to do, if that interference might affect the power or influence of England in the East, and open the door for Russia at Constantinople. The latter prevailed. The invincible distrust of Russian intrigue, the recollections of Russian barbarism, turned the scale, but not till a later date. There were fierce debates in parliament, great public meetings in London and the provinces, in which Mr. Gladstone took a leading part with amazing fervour and energy. For a time he seemed to carry the people with him, for they were moved by sentiments of pity and of indignation, and called on the government to put pressure upon Turkey; but the sentiment gave place to the old distrust of Russian influence, and began to burn low. The indignation, if it did not die out, smouldered before the blaze of that promise of imperial supremacy which might be threatened by any treaty that gave Russia a new footing in the East.

Russia declared war with Turkey on the 24th of April, 1877, and while one army crossed the Danube and marched towards the Balkans another invaded Asia Minor. At first they met with few repulses. From Sistova to Tirnova, the ancient capital of Bulgaria, the Grand-duke Nicholas made an almost triumphal procession amidst the acclamations of the people; but at the Shipka Pass, and at Plevna, 20 miles south of the Danube, where Omar Pacha had made a stand and thrown up fortifications, the Turks numbered 50,000 to 70,000, and the Russians were defeated with immense loss. They afterwards took the Shipka Pass, and after a tremendous conflict the emperor sent General Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, to the scene of action, and Plevna surrendered. Then the Russians swept all before them. In the early part of 1878 they might have entered Constantinople. It was reported that they had done so, and parliament then sitting was in a ferment. The fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles. Public feeling was so aroused that the anti-Russian party was predominant.

Sir Stafford Northcote announced that he

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Again a sudden report came that the Russians were close to Constantinople, and the excitement in London became tremendous. The fleet was ordered to go through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, and in spite of the Russian protest that if it passed the Straits there would be good reason for the occupation of the neighbourhood by the troops, our ships remained there. There was to be no disembarkation of the British and no advance by the Russians.

Daily, almost hourly, Mr. Gladstone was endeavouring to force upon the government a recognition of the claims of the people of the disturbed provinces, and his efforts were supported by hundreds of meetings in different parts of the country. He admitted that in what he might call his old age he had became an agitator, but the agitation, he averred, was in a good and holy cause,—in the hope that by the withdrawal of moral and material support from Turkey, and the combined representations of our government with those of the other powers, the Porte would be compelled to cease from cruelty and oppression, and freedom with practical self-government might be secured for the people. The resolutions which he introduced into the House of Commons, and supported with moving elequence and earnestness, did not, however, meet with acceptance. In the Liberal ranks there was division on the subject, and an impression seemed to be deepening, that complete neutrality, abstention from any pledges, and a watchful attitude with regard to Russia was the safest policy. There was a general notion that Lord Beaconsfield knew more of the situation than he chose to make public; that he was waiting quietly for the right moment to checkmate the Emperor of Russia, and control Turkey by two or three rapid and successful moves. There was some reason for so thinking. His career had been illustrative of these very qualities of patient self-possession, combined with readiness of action, and resource and unbounded audacity, which, now that he held the dogs of war in leash, and was the head if not the dictator of the government, give to England her proper place in the world. These opinions had undoubtedly gained ground, and so loud and boisterous were some of the extremer advocates of an anti-Russian policy, that it seemed as though we should soon be obliged to make some manifestation which would be equal to a proclamation of hostilities. The bumptious, overbearing demonstrations of the war party perhaps increased when it was discovered that Russia kept faith, and refrained from marching on Constantinople, and it may have required all the astuteness of Lord Beaconsfield himself to "uphold the character and prestige of England" without actually making common cause with the "Jingoes."

The term "Jingoes" will itself, when explained, indicate the persons who were just then making themselves most conspicuous—especially in London—and the temper which they too frequently displayed. The most noisy and violent of the partisans of the government were of course those who, regarding war from a distance, and without any experience of it, were ready to boast and to threaten. For these some jinglers of rhyme had written one or two so-called "patriotic" songs, by which the proprietors of music halls expected to attract large audiences, to assist in yelling the choruses, and to consume liquor. The most successful of these productions had a refrain which seemed exactly to suit the taste and intelligence of the audiences:

"We don't want to fight, but by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships; we've got the men; we've got the money too."

This chorus was heard everywhere, and the Liberals, who had been a good deal hustled and insulted, even at their own meetings, and who for the most part felt that they were being publicly yelled down, gave to their demonstrative opponents the name of "Jingoes," a term which is quite likely to be perpetuated when its origin is forgotten.

For a time the "Jingoes" seemed to be having all their own way, and became not only boisterous, but riotously aggressive. In several instances, and notably on one occasion in

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London, they boasted of having taken forcible possession of rooms that had been hired by the Liberals for the purpose of holding meetings. One evening a company of these high-spirited and gallant gentlemen, flushed with pride and wine, seeing Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone in a West End street, became so grossly insulting, and made such threatening demonstrations, that it became necessary for the lady to seek shelter in the hall of a house, at the door of which a servant was standing.

The vote of credit asked for by the government had been granted by a large majority. Prince Gortschakoff had declared that, far from marching onward, the Russian troops had been ordered everywhere to cease from further hostilities; the British Mediterranean fleet had been sent to Constantinople. On the 3rd of March, 1878, a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at St. Stefano, by which Russia, while securing the freedom of the Christian populations from Turkish rule, would not only have claimed a large war indemnity, but would have expanded Bulgaria into a state, of which she would practically have had control. This treaty was at once denounced by Lord Derby as an attempted readjustment of the treaty of Paris, without the consent of the other contracting powers, while Lord Beaconsfield represented that it would virtually give Russia control over the whole of south-eastern Europe. It was demanded that the terms of a treaty should be considered in a conference at Berlin, and the demand was accompanied by demonstrations, in which Lord Derby could not concur, since he regarded them as approaching to a declaration of war. The reserve forces were called out, and it was afterwards known that orders had been sent to the Indian government to send 7000 native troops to Malta, and that we had prepared to occupy the island of Cyprus, and land an armed force on the coast of Syria.

Lord Derby feeling that he could not remain in the ministry sent in his resignation, and the Marquis of Salisbury was appointed to the direction of foreign affairs, Mr. Gathorne Hardy (Lord Cranbrook) taking the India office. After much contention Russia agreed to submit the terms of the treaty to a congress, which was to assemble at Berlin on the 13th of June. Somewhat to the surprise of the public the prime minister announced the intention of himself accompanying Lord Salisbury to attend it.

The result of the conference was that a treaty was signed intrusting Austria to occupy Bosnia and the Herzegovina, an arrangement which Lord Beaconsfield afterwards admitted was made for the purpose of placing another power as a block to a Russian advance on Constantinople. The organization of these provinces was left to Austria. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were to be independent, the latter state receiving the seaport of Antivari and some adjoining territory. The Balkans were to be the southern frontier of Bulgaria, which was made tributary to the sultan, but with an independent government under a prince elected by the people, with the assent of the contracting powers and the confirmation of the sultan. South of the Balkans a state was to be created called Eastern Roumelia, which was to be under the direct authority of the sultan, who, however, was not to send thither any of those irregular troops whose atrocities had aroused so much indignation. Roumania was to restore to Russia a part of Bessarabia which had been detached by the treaty of 1856, and in exchange was to receive from Russia part of the Dobrudscha, including Silistria and Magnolia. The Porte was bound to come to some arrangement with Greece for the rectification of the frontier; to "apply to Crete the organic law of 1868;" to hand over to Russia Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum; and to pay a war indemnity.

The congress having concluded its sittings, with a settlement by which Russia did not do very badly after all, Lord Beaconsfield returned to London, where he was received with enthusiastic acclamation, and after a kind of ceremonial procession from the railway-station addressed the multitude from a window of the Foreign Office. He said: "Lord Salisbury and myself have brought you back peace, but a peace, I hope, with honour, which may satisfy our sovereign, and tend to the welfare of the country." For some time afterwards

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word. Lord John Russell had used the phrase five-and-twenty years before, when in a speech at Greenock he had said: "If peace cannot be maintained with honour it is no longer peace." The Berlin treaty was accomplished, and Lord Beaconsfield's presence at the conference may have had considerable effect. Not the effect which the Jingoes attributed to it, however; for, so far as England was concerned, instead of the terms of the treaty having been proposed and settled by acute and authoritative discussion, it was afterwards discovered that there had been a "diplomatic correspondence" and secret engagements with Russia and Turkey, which in effect had already settled most of the clauses of the proposed treaty, and had been agreed on and signed at the Foreign Office before the meeting of the congress.

We have not yet done with the Eastern question.

While the treaty of Berlin was supposed to shut the front gate to India, the marauder seemed to be plotting to gain an entrance by the back door.

We have already noted the early disturbances in connection with the occupation of Cabul.[1] It now seemed as if that terrible story was about to be repeated. Dost Mahomed had left as his successor the Ameer Shere Ali, whose claims were resisted by the other sons, so that after many vicissitudes of war he did not gain firm possession of the Afghan capital till 1868. He conceived that he had little reason to love the English, who had refused to guarantee him against the advance of Russia, and had recognized his rivals Afzul Khan and Azim Khan as *de facto* rulers of Cabul during their successful resistance to his claims. In 1869 Lord Mayo, the viceroy—whose assassination by a native in the Andaman Islands was one of the darkest events in 1872—had paid him an official visit and furnished him with six lacs of rupees and some artillery.

We had refused to protect him against the hostile advances of Russia; but we were equally were friendly. In 1878, when the result of the protests made against Russia's advance upon the Turkish provinces was uncertain, a Russian envoy was sent to Cabul with the apparent object of concluding some kind of alliance with the Ameer. This, of course, would, if not frustrated, have been a serious injury to that imperial policy which had found some expression by an addition to the royal title which was to be used only in relation to India. If Russia sent an envoy England must have a mission. The changes which had been made in the office of viceroy of India in 1876 had led to the resignation of Lord Northbrook, and Lord Lytton (better known to readers of verse by his nom de plume of Owen Meredith), the son of the brilliant novelist, succeeded him, for what reason or what special capacity nobody seems to have discovered at that time. He was prepared to carry out the policy of the government, and, without regard to the protests of Shere Ali, the mission was sent to Cabul. It was stopped on the frontier by an officer of the Ameer, who refused to allow it to pass till he had the authority of his chief. This was regarded as a deliberate refusal, the manner of which demanded a resort to force; and a British force supported the mission and marched to Gandamuk, a place between Jellalabad and Cabul, where they formed a camp. Meantime Shere Ali died; his son Yakoob Khan, with whom he had quarrelled, came to the throne, professed a desire to be on friendly terms with the British, and went into the camp. A treaty was entered into to pay the Ameer £60,000 a year in exchange for the frontier, the "scientific frontier," as Lord Beaconsfield had called it, to be occupied by the British. A British representative was to be resident at Cabul, and the Ameer was to be assisted to defend himself against any foreign enemy. Almost before the ink of the treaty was dry and while the sound of applause at the dexterity with which we had occupied Cabul and Candahar, and so could keep Russia out of India, was still ringing, news came that Sir Louis Cavagnari, the English envoy, and nearly all the officers of the mission with the

[1] Vol. i. p. 288; vol. ii. p. 7.

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native escort, had been murdered by insurgents in Cabul. They had been attacked in the residency by a crowd of fierce but cowardly foes, who came upon them like a horde of wolves. The Englishmen, seeing nothing for it but to fight, made a swift sudden sally and drove back the crowd that thronged the gate, and then rapidly retired, leaving some of the enemy dead—many of them driven headlong by blows from the fist, for the officers were not completely armed. Even repeated sallies like this were of no avail, the mob, pressed forward by increasing numbers, closed upon them; they were overwhelmed and slain. It was war then, of course, and there was no time to lose. The forces that came to stop the British advance were defeated with heavy loss, and General Sir Frederick Roberts held Cabul with the troops under his command, Sir D. Stewart reoccupying Candahar. Yakoob Khan abdicated, and with some of his advisers was sent to Peshawur. This caused a general insurrection in the country round Cabul, the leaders of which ordered an attack on the forces of Sir Frederick Roberts, who had retired to the cantonments of Sherpur to await reinforcements. Before any aid arrived our troops had beaten their assailants, whose leaders fled, and Shere Ali Khan, the Afghan governor of Candahar, having remained loyal to the English, was left as inpendent ruler, while Sir D. Stewart marched with part of his force to Cabul to assume supreme command. On the way he met and defeated an Afghan army, probably raised by the fugitive chiefs, near Ghuzni. He then continued negotiations which made Abdul Rahman Khan, son of Afzul Khan, Ameer of Cabul.

It was to General Sir Frederick Roberts, however, that the great achievement of the campaign was due; and, but for the skill and almost unparalleled boldness of that commander and the unyielding courage of his men, a great disaster might at the last have befallen the British arms. In June, 1880, Ayub (a brother of Yakoob Khan), who had taken up his position at Herat, marched against Candahar with a large force. General Burrows advanced to oppose him, but some of the native troops deserted to the enemy, and he was severely defeated at Maiwand, and had to fall back in confusion on Candahar, which was closely invested by Ayub Khan. Reinforcements were delayed for want of transport, the crisis was becoming dangerous, when Sir Frederick Roberts set out with his army of 10,000 men on a forced march from Cabul to Candahar, a distance of about 300 miles, through a difficult and hostile country. The heat was tremendous, and there was some fighting to be done on the way, but in three weeks the journey was accomplished. The men, without hesitation, attacked the enemy, and gained a brilliant victory, which re-established the prestige and the temporary power of the British arms, and enabled us to place the administration, as well as the ameership, in the hands of Abdul Rahman Khan, and to retire from Cabul, leaving "the scientific frontier" to remain an expression without much practical meaning.

The gallantry and remarkable generalship of Sir Frederick Roberts was perhaps not so completely recognized as some subsequent successes by other generals have been, but he was honoured with the thanks of the queen and the country, and his name and that of his army is still associated with the deed of prowess which alone seemed to give some lustre to a war undertaken without counting the cost and singularly barren in results.

Alas! there was, if possible, a still worse and less honourable enterprise before the country in what was known as the Zulu war. It is so recent that a few lines only need be devoted to it.

The various states of South Africa differed so considerably that it was not at first easy to unravel their claims, still less their alleged grievances. There were Cape Colony and Natal directly under British control. There was the Transvaal, the territory north of the Vaal river, a Dutch republic, with a population of 40,000 Europeans and 250,000 Kafirs and natives. There was the Orange Free State, formed by Dutch settlers who emigrated from Cape Colony because they disliked British rule, and whose independence had been recog-

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LIEUT. GEN. SIR FREDERICK S. ROBERTS, G. C. B.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

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nized. On the north side, beyond the Limpopo river, the Transvaal bordered on the vast wilderness of the interior, where Moffat and Livingstone visited the Bechuanas and other great tribes. Next to the Orange State lay Basutoland and Natal, under British rule, and bordering on Natal the country of the Zulus. The inability of the Boers of the Transvaal to defend themselves against the Zulu Kafirs induced the British government to offer to take charge of the additional territory in the presumed interest of the European population as against the numerical superiority of the natives. Some of the native tribes were sufficiently organized to be regarded rather as uncivilized communities than as mere savages, and though we had in 1874 put down a so-called insurrection under the chief Langalibabele, and punished him with imprisonment, it was thought by many that we acted in a high-handed manner.

It may be mentioned here that Dr. Colenso, the Bishop of Natal, was deeply and conscientiously interested in the wellbeing of the Zulus, and repeatedly denounced, while he more than once mitigated or prevented, the injustice and misunderstanding under which they suffered.

The Boers of the Transvaal had been defeated by one chief, Secocoeni, and were in constant peril from the Zulus, and yet they would not treat them with consideration. Judging from recent events it would seem that some of the Zulu chiefs, Cetewayo, for instance, was little less worthy of respect and conciliation than the subjects of the South African Volksraad; but Cetewayo, as the greatest chief and ruler of the Zulus, detested the Boers, who had, he believed, injured him, and who held territory which he with justice claimed to belong to his people, while he was frankly anxious to be on friendly terms with the English, and to pay allegiance to the English sovereign. Under these circumstances the British government made what appears to have been the greatest possible mistake with respect to both parties. In response to some vague representation it proposed to the Boers that the Transvaal should be annexed to British territory that it might have due protection, and sent out Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who, without waiting for an exact decision either there or at home, proclaimed the annexation. It undertook to arbitrate on Cetewayo's claim, and after finding in his favour sent out Sir Bartle Frere, who, as lord commissioner, instead of doing prompt justice, kept back the award, treated the Zulu chief with marked dislike, and at length, after having exasperated him, and aroused his suspicions by delay, demanded as a condition of the award that the Zulu troops should be disarmed and disbanded, and return to their homes. This demand not being immediately complied with Zululand was invaded by British troops; but we had undervalued the ability of Cetewayo and the strength of those whom we had converted into enemies.

News of a defeat at Isandula came here at a time when the pendulum of public opinion was about to swing back. The spirits of those who had been boasting and singing, and declaring "by Jingo," felt a little dashed at the disaster; and though, when Lord Chelmsford, who was in command, retrieved his position so completely that on the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley the war was over, and Cetewayo was quickly made a prisoner, the blow loosened the hold of the government, and "imperial policy" was spoken in lower tones. One event which gave a darker shadow to the war in Zululand was the death of the young prince imperial, the son of the late Napoleon III. and the widowed Eugenie, ex-empress of the French. The youth, who was of good and fair promise, had studied in a military school at Woolwich, and offered to serve as a volunteer on Lord Chelmsford's staff. He went out with a small reconnoitring party, which was surprised by the enemy, who slew him with their assegais.

The determination to annex the Transvaal met with no better result than the invasion of Zululand. The soldiers who came to reinforce the Boers found themselves among enemies, and friendly annexation was interpreted into armed invasion, ending in defeat which it would have been ignominious to avenge. The mistakes of 1877–79 had to be remedied by another government, by the long-deferred release and restoration of Cete-

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wayo, and the abandonment of hostilities against the people of the Transvaal, who had apparently been the victims of misrepresentation.

Before passing from the Eastern question a word must be said about Egypt. One of the earlier manifestations of the policy afterwards adopted by the government was the purchase from the khedive in 1875 of the 176,000 shares which he held in the Suez Canal. There were 400,000 shares altogether, and he held nearly half of them, but he was nearly ruined by extravagance and debauchery, and they came upon the stock-exchange, where the British government bought them for £4,000,000 sterling. A few people there were who had grave doubts of the wisdom of the investment, but the majority first thought of it as a subtle thing, an artful move of Disraeli's, and afterwards as a rather bold, characteristic way of showing foreign nations that we meant to keep our hold upon the road to the East. As a matter of fact it was, perhaps, worth while to give to England a large interest in a commercial undertaking in which our trade was certain to play a prominent part, and to be able to hold some influence over M. de Lesseps, a somewhat self-assertive and arrogant personage, as recent events have shown.

But we soon had a more distinctive influence in Egypt by what was known as the dual control, which gave to France and England the administration of the financial affairs of the country in the interests of the European creditors. In 1876 Mr. Goschen and a representative of France unravelled the tangled skein of Egyptian finance, arranged the loans so that creditors could be paid at some sacrifice, placed the khedive on a fixed allowance, and brought the whole of Egyptian finance under European control, taking the regulation of railways, the collection of the revenues, disbursements of the state, care of the funds, and payments of debts, the Egyptian minister of finance being quietly deposed. This arrangement concluded by the appointment of controllers-general by England and France. The scheme was opposed by Lord Derby, but was to by Lord Salisbury at the pressing solicitation of France, and because of the appeals of the prodigal khedive. Subsequently the affairs of this involved exchequer required the appointment of an extra liquidation commission, and in 1881 the capital debt under various "loans" amounted to above £98,000,000, with a floating debt of £5,000,000. It will readily be understood that the administration of many of the chief offices by Europeans gave rise to much dissatisfaction. How far this may have influenced the commencement of the insurrection under Arabi Pasha in 1882 it would be difficult to say.

The dual control virtually ceased to exist when France held back from supporting the authority of the khedive against the rebel general, with whom it was believed he was treacherously in accord till the insurrection in Alexandria rendered it necessary for our government to send a fleet under Admiral Seymour to protect European residents, and the acts of the insurgents compelled us to suppress what had by that time become a rebellion.

We must now return to affairs in parliament and the country which have marked the progress or the vicissitude of later years. Reference has already been made to the Irish party and the Home Rulers, who were directed in parliament by Mr. Butt until his death. Had he lived it may well be believed that their proceedings would have been less unreasonable, and in a parliamentary sense more reputable; but they had already begun a "policy of exasperation," as he himself had named it, and it was marked by wilful and irrational obstruction of the whole legislative business of parliament for the purpose of coercing the government or of perpetuating the confusion and disaffection by which professional political agitators seek to profit. The conspiracy to obstruct the business of the government first conspicuously succeeded in 1877, on the 31st of July, when the house, determined not to be controlled by a handful of men who endeavoured to pervert its forms, voted over and over again against repeated motions for adjournment, and sat for twenty-six hours.

In 1879 the O'Conor Don introduced a bill

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to deal with Irish university education, but the government brought in a bill of their own, creating a convocation which would elect an examining body, with the power to confer degrees on approved candidates and to organize a system of scholarships and fellowships to be provided for by annual votes in parliament.

Towards the end of 1879 there was an ominous sound in the political atmosphere, the sound of the Liberal forces mustering for battle at the coming elections. Parliament had not run its entire course of seven years; but it has mostly been regarded as an unwritten law that parliament shall prepare to dissolve at the end of the sixth session. Mr. Gladstone challenged the ministry to appeal to the country. There were numerous symptoms that a change was desired. Trade was depressed, there was much want and distress among the followers of some of the chief industries. In Ireland there were symptoms of increased difficulty, and everywhere there was that kind of dissatisfaction which often succeeds great excitement and frequent surprises. The Liberals were not in high spirits; the ministry seemed to cling to office as though they meant to extend the duration of parliament to its furthest limit, and feared an appeal to the electors. Suddenly the dissolution was announced for the 24th of March, 1880. When the elections began there was no longer uncertainty. The country appeared to have been reconverted to Liberalism, and awakened to keen interest. Mr. Gladstone could rely on his supporters in Scotland. At the time when his opponents triumphed, and he was being abused and suspected, he had been elected to the rectorship of the University of Glasgow, though a cabinet minister was the other candidate. He had now determined to carry the electoral conflict into Midlothian, and there to test the strength of Liberal principles. On the 29th of December, 1879, Mr. Gladstone was seventy years of age, but he entered into the contest with undiminished spirit and energy. "The Midlothian campaign," as it came to be called, has almost become historical. The number of places at which he spoke, the large audiences he addressed, the results in gaining seats for Liberal candidates, and his own return by 1579 votes against 1368 polled by Lord Dalkeith, son of the Duke of Buccleugh, proved that the Liberal cause had been well maintained. The representation of Leeds, too, had been open to Mr. Gladstone, but he was already pledged to Scotland; and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the youngest son of the Liberal leader, having unsuccessfully contested Middlesex with Lord George Hamilton, was returned for the cloth city.

It was obvious that Mr. Gladstone could no longer refuse to resume his place at the head of the Liberal interest, nor was it more than a momentary question who should be prime minister. The result of the elections was the return of 351 Liberals and 240 Conservatives, as against 351 Conservatives and 251 Liberals in the previous parliament. The Home Rulers numbered 61, as against 50 in the former elections. In the first speech made at Edinburgh by Mr. Gladstone on his electoral journey he had referred to his political opponents, and concluded by saying:

"I give them credit for patriotic motives; I give them credit for those patriotic motives which are so incessantly and gratuitously denied to us. I believe that we are all united, gentlemen—indeed, it would be most unnatural, if we were not—in a fond attachment, perhaps in something of a proud attachment, to the great country to which we belong—to this great empire, which has committed to it a trust and a function given from providence as special and remarkable as ever was entrusted to any portion of the family of man. Gentlemen, I feel when I speak of that trust and that function that words fail me; I cannot tell you what I think of the nobleness of the inheritance that has descended upon us, of the sacredness of the duty of maintaining it. I will not condescend to make it a part of controversial politics. It is a part of my being, of my flesh and blood, of my heart and soul. For those ends I have laboured through my youth and manhood till my hairs are gray. In that faith and practice I have lived; in that faith and practice I will die."

This declaration touched a chord in the heart of the country, which had not ceased to

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demanded payment or had ejected tenants, occupiers of farms or dwellings from which former tenants had been expelled for non-payment of rent, and persons who had agreed to work for anybody who had paid his rent or refused to join the League, were liable to assault, or to continued persecution by which life was endangered. None dared to claim compensation for outrages committed on them: no one dared to prosecute. Anarchy was approaching, and only those who defied the law were safe from the bullet of the assassin or the assault of the ruffian.

The government was obliged to act, and to act swiftly and sternly. The remedy was summary: for it was to give power to the lord-lieutenant to issue a warrant for the arrest of any person whom he might suspect of treasonable or agrarian offences, and to detain him as a prisoner without trial till September, 1882. This part of the Protection of Life and Property Bill was, of course, vehemently opposed by the Irish party, while many Liberals advocated the introduction of remedial instead of coercive measures. Mr. Bright (chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) reminded the house, amidst assent from the Home Rulers, that he had formerly stood up for Ireland, and said that he had not at these times thought all the proposed coercive measures necessary, the basis of his hostility to them having been that they were not accompanied by any remedial measures, or even by any admission of grievances; but now a land bill was promised and would be brought in. The state of terrorism in Ireland was made patent to everybody, by letters from all classes of persons, and by the speeches of the leaders of the movement itself, who boasted that the Land Leaguers had superseded the law of parliament. The leaders of the Land League, he declared, had demoralized the Irish people —a statement received, of course, with considerable protests from the Home Rulers. The Irish party had commenced to carry out threats of obstruction, and the house had sat twenty-two hours. The next sitting lasted for forty-one hours, during which motions for adjournment were made over and over again by the Home Rulers, and rejected by the house. Members of each party came in detachments to relieve those who had carried on the struggle. It was an absurd and monstrous spectacle, to see a few men, by merely technical opposition, wilfully preventing legislation and delaying the entire work of the session against the great majority of the house. At length the speaker declared, amidst the support of the majority, that a new and exceptional course of procedure was imperatively demanded, and that he was satisfied he should carry out the wishes of the house if he declined to call on any more members to speak. The question was then put, amidst cries of privilege from the Home Rulers, who were vehement in demanding all the privileges of precedent, protection, and law, to enable them to defy and deride all law and order. Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

The tactics of exasperation were continued, and were borne with exemplary patience until they grew beyond endurance, when it became necessary to adopt those rules of procedure without which the Land Leaguers would have coerced the House of Commons as they and their followers had coerced honest and law-abiding people in Ireland. Premeditated efforts to delay and frustrate the business of the country were diversified by premeditated insults to the prime minister, and shameless accusations against members of the government, or anyone who ventured to differ from the extreme Irish party.

The reports of all the commissions, with one exception, agreed that it was of vital importance to establish a court for the purpose of dealing with the differences between landlord and tenant, and for the protection of tenants against arbitrary increase of rent. But it was also necessary to maintain the right of assignment or sale of tenant-right, the old law of the country recognizing the right of the tenant to sell whatever interest he possessed in his tenancy, which by the act of 1870 had become something considerable; so that the commissioners had recommended a recognition of it, and that it might be enforced without injustice to the landlord. The cardinal feature of the bill, then, would be the court, to which, however, an appeal would not be com-

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pulsory but optional. This court, which would also act as a land commission and regulate all the proceedings of the local courts, would consist of three members, one of whom must always be a judge or an ex-judge of the Supreme Court, and it would have power to appoint assistant commissioners and sub-commissioners to sit in the provinces. Every tenant would be entitled to go to the court to have fixed for his holding a "judicial rent," which would endure for fifteen years, during which there could be no eviction of the tenant except for specific breach of certain specific covenants or non-payment of rent. There would be no power of resumption on the part of the landlord during this time, and his remedy would have to take the form of a compulsory sale of the tenant-right. After the fifteen years had expired application might be made to the court for a renewal of tenancy *toties quoties*. The conditions as to eviction would remain if the tenancy were renewed, but the landlord would have a pre-emption of the tenant's right if the latter wished to sell. The court, in fixing the rents, would control the unlimited growth of rental and of tenant-right. There were other provisions of the bill which protected tenants and extended the advantages of the rules of the court even to those who were under the Ulster custom, or who did not choose to apply to the court itself.

By the second part of the bill the *Land* Commission would be enabled to realize a scheme for supplying landlords ready to sell and tenants desiring to purchase their holdings. In such cases the commissioners would have power to advance, to tenants intending to purchase, three-fourths of the purchase-money, or one-half of the purchase-money when the tenant agreed to pay a price to the landlord and to hold from him at a fee farm rent. The rest of the purchase-money might be borrowed elsewhere, and purchasing tenants would be indemnified against encumbered estates or defective titles. The Land Commission could purchase an estate and resell it in small lots to the tenants if three-fourths of them, paying not less than three-fourths of the total rent, desired to become holders. Advances for this and other purposes were to be charged at the rate of 3½ per cent, and repayable in thirty-five years. Advances might be made for agricultural improvements for the reclamation of waste lands: when state aid was met by a corresponding outlay of private capital, or in cases where there was a baronial guarantee, the Treasury would advance three-fourths of the cost of projected improvements. Advances to be determined by parliament were also to be made to assist emigration. The result of the bill would be to restrain the increase of rent by certain rules, to regulate compensation for disturbance, to establish the right of the tenant to sell his interest, to prevent evictions except for default, and to forbid resumption by the landlord except for grave and reasonable causes, which might be brought in question before the court.

We need not follow the distracting and protracted debates and obstructions amidst which the bill went through committee, and, with several modifications, became law. It passed at last; and though Lord Salisbury endeavoured to introduce changes which would have made some of the clauses in favour of the tenant nugatory, and other alterations of a cancelling character were proposed, the measure was at last completed, and at the outset began to work well, in spite of the efforts of agitators to discredit the courts and the government.

Of the recent horrible assassinations in Phœnix Park, Dublin, and the attempts to destroy life or property by dynamite, nothing will be said here. Those who advocate, promote, or cause them may profess to be representative Irishmen, but they are doing their worst to remove Ireland from the sympathy or the regard of mankind.

In noticing offences against the law, and especially crimes of violence, it should be remarked that according to the statistics issued the number of indictable offences within the last ten years in England, Wales, and Ireland indicate a slight increase of crime in recent years, both absolutely and relatively to population. The number of crimes reported to have been committed was uniformly smaller in Ireland than in England and Wales. The ten years from 1871 to 1880 included five years of great

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prosperity of trade and high wages, and five years of decline of trade and lower wages. The average of the two periods of five years had been, per 1000, England and Wales from 1875, 1·98; Ireland, 1·36; from 1876 to 1880, England and Wales, 2·09; Ireland, 1·37. Indictable offences were thus shown to have been greater in number during the five good years. As to Ireland, the larger number of crimes at the commencement and end of the periods 1871–72 and 1879–80 was clearly due to the relations between landlords and tenants. Although during the last ten years there had been a slight increase of crime, the number of persons committed for trial had diminished in every part of the United Kingdom, which points to the fact that the graver crimes had diminished in number. In Scotland and Ireland the proportion of committals was uniformly greater than in England and Wales. On an average of ten years the percentage of convictions was 78 per cent in England and Wales, 76 per cent in Scotland, and 55 per cent in Ireland; in 1880 the proportion in Ireland was only 50 per cent. This is suggestive, especially as in Ireland the proportion of convictions in cases of offences against property was considerably greater than in offences against the person. In England, in 1880, 72 persons were apprehended for murder; of these 13 were discharged for want of evidence or want of prosecution, or 18 per cent of the whole, and 59 committed for trial, or 82 per cent. In Ireland in the same year 53 persons were apprehended for murder; 37, or 69 per cent, were discharged for want of evidence, and 16, or only 30 per cent, committed for trial. Of 61 committed for trial in England, 28, or 46 per cent, were convicted; of 35 committed for murder in Ireland, only 3, or 8½ per cent, were convicted. In proportion to the population the offences against public order were 5·13 to the thousand in Scotland against 1·16 in England. The offences against morals were in the proportion of 0·21 to the thousand in England, against 0·04 in Ireland. Offences against the person were 11·58 to the thousand in Scotland, against 2·82 in England; and the offences against property 6·6 per thousand in Scotland, against 2·27 in Ireland. Drunkenness was worst in Ireland, being 16·60 per thousand, against 6·77 in England and 7·26 in Scotland. But for drunkenness and small crimes the criminal statistics were favourable to Ireland. What aggravated the state of crime in Ireland was the recurrence of political offences, and agrarian crime was seldom absent from Irish criminal jurisprudence; but no criminal was brought to justice although the offences were often grave. In lawlessness and drunkenness Dublin and Edinburgh were much worse than Middlesex. Generally the agricultural counties had less crime than the manufacturing and mining counties. The deposits in savings-bank, &c., as a rule showed greater where crime and drunkenness were least. The bulk of criminals were illiterate. It was not easy to define to what extent drunkenness was the direct or indirect cause of crime.

In education Ireland compares unfavourably with England and Scotland. One quarter of the population is unable to read and write. The progress in education made in the last fifty years has, however, been great, for in 1841 the proportion of illiterates to the population was 53 per cent. In 1851 it had fallen to 47, in 1861 to 39, in 1871 to 33, and in 1881 to 25. The eastern and northern provinces stand on an equality in regard to education, the proportion of illiterates in each being 20 per cent, but Leinster has made rather the greater progress, the proportion there having been 44 in 1841, while in Ulster it was but 40. In Munster there are 29 persons out of every 100 unable to read or write, and in Connaught 38. Forty years ago the percentage of illiterates in the western province was as high as 72. The untaught are distributed among the religious denominations in the following proportions:—Roman Catholics, 30·1 per cent; Episcopalians, 10·9; Presbyterians, 7·1; and Methodists, 5·5. The greatest progress as regards primary education seems to have been made among the Roman Catholics. But the number of Protestant Episcopalian children attending the National Schools has increased in ten years by 54 per cent, and this is regarded as a proof of the subsidence of re-

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ligious prejudice. It is worth notice that, in spite of the former denunciation of the Queen's Colleges by the priesthood, the percentage of Roman Catholic students in the three colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, increased between 1871 and 1881 by 76·1 per cent; in Cork alone, the number of Roman Catholic students rose from 88 to 179.

In 1880 there left our shores for the United States, 69,081 English, 14,471 Scotch, and 83,018 Irish; for British North America, 13,541 English, 3221 Scotch, and 4140 Irish; for Australasia, 15,176 English, 3059 Scotch, and 5949 Irish; for all other places, English, 14,047; Scotch, 1305; Irish, 534. The grand total is 227,542, compared with 164,274 in 1879. Including foreigners, 332,294 individuals left our shores, 281,560 as steerage, and 50,734 as cabin passengers. Of the former 156,150 sailed from Liverpool, 26,058 from London, 19,068 from other English ports; 26,340 from Glasgow; and 53,944 from Londonderry and Cork, all of whom went to America, in the proportion of 17 to the Republic to 1 to the Dominion.

The total of those who went to British North America was 29,340; to Australia and New Zealand, 25,438; to the East Indies, 4527; to the British West Indies, 1543; to the Cape and Natal, 9803; to British possessions in Central and South America, 2203; and 2166 to all other British possessions.

The proportion of male to female emigrants was nearly 5 to 3, namely, 203,294 to 129,000; but among British subjects only, the relations of the sexes were somewhat different, and in round numbers there were 13 males to 9 females. The Irish took most women with them, which is an indication of a more permanent separation from the mother country, their relations being 48 men to 45 women; the English were 7 to 4, and the Scotch 13 to 8. Of the 188,950 adults of British origin of both sexes, 19,971 men and 25,239 women were married, the explanation of the excess being that the surplus women were going out to join their husbands; 92,470 were single men, 51,197 were spinsters; and there were also 38,592 children under twelve years of age.

The excess of emigrants to, over immigrants from, the various countries in 1880 was as follows:—United States, 140,052; British North America, 16,214; Australasia, 18,274; all other parts, 5995. Compared with the previous year, the increase to the United States alone was 68,000, while the reduction to Australasia was more than 50 per cent upon the figures of the previous year. In 1876 and 1877 between 60 and 70 per cent of the whole excess of emigration was to Australasia. In 1880 it was less than 10 per cent of the whole.

The emigration of persons of Irish origin, which had fallen very low between 1875 and 1879, suddenly rose in 1880 to 93,641, or 12,000 in excess of the annual average of the previous ten years. The proportion of Irish emigrants to the total from the United Kingdom, which had fallen to about 25 per cent, rose to 41 per cent. The figures being:—English emigrants, 111,845, or 49 per cent of the whole; Scotch, 22,056, or 10 per cent; Irish, 93,641, or 41 per cent.

The Roman Catholic Church is still, as it always has been, the dominant religious community in Ireland. Its members, according to the census of 1882, numbered 3,960,891, or 76·54 per cent of the whole population. Protestant Episcopalians numbered 639,574, or 12·36 per cent; Presbyterians, 470,734, or 9·10 per cent; and Methodists, 48,839, or a little less than 1 per cent. The proportion of Roman Catholics to the population has declined since 1861 more than one per cent, and still shows a slight tendency to decline. The proportion of Episcopalians shows a progressive but very small tendency to rise, and the same may be said of the Methodists. The proportion of Presbyterians to the population is a little smaller than in 1871, but larger than in 1861. The decline in the Roman Catholic population is believed by the census commissioners to be due entirely to emigration. The Roman Catholics are most numerous among the poorest of the people, and it is the poorest who have contributed the largest proportion of emigrants.

In 1881 and 1882 emigration, and especially Irish emigration, continued. The enemies of Ireland in parliament who recommended sedition, and those outside who recommended

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dynamite, made life and property insecure. The obstructors of legislation prevented the employment of labour, and perpetuated the misery of the country.

We cannnot pass from our references to the important measures of the ten years under review without dwelling for a moment on the bill which makes employers liable to pay damages for injuries sustained by work-people in their service in consequence of carelessness or neglect of persons in authority over them: the Ground Game Bill, which permits farmers to kill hares and rabbits on their farms: and the Burials Bill, permitting any persons to bury their dead in the churchyards of the district where there is no public cemetery.

One of the most beneficial and equitable measures, however, is the Married Women's Property Bill, by which at last protection is given to women against the rapacity and cruelty of worthless husbands.

The Married Women's Property Act of 1870, with an amending statute (correcting an inadvertence) of 1874, secured to a married woman for her absolute use the wages which she earned by her own labour and the profits of her own skill in literature, art, or other employment. Deposits in savings banks, property to which she became entitled as next of kin, and pecuniary legacies not exceeding two hundred pounds, were also made her own and placed at her own disposal. This significant assertion that the marriage should not be held to annihilate the individual rights of a woman was greatly extended and simplified by the act of 1882. The very first sub-section provides that "a married woman shall . . . be capable of acquiring, holding, and disposing by will or otherwise of any real or personal property as her separate property in the same manner as if she were a *feme sole*, without the intervention of any trustee." The same section goes on to declare that she may enter into contracts without the intervention of her husband, and abolishes the rule whereby, if she brings an action at law, or is sued by some one else, her husband must be "joined for conformity."

After providing that any contract entered into by a married woman shall be presumed, unless the contrary be expressed, to bind her separate property, and subjecting her to the law of bankruptcy if she engages in trade, the act proceeds in the second clause in these words: "Every woman who marries after the commencement of this act shall be entitled to have and to hold as her separate property, and to dispose of in manner aforesaid, all real and personal property which shall belong to her at the time of marriage, or shall be acquired by or devolve upon her after marriage."

A woman married before the commencement of the act is entitled to all the property which shall accrue to her after that date. When a married couple are living apart, either of them is subject to criminal proceedings for interfering with the property of the other, just as if they had never been married. A married woman may accept any trust, or become executrix or administratrix, without the consent of her husband.

Let us, in conclusion, devote a few minutes to those evidences, which may give us hope for the future maintenance of commercial and social prosperity.

The progress of the country cannot be doubted. Our wealth does not diminish, and there are signs that it continues to increase. Our commerce is maintained, though some of the conditions of trade have altered, and are likely to undergo many further changes. The amount of revenue derived from customs and excise has remained at about the same figure during the past three years, that from excise having increased during the year 1882, when the figures were—customs, £19,275,268; excise, £27,170,798; as compared with £19,210,465, and £25,372,183 for the year 1881.

The total income for the year 1882 amounted to £85,921,532, which shows a small increase on the previous year, and an increase of four and a half millions on that of 1880. There was little opportunity, however, for that retrenchment which it is the professed aim of the Liberal government to promote; for retrenchment can only be achieved by the adoption of the two other watchwords which have yet to be translated into action—"peace" and "reform." Of the eighty-five and a half millions of revenue, about twenty-nine and a half

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millions went to pay the interest of debt, chiefly incurred by the cost of former wars and provision against war; and an equal sum for the payments for maintaining the present army and navy, and for the legacy, left by the previous government, of the remaining liabilities for the Afghan and South African wars —£535,000 and £500,000 respectively. In 1878 there was £3,500,000 for our share in the Russian-Turkish war; in 1879 and 1880, for the war in South Africa, £4,744,920; and, in 1881, for the Afghan war, £500,000. This brings us to the conclusion that at present debt and war, including provisions for protection against invasion, cost about sixty-nine per cent of the whole revenue, and that about sixty-five per cent of that revenue is derived from customs, excise, and income-tax—above a million and a half being derived from what is called house-tax—an impost inflicted on the tenant in place of the window-tax, which in 1851, as a tax on light, was repealed, and the house-duty substituted.

Another sign of the national enterprise to which reference may be made is the advance of our shipping and carrying trade. As Mr. Hyde Clarke, who spoke at a meeting of the British Association, well said, it is impossible to form any true estimate of our imports and exports and of our national industry without taking this powerful element into account. The total tonnage entered and cleared of ports in the foreign trade alone, shows as:— 1850, 14,000,000 tons; 1860, 24,000,000 tons; 1870, 36,000,000 tons; 1880, 58,000,000 tons. Thus the increase in thirty years was fourfold. The same result is obtained if vessels with cargoes are alone taken. If we take the English tonnage engaged in this trade we find— 1850, 9,000,000 tons; 1860, 14,000,000 tons; 1870, 25,000,000 tons; 1880, 41,000,000 tons. The amount of foreign tonnage engaged in this trade increased only fourfold. It must be noted also that our steam tonnage largely increased in this epoch. Thus we have to deal with two leading classes of facts—first, the increase of our shipping trade; second, the development of our steam marine. In considering the nature of the growth of our trade and that of other countries we must take into account how the world has developed within the last forty years. There are the enlarged territory and production of North America, the advance of South America, the practical opening of Africa west and south, the growth of the Australian colonies, and the increase in Indian produce by the construction of railways. Then, as Mr. Clarke reminded his hearers, there are the opening up of the Pacific World, the discovery of gold in California and Australia, the cargoes from the west coast of South America, Peru, and Chili of guano, nitre, wheat, and copper. If nothing else had occurred, the vast expansion of trade in the Pacific must have produced great effects, and at least doubled the trade of the world.

Forty years ago steam played but an inconsiderable part in foreign trade. Sailing ships, or steamers with wooden hulls, were made with the timber of the United States, Canada, Norway, and Russia, and were fitted with the hemp of Russia and other countries. Our materials for ship equipment were chiefly imported from abroad, and we had to pay the foreigner for them, while the foreigner had great advantages for engaging in the same enterprise. Now, the hulls are made of iron and steel, the rigging and cables also, the engines are of metal, and a chief working material is coal. As all these articles, so far as we are concerned, are of home production, we no longer have to import them, we no longer have to pay a tax for acquiring them, and we turn to account the products of our own soil. The foreigner is seldom able to compete with us. The Americans, who have the advantage of home timber, have lost that resource, and their home iron is produced under less favourable circumstances. Thus, by the addition and application of steam in iron and steel vessels, the economical conditions of our shipping trade have been greatly altered, and inasmuch as the trade of the world has expanded, so do we obtain not only our share of the increase of this trade, but a share enhanced by our possession of advantages in the new mode of carrying.

Even an outline of the increase of those material advantages which promote national and social progress, not only in England but

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throughout the civilized world, would not be complete without reference to the amazing development of the means of transit and of communication; and from a table of railway mileage published in 1882 it would appear that Germany comes first with 21,500 miles, followed by Great Britain, 18,200; France, 17,200; Russia, 14,600; Austria, 12,000; Italy, 5500; Spain, 4900; Sweden, 4600; Belgium, 2500; Switzerland, 1565; Holland, 1435; Denmark, 1160; Roumania, 920; Turkey, 870; Portugal, 660; and Greece, six miles. As for the receipts of British railway companies their total in 1869 was only £41,000,000; but it was £62,962,000 in 1880, £64,338,000 in 1881, and was still increasing. The receipts from third-class passengers, which specially illustrated the condition of the working-classes, increased from £7,000,000 in 1869 to £15,000,000 in 1880.

In Great Britain there were 26,465 miles of telegraphic lines, as compared with 59,090 miles in Russia, 43,650 miles in France, 31,015 in Austria-Hungary, and 14,265 miles in Germany—Germany coming first with the total length of wires, having 159,910 against 134,465 miles in Russia, 125,265 in France, and 121,720 in England. But the total number of messages in 1881 showed for England 29,820,445; France, 19,882,628; Germany, 16,312,457; Austria-Hungary, 8,729,321; and Russia only 7,298,422.

In England the gross amount received and the gross amount expended in respect of the post-office telegraph service from the date of the transfer to the government to the 31st March, 1880, were remarkable. The gross amount received from 1870 to March 31, 1880, was £11,592,160, 18*s.* 3*d.*; and the gross amount expended £9,920,597, 9*s.* 7½*d.* In the year 1880 the gross amount received was £1,469,795, 6*s.* 6*d.* The capital account amounted to £10,529,577.

The computed population of England and Wales in 1871 was 22,760,359. In 1881 it was 25,798,922. The increase from 1840 to 1881 had been 10,068,109. In Scotland there were 3,666,375 persons in 1871, and 3,695,456 in 1881, an increase of 1,094,764 since 1840. In Ireland in 1871 the population was 5,386,708, and in 1881 5,294,436, whereas in 1840 the population was estimated at 8,155,521, and increased in remarkably uncertain proportions till 1846, when the decrease commenced, which has continued chiefly through emigration in fits and starts, but during the years from 1845 to 1854 at a great rate, afterwards in less proportion till 1875, when the decrease on the previous year was 5350. In 1876, however, there began a definite increase on the population of 1875 of 12,124, and in the following year a further increase of 17,288. In 1879 and 1880 the increase was maintained at above 12,000 for each year, but fell again in 1880 to 226, and in 1881 had been replaced by a decrease of 32,663, a diminution which is somewhat significant as illustrating the results of that kind of agitation which stimulates to crime and outrage and removes the safeguards of society. The whole population of the United Kingdom in 1871 was 31,513,442, and in 1881 34,788,814.

The population in the large towns has increased. Birmingham had increased from 340,000 to 400,000; Liverpool, from 493,000 to 552,000. Manchester had only slightly increased; but Salford had increased from 124,000 to 176,000; Bristol, from 182,000 to 206,000; Leeds, from 259,000 to 309,000; Leicester, from 95,000 to 122,000; Nottingham, from 129,000 to 186,000; and Coventry, from 41,000 to 47,000. The ratable value of Birmingham, Liverpool, and other towns has also greatly increased.

The number of electors in 1880–81 was 2,399,370 in England, 138,440 in Wales, 310,218 in Scotland, and 229,461 in Ireland, making a total of 3,077,489. The assessments in counties, boroughs, and universities amounted to £418,223,601 English, £14,631,847 Welsh, £54,782,336 Scotch, and £34,222,230 Irish, or a total of £521,860,014.

There has been an increase in the foreign trade, export and import, of the United Kingdom, as shown by the entries and clearances in the British ports, of 60 per cent in the ten years from 1870 to 1880. The volume of our trade has been continually increasing.

The total real value of imports and exports from and to our colonial possessions was in

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1881, £178,220,852, exclusive of bullion and specie. Our foreign exports and imports represented in 1865, £489,903,861; in 1875, £655,551,900; in 1881, £694,105,264, which was nearly three millions less than the totals of 1880.

The real value of goods imported in 1875 was £373,939,577; in 1880, £411,229,565; and in 1881, £397,022,489; the value of British produce exported in 1875 was £223,465,963; and of foreign and colonial produce exported, £58,146,360. In 1880 the figures were £223,060,446 and £63,354,020; and in 1881, £234,022,678 and £63,060,097.

In the forty-one years from 1840 the increase of the value of goods imported had risen in 1881, 540 per cent, the increased value per head of the population being £11, 7*s.* 4*d.* as against £2, 7*s.* 6¾*d.* The value of British produce and manufactures exported had risen from £51,308,740 to £234,022,678, or 356 per cent, and the proportion per head from £1, 18*s.* 9*d.* to £6, 14*s.* These figures are very full of suggestion. They mean a vast accession of comfort, a much larger supply of food, a remarkable improvement in the condition of the labouring population. They also suggest that with increasing freedom of commerce trade has increased, and that the national ledger shows under the head of foreign traffic the gigantic total of more than fourteen thousand millions sterling for the twenty-eight years from 1854 to 1881 inclusive.

One more word on this subject. Since the remaining shilling duty and some other restrictions were removed from foreign grain in 1870, the proportion of food brought here from abroad has vastly increased. In the twenty-one years from 1849 to 1869 the importations were about 583,000,000 cwt. of wheat and wheat flour, 110,000,000 cwt. of barley, 109,000,000 cwt. of oats, 183,000,000 cwt. of maize, and a total, including large quantities of peas and beans, of 1,046,123,490 cwt. In the *twelve* years from 1870 to 1882 the figures were about 677,000,000 cwt. of wheat and wheat flour, 132,500,000 cwt. of barley, 143,500,000 cwt. of oats, 334,000,000 cwt. of maize, and a total of 1,334,701,083 cwt., a proportionate increase the date of the removal of the remaining restraints upon food supply. It must be remembered, too, that the increase in national prosperity has been accompanied by that steady and compatible increase of population which is itself sometimes an evidence of wellbeing.

One glance may be taken at the vast extent and the constantly increasing commercial relations of that colonial empire the contemplation of which seems to dwarf the physical and numerical proportions, while it enhances our sense of the vigour and intense vitality of the portion of the realm in which we live.

From the North American colonies to the teeming provinces of British India, from the West India Islands to Africa, Fiji, and the Australias, the computation is made from year to year, and may be regarded as approximately accurate when it recounts that the British Empire, including the United Kingdom, consists of an area of 7,926,737 square miles, with a population of 240,753,111, a revenue of £181,332,505, an expenditure of £189,153,411, a debt of £1,069,699,974; imports, including bullion and specie, of £491,345,959 value, exports of £393,078,218 value, and a total of shipping, inwards and outwards, but excluding the coasting trade, of 56,541,708 tons, of which 44,469,846 tons is British.

With these stupendous figures this record may well close, for from the seeming dry bones of such statistics there should arise in the imagination of the reader a great living nation—a nation which has held a foremost place in the councils of the world, and has gone forth from the small island which is its central home, not only conquering and to conquer, but to increase and multiply and to replenish the earth.

This "land of old and wide renown, where freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent," has too often followed bad traditions, and yielded to unwise counsel in its relations to the world. It has gone out to fight when it might have made peace by bravely refusing to draw from the scabbard a sword of which all men knew and many had felt the smiting power; it has sometimes inter-

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them into conflicts that have stayed the onward march of mankind; it has more than once been duped by foreign statecraft and fooled by its own rulers, who threw high stakes for place and pride. British temper has occasionally appeared to be overbearing, or British policy has had a temporary look of truckling. But with all these faults Britain has stood forth in the main as the upholder of truth and justice, as the vindicator of freedom and the claims of human progress. The voice of the nation has many a time risen clear and strong above mere party cries, above the murmurs of those who thought either to lead or to drive, but found the halter shaken loose in their grasp, the goad piercing their own hands. Oftener still there has arisen some great leader like him whose name stands as part of the title of this book—a man clear in purpose, resolute, and strong; with his face set towards one goal, his life earnestly devoted to promoting, with unflagging zeal, the moral and political improvement of the country, the advancement of free institutions, and the progress of a higher education.

One more word. Every reader of these pages, old or middle-aged or young, is in one way or other helping to make or to mar the

young especially, who are presently to be th
men and women to whom the position
England is to be intrusted, will have to star
in the world's great highway either as pa
tisans or as patriots, and on their action th
future progress of the nation will depen
They may by trying to face both ways pe
suade themselves that they are politician
They may stand and block the road again
their fellows, and profess that they a
thereby acting for the security of the whc
people. They may try to turn back the a
vancing army and for a moment make co
fusion in the ranks; they may be urged o
ward in breathless haste by pretentious, lou
mouthed demagogues, and, missing the roa
find themselves obliged to seek a way of esca
from the mires of self-seeking, of unbelief a
of false doctrine; or they may, with an e
that is single and full of light, pursue t
course of peace, justice, and truth, and of th
righteousness which exalteth a nation. T
time is not far distant when a vaster multitu
of men, if not every man and woman, w
have a voice in the government of the cou
try; but that time should not—let us tru
that it may not—arrive till there is go
reason to hope that no voice shall ring o
with a treacherous or an uncertain cry.

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INDEX.

Abd-el-Kader, his defence of the Christians in Damascus, iv 65.
Aberdeen, Earl of, colonial secretary in Peel's ministry, i 130; foreign secretary, i 318; forms a coalition ministry, ii 316; disinclined for war, iii 24; resigns office, iii 147; his death, iv 42.
Abyssinia, condition of, iv 244; cruel conduct of King Theodore, iv 245; an expedition sent out under General Sir Robert Napier, iv 246; capture of Magdala and death of Theodore, iv 247; Mr. Disraeli on the expedition, iv 247.
Achilli, Dr., converted Catholic lecturer, iii 8; great libel case, iii 8.
Adams, Mr., discovers the planet Neptune, ii 176.
Adelaide, Dowager Queen, death of, ii 206.
Adelaide, Queen of William IV., popular prejudice against, i 58.
Administrative reform, organization of association to obtain, iii 161; discussion in the House of Lords on, iii 161; public demand for, iii 179.
Adullamites, the, iv 216.
Adulteration of food and drink, revelations made by the *Lancet*, iii 229.
Afghan war of 1840-42, ii 7; Dost Mohammed gives himself up to the British, ii 8; Sir Robert Sale starts from Cabul for Jellalabad, ii 8; treachery of Akbar Khan, ii 8; terrible retreat of the British, ii 8; attempted advance of Colonel Wild's force, ii 10; General Pollock advances to relieve the garrisons in Afghanistan, ii 10; forces the Khyber Pass, ii 11; General Sale relieved at Jellalabad, ii 11; gallant defence of General Sale's force, ii 11; General Pollock captures the Khoord-Cabul Pass, and defeats Akbar Khan, ii 11; enters Cabul, ii 12; the gates of Somnauth carried away, ii 12; causes of the Afghan outbreak, ii 12; end of the war, ii 12; war of 1878, iv 319; Gen. Sir Fred. Roberts' victory, iv 320.
Africa, exploration in, iv 20, 198.
Agricultural distress, Mr. Cobden moves for inquiry into, ii 75; Mr. Miles' motion concerning, ii 76; Mr. Disraeli's speech on, ii 76; Sir Robert Peel's reply, ii 77; failure of the crops in 1845, ii 85; Harriet Martineau on the failure of the potato crop, ii 86.
Agricultural improvements, iii 2; iv 2.
Agricultural labourer, condition of the, iv 310; strikes among, iv 311; Mr. Arch's agitation, iv 311; end of the struggle, iv 312.
Alabama privateer, built in England, iv 135; her depredations, iv 136; destroyed by the *Kearsarge*, iv 136; settlement of claim for damages, iv 288.
Albert, Charles, King of Piedmont, takes the lead in insurrectionary movements in Italy, ii 152; looked on with suspicion by Mazzini and his coadjutors, ii 152; defeated at Novara, ii 152; abdicates in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, ii 153.
Albert, Prince, visit to England, i 292; Baron Stockmar's opinion of him, i 294; his education and accomplishments, i 295; is informed of King Leopold's desire for his marriage with Queen Victoria, i 296; makes a tour in Italy accompanied by Stockmar, i 296; disparaging rumours as to his principles, i 300; his proposed annuity reduced by the vote of the house, i 301; the question of precedence, i 302; receives in 1857 the title of Prince Consort, i 302; his enthusiastic reception on landing in England, i 303; his marriage, i 304; appointed regent in the event of the queen's death, i 304; his manners and study of politics, i 304; dissatisfaction at his presence at the debate on Peel's free-trade budget, ii 100; his industry, ii 131; success of the Great Exhibition of 1851 due to him, ii 231; popular misunderstandings of him, ii 232; his influence on university education, ii 233; views on the situation before the Crimean war, iii 27; his alleged share in the resignation of Lord Palmerston, iii 45; his character vindicated and political status asserted, iii 49; visit to the French emperor, iii 97; his opinion of Napoleon III., iii 98; his letters to the queen and the emperor, iii 99; speech on the need for confidence in government, iii 178; his interest in the improvement of the condition of the people, iii 216; efforts to establish model dwellings, iii 217; speech at educational conference at Willis' Rooms, iii 218; he draws up code for the organization of volunteers, iii 325; president of the British Association for the Promotion of Science, iii 325; his great industry, iv 44; letter on the training of boys for the royal navy, iv 46; narrow escape from a carriage accident, iv 47; the twenty-first anniversary of his marriage, iv 49; poor state of his health, iv 51; his visit to Sandhurst and to the Prince of Wales at Cambridge, iv 51; his amendments on the despatch concerning the *Trent* dispute, iv 52; his illness becomes serious, iv 52; last moments and death, iv 53; grief of the nation, iv 53; Mr. Gladstone's tribute to his memory, iv 53; passage from Dean Milman's sermon, iv 55; funeral of the prince, iv 56.
Albert Memorial, inauguration of the, iv 200.
Albert Nyanza, discovery of, iv 20.
Albums, period of, i 188.
Aldershott, camp at, iii 132.
Alexandra, Princess, betrothed to Prince of Wales, iv 144; her enthusiastic reception in London, iv 144; her marriage, iv 145.
Alfred, Prince, begins his nautical career, iii 324; his visit to Cape of Good Hope, iv 43; is elected to the throne of Greece, iv 145; attempt to assassinate, iv 257.
Alien Act, amendment of, ii 2.
Allied fleets sent to the Dardanelles, ii 25.
Alma, battle of, iii 95; news received in England, iii 104.
Althorp, Lord, chancellor of the exchequer, i 69; character of, i 80; his usefulness in passing first reform bill, i 81; resigns office, i 124; again chancellor of the exchequer, i 126; succeeds to the title of Earl Spencer, i 126.
Amazon steamship, burning of, ii 276.
Amusements for the people, iii 217 degrading and refined amusements iv 7, 8.
Anatomy Act of 1832 passed, i 176.
Anderson, John, extradition case between the United States and British governments, iv 106.
Annuities and Assurances, Mr. Gladstone's scheme for, iv 172.
Anti-Corn-law agitation, i 278; great meetings at Manchester, i 278; the meetings prohibited and dispersed, 279.
Anti-Corn-law Association, the Manchester, i 275; organize lectures through the country, i 277; meetings disturbed by Chartists, i 277.
Anti-Corn-law Conference, i 278.
Anti-Corn-law League, origin of, i 275 erects a pavilion at Manchester, ii 24 great banquet and working-men's dinner, ii 24, 25; petitions and distribution of tracts, ii 25; opposed by the Chartists, ii 25; work done by the ladies committee, ii 27; great bazaar to raise funds, ii 27; opening of the Free-trade Hall, ii 28; is charged with responsibility for the murder of Sir Robert Peel's secretary, ii 38; repudiation of the charge at a meeting in Manchester ii 41; London becomes its headquarters ii 42; Kohl's account of the League and its mode of operations, ii 42; attitude of many tenant-farmers and landowners, ii 49; work of the League in agricultural districts, ii 49; meetings in Covent Garden Theatre, ii 51; Drury Lane Theatre refused, ii 55; important accessions to its ranks, ii 55, 56; the *Times* on the League, ii 55; its revision of the electoral register, ii 57; Mr

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Cobden's advice to the people, ii 57; statistics of the League's growth, ii 83; great bazaar in Covent Garden Theatre, ii 83; seeks to provide voting qualifications, ii 83, 84; great meeting at Manchester during the Irish famine, ii 90; successful appeal for funds, ii 91; its influence in the country, ii 95; dreaded by the Duke of Wellington, ii 95; dissolution of the League, ii 115; handsome presents to its chief supporters, ii 115; its revival, ii 297, 303.
Analytic Sanitary Commission of the *Lancet*, superintended by Dr. A. H. Hassall, iii 229.
Anglo-French alliance, letters of Napoleon and Prince Albert, iii 275.
Arch, Mr. Joseph, iv 311.
Arctic exploration, ii 203.
Argyll, Duke of, lord privy seal in the Aberdeen ministry, ii 317, and in Palmerston's ministry, iii 151; his early career, iii 304; his writings and wide social influence, iii 304; his marriage, iii 304; character of, iv 212; secretary for India, iv 270.
Arkwright, Richard, his spinning frame, i 275.
Arms, improvement in, iii 326.
Armstrong, Sir William, invention of improved gun, iii 326.
Arnaud, Marshal St., in the Crimea, iii 92; is attacked by cholera, iii 94.
Arnold, Dr., his influence on public school life, ii 175.
Arrow, case of the lorcha, iii 198.
Ashantee, war in, iv 304.
Ashley, Lord. See *Shaftesbury*.
Attwood, Mr., motion in House of Commons to consider the Five Points of the Charter, i 261.
Auchterarder case, the, ii 166.
Auckland, Lord, Governor-general of India, appoints General Pollock to the command of an Afghan expedition, ii 9.
Australia, first settlement in, ii 192; ceases to receive convicts from Britain, ii 194; Australian Colonies Government Bill introduced and passed, ii 197; Mr. Gladstone proposes an ecclesiastical constitution for the Australian colonies, ii 197; discovery of gold in, ii 201; statistics of, ii 202; exploration in, iv 20.
Australia, South, misgovernment of, ii 190; representative government granted to, ii 190.
Austria, insurrection in, ii 155; war with Prussia, iv 236.
Austria and Italy. See *Italy*.
Ayrton, Mr., on her Majesty, iv 239; is rebuked by Mr. Bright, iv 239.
Aytoun, Mr., his motion on the Maynooth Grant and the Regium Donum, iv 266.
Aytoun, Professor, death of, iv. 198; his works and literary position, iv 198.

B.

Baker, Sir Samuel, explorations in Africa, iv 20.
Balaklava, occupied by the allies, iii 97; attacked by the Russians, iii 107.
Ballot, advocated by George Grote, i 107; discussions on, iv 307; bill passed, iv 308.
Baly, Dr., killed in a railway accident, iv 42.
Bandiera, story of the brothers, i 336.
Bank Act, amendment of, ii 61.
Bank Charter Act, suspension of, in 1857, iii 221.
Barry, Sir Charles, death of, iv 4.
Baths and washhouses, movement for erecting public, ii 178.
Beales, Mr. Edmond, iv 223; his efforts for the Reform League, iv 223; his share in the Hydepark Riots, iv 224; at great trades' demonstration, iv 239.
Belgium formed into a kingdom under Leopold, i 91.
Bentham, Jeremy, his influence on political progress, i 52.
Bentinck, Lord George, his career, i 332; Mr. Disraeli on, i 333; leader of the Protectionists, ii 99; Mr. Disraeli's biography of, ii 99; his mode of improving the condition of Ireland, ii 119; his death, ii 205.
Berlin, congress at, iv 318.
Bessemer, Henry, iv 19, 20.
Bethell, Mr. See *Westbury*.
Betting-offices, evils of, iii 6.
Bishoprics abolished in 1833, i 110.
Blessington, Lady, iii 4.
Bilbury Reservoir, near Huddersfield, bursting of, ii 288; iv 184.
Birkbeck, Dr., establishes mechanics' institutes, i 50.
Birkenhead troopship, wreck of the, ii 298.
Bismarck, Prince, his view of government, iv 154; his conduct in the Austro-Prussian war, iv 237.
Blomfield, Bishop, sketch of, i 47.
Black Friday, iv 235; panic in London, iv 236.
Blum, Robert, leader in Hungarian insurrection, seized and shot, ii 155.
Board of Health, appointment of, ii 181.
Board of Trade returns of imports and exports of food, iv 1, 2.
Bomba, nickname of Ferdinand, King of Naples, iv 66.
Booth, John Wilkes, assassinates President Lincoln, iv 143; is shot, iv 143.
Bowring, Sir John, early history and character, iii 199; appointed consul at Canton and governor of Hong Kong, iii 200; his action in the *Arrow* affair, iii 200.
Bowyer, Sir George, attacks the government for their policy towards Italy, iv 86, 87.
Bradfield Reservoir, bursting of, iv 185.
Bread riots, iii 211.
Brett, murder of Sergeant, iv 253; execution of the murderers, iv 255.
Bribery Bill passed, iv 267.
Bright, John, his birth and early training, ii 31; meets with Richard Cobden, ii 31; elected member for Durham, ii 31; his first interview with Mr. Cobden, ii 51; Mr. Cobden induces him to join the corn-law agitation, ii 51; his position in regard to the Crimean war, iii 61; his unpopularity during the war, iii 68; speech in Edinburgh against war, iii 73; speech in the House of Commons, iii 79; he refuses to contribute to the Patriotic Fund, iii 118; his opposition to the French alliance, iii 118; speech on the popularity of the war, iii 119; letter to his constituents, iii 120; loses his seat, iii 120, 204; farewell address to his late constituents, iii 205; his appeal to the government on behalf of peace, iii 154; his outlines of a reform bill, iii 289; opposes Disraeli's reform bill, iii 290; is elected member for Birmingham, iii 290; his address at Glasgow on parliamentary reform, iii 296; speech on the income tax, succession duties, and the relations between France and England, iii 317; his scheme for reforming taxation, iii 330; speeches on church-rates, iv 15; on the right of the House of Lords to interfere with taxation bills, iv 28; on the prosperity and institutions of the United States, iv 103; president of the Board of Trade, iv 269; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, iv 289.
Britannia Tubular Bridge, completion of, ii 175.
British Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting in Manchester, i 277.
Brooke, Sir James, Rajah of Sarâwak, i 290; his career in Borneo, ii 157; his proceedings discussed in parliament, ii 158; returns to England and is well received, ii 159; appointed governor of Labuan but removed, ii 159; Mr. Gladstone on his proceedings, ii 159.
Brougham, Lord, opposes Wellington administration, i 32; elected member for Yorkshire, i 60; his great industry and fame, i 61; disliked as a coadjutor, i 62; amiable in private life, i 62; his personal appearance and vanity, i 63; his reckless use of personalities, i 63; not a great lawyer, i 64; extent of his knowledge and literary powers, i 65; appointed lord-chancellor, i 69; personal quarrel between him and Earl of Durham, i 125; his criticism on the weakness of the cabinet in the Commons, i 127; is disliked by the king, i 127; he advocates repeal of stamp-duty on newspapers, i 189; his antagonism to Lord Melbourne, i 220; is reconciled with Lord Lyndhurst, i 221; he proposes in the Lords the abolition of the corn duties, ii 33; his claims on the gratitude of the nation, ii 46; opposes Lord Lyndhurst's married women bill, iii 12; applies for letters of naturalization in France, intending to offer himself as candidate for presidentship, iii 13; Lord Brougham in 1859, iii 304; his address to working men at Sheffield in 1865, iv 241; death of, iv 198.
Brown, John, his efforts on behalf of the slave, iv 92; is tried and sentenced to death, iv 95; letter from prison to a Quaker lady, iv 98; his execution, iv 99.
Brown, Sir George, at the battle of the Alma, iii 96.
Browning, Mrs., poem on tyranny in Naples, Hungary, and Italy, ii 139.
Bruce, Frederick, sent to Pekin to ratify the treaty of Tien-tsin, iv 59.

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Bruce, Henry A., home secretary, iv 270.
Brunel, Mr., makes the Thames Tunnel, ii 175.
Brussels, insurrection in 1830, i 91.
Buckland, Dean, outcry against, ii 176.
Budget: of 1840, i 306; of 1841, i 308; of 1842, i 330; ii 19, 34; of 1844, ii 60, 62; of 1845, ii 69; of 1846, ii 96; of 1852, Mr. Disraeli's, ii 310; Mr. Gladstone's first, ii 329; of 1854, iii 52, 57; supplementary budget, iii 59; of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, iii 163, 164, 219; of Mr. Disraeli in 1858, iii 289; of Mr. Gladstone in 1859, iii 316; of 1860, iii 331; of 1861, iv 31; of 1862, iv 119; of 1863, iv 146; of 1864, iv 171; of 1865, iv 173; of 1866, iv 212; of 1869, iv 273; of 1871, iv 287.
Bull Run, battle of, iv 115.
Buller, Charles, ii 206.
Bulwer, Sir E. Lytton, on newspaper stamp-duty, i 189; his speech on reform bill of 1866, iv 216.
Bunsen, Chevalier, death of, iv 38.
Burdett, Sir Francis, fined and imprisoned, i 2; deserts the Liberals, i 97.
Burke, Colonel, Irish-American agitator, iv 252.
Burking, i 176.
Burmah, war with, iii 197; annexation of Pegu, iii 197.
Burnes, Sir Alexander, murdered in Cabul, ii 8.
Burton, Captain, explorations in Africa, iv 20.
Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell, advocates the abolition of slavery, i 22, 146.
Byron, Lord, intimacy with Lady Caroline Lamb, i 316.

C.

Cabinets: Canning's, i 27; three cabinets in seven months, i 30; Wellington's, i 30; Grey's, i 69, 90; Melbourne's, i 98, 126, 145, 158, 233; Peel's, i 130, 158, 231, 318; ii 91; Russell's, ii 116; iv 182; Derby's, ii 296; iii 287; iv 222; Aberdeen's, ii 316; Palmerston's, iii 150, 292; Disraeli's, iv 235, 292; Gladstone's, iv 269, 323.
Cairns, Sir Hugh, supports Disraeli's reform bill of 1859, iii 291; is solicitor-general in the Conservative administration, iii 303; his rapid promotion, iii 303; Bulwer's description of him, iii 303.
Cambridge, Duke of, at battle of the Alma, iii 96.
Campbell, Sir Colin, birth and education, iii 305; enters the army, iii 305; services in the Peninsula, in America, Demerara, China, in India under Lord Gough, in the Scinde campaign with Sir Charles Napier, and in the Crimea, iii 305; at the battle of the Alma, iii 96; appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in India, iii 255; relieves Lucknow and removes the non-combatants in safety, iii 258; announces the close of the rebellion, iii 268; is made Lord Clyde, iii 268.
Campbell, Lord, his early career and literary work, iii 304.
Campbell, Thomas, death of, i 286.
Canada, revolt in, i 221; causes of discontent, i 222; the cause of the colonists advocated by Mr. Hume, i 224; bill introduced to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada, opposed by Mr. Roebuck, i 224; appointment of the Earl of Durham as governor-general, i 225; complaints of his policy, i 227; he resigns, i 227; bill granting indemnities to people whose property had been injured during insurrection, ii 195; discussed in the British parliament, ii 196; Fenian raid on, iv 251.
Canning, George, his early life and political views, i 7; his oratory, i 20; his administration, i 27; death, i 29.
Canning, Lord, succeeds Lord Dalhousie as Governor-general of India, iii 245; outcry against his policy, iii 271; his proclamation regarding the landowners of Oudh, iii 272; success of his policy, iii 273; appointed first Viceroy in India, iii 275; his death, iii 273.
Canrobert, General, commander of the French troops in the Crimea, iii 104; the queen's description of him, iii 104; resigns his command, iii 135, 164.
Canton captured by the allied forces, iii 276.
Cape of Good Hope, opposition to the landing of convicts, ii 195.
Capital punishment, efforts to abolish, ii 17; statistics of, ii 17; commission on, iv 168; public executions abolished, iv 169.
Carbonari, ii 145.
Cardigan, Earl of, his share in the blunder at Balaklava, iii 109; his quarrelsome disposition, iii 109.
Cardwell, Mr., president of the Board of Trade, ii 317; Indian secretary, iii 151; he resigns, iii 154; secretary for war, iv 270; his army reforms, iv 286.
Caricatures of HB, i 97.
Carlisle, Lord, his early career, i 334; Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, iii 151.
Carlyle, Thomas, on the abolition of slavery, i 154; on Chartism, i 251, 262; on emigration, 254; on the Poor-law Association, ii 288; his *History of the French Revolution*, ii 163.
Caroline, Queen, trial of, i 6; her death and funeral, i 39.
Castlereagh, Lord, suicide of, i 19; his kindness of manner, i 133.
Cathcart, Sir George, killed at Inkerman, iii 112; letter from the queen to his widow, iii 112.
Catholic Association, the, i 25.
Catholic Emancipation, i 19; refusal of Canning to oppose, i 27; bill brought in by Peel and passed, i 33; it fails to restore order, i 36.
Cavignari, murder of Sir Louis, iv 319.
Cavour, Count, his early career, iii 133; induces Sardinia to join France and England, iii 134; his policy during Garibaldi's movements, iv 71; difficulties from Garibaldi's successes, iv 75; his circular to the courts of Europe, iv 77; his death, iv 42, 83.
Cawnpore, mutiny at, iii 251; its defence by Sir Hugh Wheeler, iii 252; Nana Sahib's treachery and cruelty, iii 252; General Havelock captures, iii 256.
Cecil, Lord Robert, iv 169; his charge against Mr. Lowe, iv 170.
Cemeteries, outside of cities, ii 18.
Chalmers, Dr., ii 165; Sara Coleridge's criticism on his manner, ii 166.
Chamber's *Edinburgh Journal* begun, 1832, i 112.
Chartism, Carlyle on, i 251, 262; the Six Points, i 258; meetings at Birmingham, Manchester, and London, i 258; imprisonment of Henry Vincent, i 260; the National Petition, i 261; Mr. Attwood's motion, i 261; apprehension of the secretaries of the National Convention, i 261; meeting and riots in Birmingham, i 261; sentences on the prisoners, i 262; arrest of Feargus O'Connor, i 262; arrest and transportation of Frost, Williams, and Jones, i 263; end of Chartism, i 263; Disraeli's description of some Chartist doings, i 265; Chartists try to stir up the people, i 280; Harriet Martineau on, i 280; causes alarm in London, ii 148; the second National Petition, ii 148; attempt to put down public meetings, ii 148; meeting on Kennington Common, ii 149; Earl Russell's account of the proceedings, ii 149; its after effects, ii 149.
Chatham, Earl of, advocates parliamentary reform, i 1.
Cheap trains for the working-classes, iv 153.
Childers, Mr., first lord of the admiralty, iv 270.
China, opening up of, i 290; first war with, i 290; capture of Nankin and Hong-Kong, i 290; large war indemnity, i 290; second war with, iii 196; seizure of the crew of the lorcha *Arrow* by the Chinese and demand for their restoration, iii 198; Mr. Parkes applies to Sir John Bowring, iii 199; the men sent back, but apology refused by Governor Yeh, iii 200; bombardment of Canton, iii 201; Lord Lyndhurst's speech in the House of Lords, iii 201; Mr. Cobden's pamphlet, iii 201; he condemns the government action, iii 202; defeat of the government, iii 202; Disraeli and Gladstone on the government's policy, iii 203; Canton taken, iii 276; capture and death of Commissioner Yeh, iii 277; Mr. Frederick Bruce sent to Pekin to ratify treaty of Tien-tsin, iv 59; the Taku forts defended, iv 60; Admiral Hope attempts to storm them, iv 61; Baron Gros and Lord Elgin sent out with a sufficient force, iv 61; taking of the Taku forts and march towards Pekin, iv 61; cruel treatment of the allied commissioners by the Chinese, iv 61; release of the prisoners and surrender of Pekin, iv 62; indignation of the troops, iv 62; destruction of the Summer Palace, iv 62; conclusion of the convention, iv 63.
Chisholm, Mrs., her efforts on behalf of emigrants, ii 199.
Chloroform, opposition to the use of, ii 177.
Cholera in 1831, i 109; in 1849, ii 178.

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Christian, Duke of Glucksburg, becomes King of Denmark, iv 146.
Christian Socialism, ii 50.
Chupatties in the Indian mutiny, iii 247.
Church of England Mr. Gladstone's account of revival in, i 45; influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge on, i 48; position of the, iv 200; Mr. Disraeli's speech on, iv 200; evangelical movement in, iv 202; secessions to Church of Rome, iv 203; Dr. Colenso's book, iv 204; action on *Essays and Reviews*, iv 205.
Church of Ireland, the bill of 1833, i 122; Mr. Ward's motion in 1834, i 123; the king receives a deputation on, i 130; statistics of, i 137; debates on the Irish Tithe Bill, i 135; defeat of the ministry, i 144; the bill abandoned by the Melbourne ministry, i 146; Mr. Dillwyn's motion on the, iv 174; Mr. Gladstone's views, iv 175; conversion of tithe into rent charge, iv 259; early attempts at disestablishment, iv 260; Mr. Gladstone's resolutions introduced, iv 263; majority against the government, iv 265; bill for disestablishment and disendowment introduced, iv 270; debate on, iv 272; opposition to the bill, iv 274; its reception in the Lords, iv 274; becomes law, iv 275; work of the commissioners, iv 275; a new constitution drawn up, iv 276.
Church of Scotland, application for aid to extend, i 213; opposition to, i 213, 214.
Church extension in London, iv 200.
Church-rates, unsuccessful attempt to abolish, i 180; Sir John Trelawney's bill for the abolition of, iv 13; agitation concerning, iv 13; Mr. Disraeli on, iv 13; Mr. Hubbard's bill, iv 13; Bishop of Exeter's conciliatory proposal, iv 13; Sir John Trelawney's bill again brought in, iv 14; thrown out on second reading, iv 16; introduced a third time, but thrown out, iv 16; compulsory church-rates abolished, iv 295.
Clarendon, Lord, foreign secretary, iv 270.
Clerkenwell Prison, outrage on, iv 255.
Cobbett, William, outlines of his career, i 99; lectures on political subjects, i 101; is prosecuted for seditious writing, i 102; a contemporary description of his appearance and manner of speaking, i 102; is returned for Oldham, i 103; his want of success in parliament, i 103; his death, i 103; character of, i 104.
Cobden, Richard, enters parliament, i 313; his connections with trade, and early writings, ii 23; begins to advocate repeal of the corn-law, ii 24; devotes himself entirely to this work, ii 25; is elected for Stockport, ii 32; addresses the House of Commons on the bread-tax, ii 32, 33; quarrel between him and Peel, ii 39; his influence with foreign audiences, ii 51; he moves for an inquiry into the effect of legislative protection, ii 75; his position with regard to the Crimean war, iii 61; his home at Dunford, iii 63; his outline of a people's anti-war budget, iii 65; his efforts for the prevention of war, iii 66; criticism on the mode of conducting the war, iii 67; his unpopularity during the war, iii 68; addresses his constituents on the war, iii 141; loses his seat, iii 204; on the evil effects of war, iii 210; is offered the post of president of the Board of Trade by Lord Palmerston, iii 292, 293; is elected for Rochdale, iii 293; his account of the interviews with ministers, iii 293, 294; his refusal of office, iii 295; is present at Lady Palmerston's reception, iii 295; his efforts to bring about a commercial treaty with France, iii 297; his interview with Napoleon concerning the treaty, iii 319; impressions of the emperor, iii 320; M. Rouher's plan of a commercial treaty, iii 320; interviews with Count Walewski and the emperor, iii 320; his letter to Mr. Bright, iii 321; his opinion of Prince Napoleon, iii 322; on the degrading effects of war, iv 7; his health gives way, iv 179; refuses lucrative office, iv 179; his death, iv 180; Mr. Bright's remarks on, iv 180.
Cochrane, Lord. See *Dundonald*.
Cockburn, Lord, his early career, ii 219; speech on the Don Pacifico business, ii 219; personal appearance and qualifications, ii 220; is attorney-general, ii 317.
Coffee-houses, establishment of cheap, ii 18.
Colenso, Dr., consecrated Bishop of Natal, iii 44; his book, iv 204; his action for recovery of salary, iv 205.
Coleridge, S. T., his influence, i 186; a great talker, i 186.
Colonies, misgovernment of, ii 190; appeals for representative government, ii 192; motion for a royal commission to inquire into the administration of the colonial possessions, ii 196; schemes of emigration to, ii 198.
Combe, Dr. Andrew, ii 176.
Combe, George, discussion about his writings, ii 176; his reply to Baron Stockmar's letter, ii 176; on the diminution of aristocratic feeling, ii 177.
Commercial depression in 1836–7, i 276; commercial crisis in 1847, ii 176; commercial failures in 1866, iv 235.
Commercial morality, lack of, iv 190.
Concerts, popular, iv. 8.
Congregational Union of England and Wales founded, i 110.
Conservative government, the first, i 130.
Conservative party, increase in, after the reform bill was passed, i 200.
Conspiracy to Murder Bill, introduced by Lord Palmerston, iii 284; debate on, iii 285; defeat of the government, iii 287.
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, passing of, iv 2.
Coomassie entered, iv 306.
Cooper, Thomas, writes *The Purgatory of Suicides*, i 282.
Co-operative societies, started, ii 150; successfully conducted in Rochdale, iv 130, 131; objects of the Rochdale society, iv 131, 132; its rapid success, iv 132; employment of surplus capital, iv 133; capital of the various branches, iv 133; progress temporarily checked by American civil war, iv 134.
Copley, John Singleton. See *Lyndhurst*.
Copyright, international, between Britain and France, iii 1.
Corn-law rhymes, i 23.
Corn-laws, agitation against, i 23, 273; growing demand for their repeal, ii 19; Sir Robert Peel's sliding-scale, ii 19; opposition to it, ii 21; large majority for government, ii 23; amendment by Mr. Villiers for the total abolition of the duty, ii 23; great banquet of Anti-Corn-law League, ii. 24; dinner by working-men, ii 25; increase of associations for the repeal of the, ii 25; opposition of Chartists, ii 25; conference of ministers of religion, ii 26; exertions of the ladies' committee, ii 27; opening of the Free-trade Hall, ii 28; Mr. Bright advocates the abolition of the duty, ii 31; Mr. Duncombe's motion to reassemble parliament to consider the, ii 37; passionate discussion on, ii 37; reduction of duty on Canadian grain, ii 53; motions by Lord John Russell regarding, ii 84; increasing demand for repeal on account of the famine in Ireland, ii 87; Sir Robert Peel's conviction, ii 88; differences in the cabinet, ii 88; Lord John Russell's conviction, ii 89; majority of the cabinet against abolition, ii 90; Duke of Wellington supports Peel, ii 90; startling announcement by the *Times*, ii 90; resignation and return to office of Sir Robert Peel, ii 91; renewed effort of the League, ii 91; Peel's proposals to reduce the duties, ii 96; discussion of, ii 97; the bill passes, ii 106.
Corrupt practices at elections, bill to prevent, i 28.
Cotton, prices of, during the civil war, iv 126; efforts to promote its growth in British colonies, iv 129; Mr. Gladstone on the cotton famine, iv 148.
County Franchise Bill of 1864 thrown out, iv 174.
Couper, Sir George, death of, iv 42.
Courtenay. See *Thom*.
Courvoisier, François, trial of, for murder, and defence by Mr. Phillips, i 306.
Covent Garden Theatre, burnt, iv 8; M. Jullien's concerts at, iv 8.
Cowley, Lord, ambassador at Paris, iii 287.
Crabbe, George, i 186.
Cranborne, Lord, becomes Indian secretary, iv 222; Mr. Disraeli on, iv 264.
Cranworth, Lord, lord-chancellor in the Aberdeen and Palmerston ministries, ii 316, iii 151.
Cremorne Gardens, iv 7.
Crime, statistics of, iv 326.
Crimean war, events which led to, iii 14; attitude of the czar, iii 14; Lord Aberdeen's disinclination for war, iii 20; alliance between England and France, iii 20; letter from Napoleon to the czar, iii 21; foundation of the Russian demands, iii 22; the Russian army takes possession of Moldavia and Wallachia.

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iii 23; the Vienna note, iii 23; excitement in Turkey, iii 24; Lord Palmerston eager for decisive measures, iii 24; the French and British fleets sent to the Dardanelles, iii 25; Turkey declares war, iii 27; Prince Albert and Lord Palmerston on the situation, iii 27, 28; Lord Aberdeen's views, iii 30; Nicholas declares war against Turkey, iii 31; he writes to the queen, iii 31; the queen's reply, iii 32; commencement of hostilities, iii 32; the Turkish fleet destroyed at Sinope, iii 33; the allied fleets ordered to the Black Sea, iii 33; attitude of Prussia and Austria, iii 34; manifesto by the Emperor of Russia, iii 34; the war feeling in England, iii 35; the ultimatum of England to Russia, iii 36; description of the Crimea, iii 37; the poetic English party, iii 38; popular outcry for war, iii 38; the camp at Chobham Common, iii 39; naval review at Spithead, iii 39; departure of troops, iii 40; arrival of the allied armies in Turkey, iii 40; co-operation of the French and English, iii 41; Mr. Gladstone's budget of 1854, iii 52; King of Prussia's letters to the queen, iii 53; the queen's reply, iii 54; the czar's insincerity, iii 56; the budget, iii 357; a supplementary budget, iii 59; attitude of Gladstone, Cobden, and Bright, iii 60, 61; Mr. Gladstone on British interests and the war, iii 68; departure of the Baltic fleet, iii 70, 77; instructions of Sir James Graham, iii 77; correspondence between him and Sir Charles Napier, iii 78; results achieved in the Baltic, iii 79; another Baltic fleet despatched under Admiral Dundas, iii 79; speech by Mr. Bright, iii 79; Mr. Gladstone writing in 1878 on the subject, iii 87; a day of prayer and supplication appointed, iii 88; siege of Silistria, iii 89, 90; Palmerston's plans for the campaign, iii 89; conduct of Austria, iii 89; speech by Lord Lyndhurst, iii 391; plan for the attack of Sebastopol, iii 92; want of information about the Russian preparations, iii 93, 96; Mr. Kinglake and the *Times* on the need for attacking Sebastopol, iii 93; ravages of cholera in the allied armies, iii 93; Varna on fire, iii 94; the armies embark for the Crimea, iii 94; Eupatoria surrendered, iii 95; battle of the Alma, iii 95; march to Balaklava, iii 97; desire of Napoleon to go to the Crimea, iii 99; Sardinia joins the allies, iii 100; General Canrobert commands the French troops, iii 104; strength of Sebastopol, iii 105; attack by the Russians on the allies at Balaklava, iii 107; the charge of the Light Brigade, iii 108; another attack on Balaklava, iii 110; battle of Inkerman, iii 111; insufficency of the commissariat arrangements and sufferings of the men, iii 115; destruction of supplies by a storm, iii 116; blundering of the transport service, iii 117; the *Times'* subscription list for the relief of the sick and wounded, iii 118; the Patriotic Fund, iii 118; refusal of the peace party to contribute to this fund, iii 118; Miss Florence Nightingale and a staff of nurses arrive, iii 122; cholera in the camp, iii 123; picture of the scene between the harbour and the English position, iii 123; courage and patience of the troops, iii 124; Lord Panmure's instructions to Lord Raglan, iii 125; an army of reserve formed at Malta, iii 126; a railway made from Balaklava to the trenches, iii 127; nationalities represented in the Crimea, iii 127; completion of telegraphic communication between London and the seat of war, iii 128; condition of the army at Balaklava, iii 128; dearness of provisions, iii 129; improvement in the camp, iii 129; M. Soyer organizes the culinary service, iii 130; description of the positions, iii 131; recruiting at home and abroad, iii 132; Sardinia enters the alliance against Russia, iii 134; landing of the Sardinian army in the Crimea, iii 135; death of Lord Raglan, iii 136; General Simpson takes the command, iii 136; treaty between England, France, and Austria concluded, iii 138; the four points of agreement as the basis of peace with Russia, iii 138; debate in parliament on the conduct of the war, iii 139; the Foreign Enlistment Bill, iii 140; Mr. Roebuck moves for a committee of inquiry, iii 141, 143; Lord John Russell resigns office, iii 141; Mr. Roebuck's motion carried, iii 147; the government resign, iii 147; Lord Palmerston announces the arrangements for prosecuting the war, iii 152; Mr. Layard attacks the new government, iii 153; Mr. Roebuck presses for a committee of inquiry, iii 153; repulse of the Russians at Eupatoria, iii 155; death of the Czar Nicholas, iii 155; return home of the wounded, iii 158; failure of negotiations for peace, iii 158; proceedings of the commission of inquiry, iii 159; a day of fasting appointed, iii 159; distribution of war medals, iii 164; the losses of the Russians, iii 164; destruction of stores at Kertch, iii 165; capture of the Sapone or White redoubts, the Mamelon, and the Quarries, iii 166; repulse of the French at the Malakhoff, iii 167; repulse of the English at the Redan, iii 167; death of Lord Raglan, iii 167; is succeeded by General Simpson, iii 168; discussions in parliament on the peace negotiations, iii 168; Mr. Lowe's amendment, iii 169; speeches by Gladstone, Bright, Cobden, Sir J. Graham, Lord John Russell, iii 169; Prince Albert on the situation, iii 174; Mr. Gladstone's account in 1877 of the political situation in 1855, iii 175; speech by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, iii 176; the last of the Vienna conferences, iii 177; report of the committee of inquiry, iii 177; danger of the publication of army movements by the press, iii 179; renewed debates on the peace negotiations, iii 179; bombardment of Sveaborg, iii 184; repulse of a Russian attack at the Tchernaya, iii 184; taking of the Malakhoff, iii 185; repulse at the Redan, iii 186; evacuation of Sebastopol, iii 186; cost of the war, iii 187; negotiations for peace, iii 189; conference in Paris, iii 190; peace agreed upon, iii 190; the Crimea evacuated by the allies, iii 192; description of Sebastopol, iii 192; a day of thanksgiving, iii 193; naval review at Spithead, iii 193; rejoicings in London, iii 193; Mr. Gladstone on the terms of peace, iii 194.

Crimes of violence, increase of, iii 232; introduction of the garotte, iii 233; William Palmer the poisoner, iii 234.

Criminal Code, amelioration of, i 177; counsel allowed to prisoners in criminal cases, i 268; restriction of capital punishment, i 268; transportation condemned and abolished, i 271, iii 237; the ticket-of-leave system, iii 238; cruelties in prisons, iii 239; increased carefulness in criminal trials, iv 5.

Croker, John Wilson, i 41.

Crystal Palace, ii 231; previous exhibitions, ii 231; its success due to Prince Albert, ii 231; first proposal of, meets with great opposition, ii 234; Sir Joseph Paxton's design adopted, ii 237; poem by Thackeray on, ii 238; site fixed on, ii 239; preparations for carrying out the plans, ii 240; the opening ceremony, ii 241; the queen's account of the day's proceedings, ii 245; statistics of, and distribution of prizes, ii 248; difficulty as to disposal of the building, iii 2; removed and re-erected at Sydenham, ii 250; use of the surplus money, iii 3.

Custody of Infants Bill, i 273.

D.

Daguerre's improvement of photography, i 271.

Dalhousie, Lord, governor-general of India, iii 243; abolishes suttee, iii 243; prohibits Thuggism, iii 243.

Damascus, massacre of Christians in, iv 64.

Dano-German war. See *Denmark*.

Darwin, Charles, his theory of the origin of species, iv 24; sketch of his life, iv 25; his *Descent of Man*, iv 26.

Davis, Jefferson, president of the Confederate States, iv 89; his early career, iv 100; imprisoned at the close of the war, iv 142.

Deak, Francis, Hungarian statesman, ii 155.

Delhi, mutiny and massacre at, iii 248; the natives obtain possession of the city, iii 249; siege and capture of, iii 260; shooting of the king's sons, iii 263; the king taken to Rangoon, iii 268.

Denman, Lord, i 102.

Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, iv 146, 160; arrogance of Prussia, iv 161; accession of Christian IX., iv 161; his dispute with Holstein, iv 161; German troops enter the duchy, iv 162; remonstrance of England, iv 163; Schleswig occupied by a German army, iv 163; the powers refuse material assistance to Denmark, iv 163; the duchies ceded to Prussia

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and Austria, iv 164: the government attacked on the Dano-German question, iv 165; Mr. Disraeli's speech and Mr. Gladstone's reply, iv 165; Mr. Bernal Osborne's sallies, iv 166; Lord Palmerston's defence, iv 166; his letter to King Leopold, iv 167; English sympathy for Denmark, iv 167.
Denominational schools, support of, iv 296.
Derby, Lord, forms a ministry, ii 296: his statement in the House of Lords, ii 304; speech by Sir James Graham on the protection policy of the government, ii 304; determination to force the government to declare its policy, ii 307; again prime minister in 1858, iii 287; resigns, iii 292; again forms a ministry, iv 222; his reform bill in the House of Lords, iv 233; his retirement and death, iv 235.
Derby, Lord, resigns office in Lord Beaconsfield's ministry, iv 318.
Dickens, Charles, influence of the *Pickwick Papers*, i 188; his obituary notice of Thackeray, iv 196.
Discontent in the country, i 6, 70, 161.
Diseased meat in London market, disposal of, iii 230.
Disestablishment of the church, first public meeting, i 111; Earl Grey on, i 111; Mr. Gladstone's views on, iv 296.
Disraeli, Benjamin: education and early career, i 29; on Toryism *versus* Conservatism, i 130; on the results of the queen's accession, i 250; on the Conservative cause, i 251; formation of the Young England party, i 263; his change of sides, i 264; he describes some Chartist doings, i 265; graphic scene in a tommy-shop, ii 15; becomes spokesman of the Protectionists, ii 63; his eulogy of Peel and virulent attack of Lord Palmerston, ii 63; study in *Coningsby* of Lord John Russell, ii 64; abuse of statesmen, ii 65; slighted by Sir Robert Peel, ii 65; his views at various stages of his political career, ii 65; description of a statesman's position, ii 66; his personal antipathy to Sir Robert Peel, ii 68, 73; speech on the Maynooth College Bill, ii 81; speech on the Corn Bill, ii 103; his account of a scene in the house, ii 109; his estimate of Sir Robert Peel, ii 110; his burlesque of Leigh Hunt's imprisonment, ii 162; on the state of the church, ii 168; on the navigation laws, ii 187; proposes to modify the poor-laws, ii 188; on the power of the crown, ii 285; is chancellor of the exchequer, ii 296; his address to the Buckinghamshire electors, ii 302; his budget of 1852, and its opposition, ii 312; his reply, ii 313; speech by Mr. Gladstone, ii 315; defeat of the government, ii 316; is accused of plagiarism, ii 323; criticises the government conduct of the Crimean war, iii 139, 146; his denunciation of Lord John Russell, iii 181; again chancellor of the exchequer, iii 287; he introduces a reform bill, iii 289; on the income-tax and reduction of armaments, iii 317; on the abolition of church-rates, iv 13, 16; his speech against budget of 1862, iv 122; his speech before the Oxford Diocesan Society, iv 200; against reform bill of 1866, iv 219; is chancellor of the exchequer, iv 222; introduces a reform bill, iv 226; succeeds Lord Derby as prime minister, iv 235; his administration of 1868, iv 262; attack on Lord Cranborne, iv 264; his ministry resign, iv 269; character of, iv 314; his elevation to the peerage, iv 314; attends Berlin congress, iv 318; his illness and death, i 320; iv 324; sketch of his career, i 321.
Disraeli, Isaac, his writings, i 29.
Disruption, the, of 1843, ii 165; financial efforts of the Free Church, ii 168.
Dissenters' Burial Bill, iv 171.
Dissenters' Chapel Bill, i 283; Gladstone on, i 283; Macaulay on, i 284.
Distress in the country, i 331; in 1861, iv 123; in London in 1866-67, iv 240.
Divorce Court Bill, iii 206; opposed by Mr. Gladstone, iii 206.
Dorchester labourers, transportation of the, i 162: they are pardoned, i 163.
D'Orsay, Count, his career, iii 4.
Drainage of London, scheme for, iv 3.
Drinking fountains, erection of, iv 4.
Drummond, Edward, Sir Robert Peel's secretary, assassinated, ii 38.
Druses, their cruelties to the Maronites, iv 63; their character and origin, iv 63. See *Syria*.
Dufferin, Lord, his account of the scene after the massacre at Damascus, iv 65; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, iv 270.
Duncombe, Thomas, his political principles and moral character, i 248; proposes to extend the franchise, i 260; on opening of private letters by the government, i 335.
Dundas, Admiral, sent with a fleet to the Baltic, iii 79.
Dundonald, Earl, i 96; fined and imprisoned, i 96; his services abroad, i 97; is restored to all his honours, i 97.
Dunlop, John, a Temperance pioneer, iv 149.
Dunne, Colonel, assists Garibaldi in Naples, iv 74.
Durham, Earl of, his early career, i 225; his quarrel with Lord Brougham, i 125; looked to as leader by advanced reformers, i 219; sent to Canada as governor-general, i 225; opposition to his illegal actions, i 227; he resigns and retires into private life, i 228; his death, i 228; John Stuart Mill's defence of his policy, i 229.
Dwellings for the poorer classes, iv 199.

E.

East India Company, origin and growth of, i 286; its trading privileges taken away, i 288.
Eastern question, dispute about the holy places, ii 334; Russia's designs against Turkey, ii 335; opposition to Russia, ii 335; alliance between Britain and France and declaration of war, ii 336; is again brought up, iv 314.
Ecclesiastical commission appointed, i 134; attempt to reform abuses, i 180.
Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, iv 286.
Ecclesiastico-political controversies, ii 165; the Disruption, ii 165; movement to separate church and state, ii 168; the High Church party gains ground, ii 168; Mr. Disraeli on the state of the Church, ii 168; opposition of Dissenters to national education, ii 169; Dr. Hampden's case, ii 169; Rev. Cornelius Gorham's case, ii 170.
Education, Rowland Hill's system of, i 238; speech by Prince Albert at educational conference, iii 218; increase of secular, iii 231; statistics of, iv 327.
Education of neglected children, movement for, iii 214; Mr. Gladstone on, iii 215.
Education, National, grant voted in 1833, i 267; extension of, and constitution of committee of council on, i 267; speech of Mr. Shiel on, i 267; proposed scheme of, i 331; alarm of Dissenters at, i 331; withdrawal of the bill, i 332; agitation for, in 1852, ii 275; Lord John Russell's opinion of, ii 275; grants for, iv 169; Mr. Lowe and the Revised Code, iv 169.
Eglinton Tournament, i 264.
Egypt, war in, iv 322.
Eldon, Lord, i 242.
Elections, family influence in, i 219.
Electric Telegraph, its origin, i 241: increase of communication, iv 199; purchased by government, iv 267.
Elementary Education Act, iv 280.
Elgin, Lord, sent to China as British representative, iii 205, 275; sent to China to secure the ratification of the treaty of Tien-tsin, iv 61; orders the destruction of the Summer Palace, iv 62.
Ellenborough, Lord, president of Board of Control, i 318; succeeds Lord Auckland as Governor-general of India, ii 9; orders the gates of Somnauth to be carried away, ii 12; his opposition to Lord Canning's policy in India, iii 272.
Elliott, Ebenezer, the Corn-law Rhymer, i 23.
Elphinstone, Major-general, commander in Afghanistan, ii 8.
Emigration, advocated by Carlyle, i 254; schemes of, ii 198; statistics of, ii 200; iv 328.
Employment of women and children, iv 282; evils of the gang system in agricultural districts, iv 282.
Encumbered Estates Act, passing of, ii 182.
Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, opposed by Messrs. Gladstone and Forster, iv 303.
Engineering works, progress of, iv 199.
Ernest, Prince, of Hohenlohe Langenburg, death of, iv 42.
Essays and Reviews, iv 205; their writers, iv 206; actions against Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, iv 206, 207; the *Essays* condemned in Convocation, iv 207; Lord Westbury's speech on Convocation, iv 207.
Eton, school life in Gladstone's days, i 11; celebrated men educated at, i 13;

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i 14.
Eupatoria captured, iii 95; the Russians repulsed at, iii 155.
Evans, Sir De Lacy, at battle of the Alma, iii 95.
Exchange, burning of Royal, i 246.
Executions, public, abolished, iv 169.
Exeter, Bishop of, conciliatory proposal on church-rates, iv 13.
Exhibition of 1851, ii 231. See *Crystal Palace*.
Exhibition of 1862, iv 123; opposition to, iv 124; superior to that of 1851, iv 124; opening ceremony, iv 125; statistics of, iv 125; account of the building and its contents, iv 125.
Exiles in England, amusing account of, ii 157.
Expenditure, national, increase of, ii 35; Sir Robert Peel on, ii 35.
Exploration, activity in, iv 20.
Eyre, Governor. See *Jamaica*.

F.

Factory Act, extension of the, iv 153.
Factory system, Wordsworth on the evils of the, i 266; Hutton's experience of, i 266; attempts at legislation by the elder Sir Robert Peel, &c., i 266.
Failures, commercial, in 1857, iii 220.
Faraday, Professor, lectures at the Royal Institution, iv 9; on spiritualism, iv 19.
Female suffrage, increasing attention given to, ii 28; Mr. Disraeli's description of a discussion on, ii 29.
Fenian organization, iv 250. See *Ireland*.
Ferdinand, King of Naples, tyranny of, iv 66.
Ferrand, Mr. Busfield, charges against free-trade advocates, ii 33.
Fiji Islands, cession of, iv 292.
Financial reform, increased attention given to, iii 330; cost of collecting the revenue, iii 330; Mr. Bright's scheme for, iii 330.
Finlay, Mr., claim against the Greek government, ii 212.
Fire at Tooley Street, London, iv 187.
Flogging in the army, motions to abolish, ii 17; cruelties of, ii 174; amelioration of, ii 175.
Foreign affairs: the Spanish legion and Don Carlos, i 190; the German Zollverein, i 190; revolution in Belgium, i 190; insurrection in Poland, i 191; riots in France, i 191; attempt to suppress political societies in France, i 193.
Foreign Enlistment Bill, iii 140; causes ill feeling in America, iii 193.
Forster, Mr. Wm. E., his early career, iv 211.
Fox, William Johnson, advocates the abolition of the corn-laws, ii 52.
France, riots in, i 191; attempt to suppress political societies in, i 193; Fieschi's attempt to assassinate the king, i 194; its relations with Turkey and Egypt, ii 2; Thiers' ministry, ii 3; quarrel with England on the Turkish question, ii 3; successes in Algeria, ii from St. Helena, ii 4; attempt of Louis Napoleon to cause a revolt, ii 5; dissatisfaction of the people with the government, ii 5; agrees to the policy of the western powers on the Turkish question, ii 6; growing discontent in, ii 135; reform banquets, ii 136; insurrection in Paris, ii 137; flight of the king, ii 137; provisional government formed, ii 138; escape of Louis Napoleon from Ham, ii 138; republic set up, ii 225; distress among the working-classes, ii 225; government undertakes to provide for them, ii 225; the republic proclaimed, ii 225; disaffection in the country, ii 226; emancipation of slaves in the colonies, ii 227; failure of attempt at insurrection, ii 227; the elections and formation of a government, ii 228; another unsuccessful attempt at insurrection, ii 228; Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected a representative, ii 228; repeated insurrections, ii 229; formation of a constitution, ii 230; election of Louis Napoleon as president, ii 230; the *coup d'état*, ii 251 (see *Napoleon, Louis*); proclamation of the empire, ii 326; Cobden's efforts to bring about a commercial treaty with, iii 319; hostility of Germany to, iii 323; M. Ollivier's speech on national disarmament, iv 164; war with Prussia, iv 285.
Franchise, county and borough, iv 309.
Franco-Austrian war. See *Italy*.
Franco-German war, iv 285.
Franklin, Sir John, starts on his Arctic expedition, ii 203; search for, iii 5; expedition of Captain M'Clintock in search of, iv 20.
Frauds and robberies, increase of, iii 232; Sir John Dean Paul, Strahan, and Bates, iii 232; John Sadlier, M.P., iii 232; failure of the Royal British Bank, iii 233; Redpath, iii 236.
Frederick VII. of Denmark, his death, iv 146.
Free Church of Scotland, ii 167.
Free-trade, progress towards, i 22; agitation for repeal of the corn-laws, i 275; meeting in Manchester in favour of, ii 41.
Free-trade Hall, Manchester, opening of, ii 28.
Friends, Society of, deputation to the czar, iii 62.
Frogmore, death of the Duchess of Kent at, iv 49; Prince Albert buried at, iv 56.
Frome-Bennett case, iii 13.
Frost, John, the Chartist, i 263.

G.

Game-laws, attempt to mitigate, i 28; injury inflicted by, ii 58; Mr. Bright obtains a committee of inquiry into, ii 59; suicide of Lord Stradbroke's gamekeepers, ii 59; statistics of convictions for breaches of the game-laws, ii 59.
Gang system, evils of the, iv 282.
Gardiner, Allan, missionary, his sufferings in Patagonia, ii 299.
against Austria, ii 152; fights his way to Rome, ii 152; his career, ii 153; his heroic defence of Rome, ii 153; escapes with the remnant of his army, ii 154; retires to Caprera, iv 67; goes to America, iv 67; makes and sells candles in New York, ii 154; iv 67; master of trading vessels, iv 67; presentation of a sword at Newcastle, iv 67; his personal appearance in 1849, iv 68; takes part in the Franco-Italian war, iv 69; his preparations for the liberation of Sicily, iv 69; captures Palermo, iv 70; Cavour's plans, iv 71; the position of France and England, iv 71; statecraft of the Sardinian government, iv 72; the pope excommunicates the invaders and usurpers, iv 72; appeal of the King of Naples, iv 73; Garibaldi's proclamation declaring his intention to free the Neapolitan states, iv 73; crosses to the mainland, iv 74; rapid successes of his army, iv 75; his entry into Naples, iv 75; necessity of keeping Garibaldi out of Rome, iv 76; Cavour's plan, iv 76; the Sardinian army conquers the Papal territory, iv 78; meeting of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi, iv 97; Victor Emmanuel chosen king of the Two Sicilies, iv 80; Garibaldi resigns the dictatorship and retires to Caprera, iv 80; his disinterestedness, iv 81; is elected to the Italian parliament, iv 83; retires, iv 83; raises a force for the capture of Rome, iv 83; he is opposed at Aspromonte, iv 84; is wounded and imprisoned for a short time, iv 84; removed to Caprera, iv 84; his enthusiastic reception in London, iv 85; returns to Caprera, iv 85; takes up arms against Austria in 1866, iv 85; is wounded and returns to Caprera, iv 85; another attempt to take Rome, iv 86.
Garotte, public indignation against, iii 233; infliction of flogging as a punishment, iii 234.
General election of 1865, results of, iv 178; general election of 1868, iv 267; Mr. Gladstone defeated, iv 267; changes in the new House of Commons, iv 269; strength of Liberal and Conservative parties, iv 269; elections of 1880, iv 323.
George III., death of, i 6.
George IV., death of, i 38.
Germany, hostile feeling towards France, iii 323.
Gibson, Milner, advocates the remission of the taxes on knowledge, ii 203; loses his seat, iii 204.
Gladstone, John, his political opinions and character, i 8; early history of the family, i 8.
Gladstone, William Ewart, his early school life, i 10; enters Eton School, i 11; contributes to the *Eton Miscellany*, *Eton Magazine*, i 15; at Oxford University, i 41; enters parliament as member for Newark, i 114; his remarks on slavery, i 116; is commissioner of the treasury, i 130; under-secretary to the colonies, i 140; opposes motion for reform of the Irish Church, i 140; opposes proposed inquiry into bribery and corruption at Liverpool, i 141; opposes

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Universities Admission Bill, i 141; Lord Macaulay's opinion of him, i 141; his speech on the Irish Church, i 141; speech on abolition of slavery, i 150; is charged with inconsistency, i 201; his work on *The State in its Relations with the Church*, i 203; criticisms of Macaulay and the *Quarterly Review*, i 203; his correspondence with Macaulay, i 204; his change of opinion on the subject, i 206; his speech on the Dissenters' Chapel Bill, i 283; appointed vice-president of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint, i 318; his reputation at this time, i 318; speech on the opium war, i 320; his marriage, i 320; he supports Sir Robert Peel's proposed sliding-scale, ii 22; withdraws from Peel's government on account of proposal to increase the Maynooth grant, ii 47; his early opinions on free-trade, ii 53; proposes to abolish restrictions on the importation of machinery, ii 53; his part in obtaining improvements in railway system, ii 54; on the sugar duties, ii 72; supports the Maynooth College Bill, ii 81; becomes colonial secretary, ii 94; on the conduct of Sir James Brooke in the East, ii 159; on abolition of the navigation laws, ii 187, 188; proposes an ecclesiastical constitution for the Australian colonies, ii 197; speech on the Don Pacifico affair, ii 217; on the death of Sir Robert Peel, ii 223; his charges against the administration of justice in Naples, ii 259; replies to his charges, ii 271; is chancellor of the exchequer, ii 316; his first budget, ii 329; his budget of 1854, iii 52; supplementary budget, iii 59; his attitude with regard to Russia and Turkey in 1854 and 1877, iii 60; on the origin and reasons of the Crimean war, iii 68; writing in 1878 on the Crimean war, iii 87; speech on the conduct of the Crimean war, iii 145; chancellor of the exchequer, iii 151; resigns, iii 154, 155; on the breaking up of political parties, iii 167; advocates negotiations for peace, iii 169, 183; on the terms of peace with Russia, iii 194; on the quarrel with the United States concerning foreign enlistment, iii 195; on the education of neglected children, iii 215; his visit to Corfu, iii 289; chancellor of the exchequer, iii 292; Homeric studies, iii 298; address as chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, iii 298; visit to the Ionian Islands, iii 299; gratuitous services as commissioner extraordinary at Corfu, iii 306; his position in the Palmerston ministry, iii 306; his budget of 1859, iii 316; he introduces budget of 1860, iii 331; on the French commercial treaty, iii 333; abolition of excise duty on paper, iii 335; iv 26; the impressed stamp on newspapers abolished, iii 335; on the functions of laymen in the church, iv 12; opposes abolition of church-rates, iv 14; on interference by the House of Lords with taxation, iv 29; his budget of 1861, iv 31; his budget of 1862, iv 119; speech by Mr. Disraeli against the budget, iv 122; Mr. Gladstone's reply, iv 122; his financial statement of 1863, iv 146; proposed club-tax and tax on charities negatived, iv 146; his speech on endowed institutions, iv 146; details of the budget, iv 147; the income-tax, iv 148; our trade with France, iv 148, 172; he supports the Dissenters' Burial Bill, iv 171; his budget of 1864, iv 171; his scheme for government life annuities and assurance, iv 127; his budget of 1865, iv 173; speech on reform, iv 174; his views on the Irish Church, iv 175; loses his seat for Oxford University, iv 176; his speech at Manchester, iv 177; is returned for South Lancashire, iv 178; becomes leader of the House of Commons, iv 182; his speeches at Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1865, iv 182; his views on English Evangelicalism, iv 202; his budget of 1866, iv 212; its proposals regarding the national debt, iv 213; his speeches on the reform bill of 1866, iv 214, 217, 219; his resignation of office, iv 222; his opposition to Mr. Disraeli's reform bill, iv 229, on the Fenian outrages, iv 258; his view of the Irish problem, iv 259; his resolutions for disestablishment of the Irish Church, iv 263; is defeated in Lancashire, but returned for Greenwich, iv 267; forms a ministry, iv 269; its members, iv 270; introduces his bill for disestablishing the Irish Church, iv 270; its provisions, iv 270; it passes second reading, iv 273, and becomes law, 275; introduces and carries Irish Land Bill, iv 276; introduces education bill for Ireland, iv 289; his government defeated, iv 289; he resigns, but compelled to remain in office, iv 289; he resigns in 1874, iv 290; his letter to Lord Granville, iv. 290; introduces bill for abolition of compulsory church-rates, iv 295; his views on disestablishment of the Church, iv 296, 300; on Ritualism, iv 298; on the Abolition of Patronage and Public Worship Regulation bills, iv 300; his pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees, iv 303; his public life, iv 304; his pamphlet on Turkish affairs, iv 316; the Midlothian Campaign, iv 323; is again prime minister, iv 323; his measures for Ireland, and action against Home Rule obstruction, iv 325.

Glenelg, Lord, colonial secretary, i 228; retires from office, i 229.

Godwin, William, political economist, i 51.

Godwin, Major-general, commander in the Burmese war, iii 197.

Gold, discovery of, in Victoria, ii 201; in California, ii 201.

Goodman's confession, i 101.

Görgei, Arthur, dictator of Hungary, ii 156.

Gorham, Rev. Cornelius, ii 170.

Gorilla, discovery of the, iv 24.

Goschen, Mr., his early career, iv 211.

Gough, Lord, conquers the Punjaub, iii 244.

Goulbourn, Mr., chancellor of the exchequer, i 318; ii 60.

Graham, Sir James, in Melbourne's ministry, i 127; declines to join Peel's, i 131; speech on the Irish Church, i 138; is home-secretary, i 318; public feeling against him for opening letters in the post-office, i 336; his speech on Lord Derby's protection policy, ii 304; is first lord of the admiralty, ii 316; his instructions to Sir Charles Napier, iii 77; quarrel between, iii 78; first lord of the admiralty under Palmerston, iii 151; resigns, iii 154, 155.

Grant, Sir Hope, commands the forces in China, iv 61.

Grant, General, captures Vicksburg, iv 142; appointed to command the forces, iv 142; takes Richmond, iv 142.

Granville, Lord, made foreign minister, ii 274; lord-president of the council, ii 316; iii 151; secretary for the colonies, iv 270.

Great Eastern steamship, iii 327; its usefulness in laying telegraph cables, iii 329.

Great Exhibition. See *Crystal Palace*.

Greece, quarrel with Britain on the Don Pacifico and other claims, ii 212; seizure of war-vessels and blockade of the Greek coast, ii 213; settlement of dispute, ii 214; election of Prince Alfred as king, iv 145; the honour declined, iv 145; Prince William of Denmark elected, iv 145.

Greville, clerk of the council, his description of the first privy-council of Queen Victoria, i 209; describes her appearance and manner, i 212.

Grey, Earl (second), forms a ministry, i 69; Reform Bill introduced, i 72; is respected by the nation, i 80; his ministry resign but recalled, i 88; on church establishments, i 112; split in his cabinet and resignation of ministry, i 124; declines to form a ministry, i 145.

Grey, Earl (third), colonial secretary in Russell's ministry, i 116.

Grey, Earl de, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, i 318.

Grey, Sir George, home secretary in Russell and Palmerston ministries, ii 116; iii 151.

Grey, Sir George, Governor of New Zealand, ii 14; his difficulties in dealing with the natives, ii 14; puts the affairs of South Australia and New Zealand in order, ii 190.

Gros, Baron, French envoy to China, iv 61.

Grote, George, enters Parliament in 1832, i 107.

Guano, first importation of, ii 175.

Guizot, M., his resignation, ii 2; recalled to power, ii 6; policy and popularity, ii 6; anecdote of, ii 132; his character, ii 132; intrigues about the Spanish marriages, ii 134.

H.

Habeas Corpus Act suspended, iv 251.

Hall, Sir Benjamin, his political principles, ii 280; first commissioner of Woods and Forests, iii 151.

Hallam, a great talker, i 186; his death, iv 38.

Digitized by Google

Halley's comet, appearance of, in 1835, i 185.
Hampden, Dr., and the see of Hereford, ii 169.
Handel Centenary at the Crystal Palace, iv 9.
Handel Festival, an annual celebration, iv 9.
Hanover, separation of, from Great Britain, i 211.
Harcourt, Sir William, iv 302; is solicitor-general, iv 303.
Hardinge, Lord, commander-in-chief, ii 320.
Harrison, Mr., secretary for Ireland, iii 155.
Hartington, Marquis of, moves a vote of want of confidence in the Derby government, iii 291; defeated for North Lancashire, iv 269; becomes post-master-general, iv 270; becomes Liberal leader in the Commons, iv 290; conflicting opinions concerning his lordship, iv 291.
Hartley Colliery tragedy, iv 57.
Harvest, deficient, in 1837–8, i 276.
Hassall, Dr. Arthur Hill, superintends the *Lancet* adulteration commission, iii 229.
Hastings, Lady Flora, i 232.
Hastings, Warren, i 287.
Hatherley, Lord, lord-chancellor, iv 270.
Havelock, Sir Henry, his character and early career, iii 255; march on Cawnpore and Lucknow, iii 256; his death, iii 260; pension granted to his widow and son, iii 270; Lord Canning's estimate of, iii 270.
Hawaiian Islands, ii 189.
Haynau, General, mobbed in London, ii 140.
Hayti, crowning of Soulouque emperor of, iii 4.
Head, Major, puts down the revolt in Canada, i 224; receives a baronetcy, i 224.
Heathcote, Sir W., opposes the abolition of church-rates, iv 14; sketch of, iv 14.
Henley, Mr., president of Board of Trade, ii 296.
Hennessey, Pope, iv 86.
Herbert, Sir Sydney, enters parliament in 1834 as a Tory, i 184; at first a hesitating speaker, i 185; his ancestry, i 185; secretary to the admiralty, i 318; secretary at war, ii 317; colonial secretary, iii 151; resigns, iii 154, 155; raised to the peerage, iv 42; death of, iv 42.
High-Church, Ritualism, and Low-Church, iv 11.
Hill, Rowland, his early training and history, i 237; advocates a penny postage, i 239; appointed to superintend its working, i 241.
Hodson, Lieutenant, his vigour in the suppression of Indian mutiny, iii 261; shoots the King of Delhi's sons, 263.
Holmfirth, bursting of reservoir at, ii 288; iv 184.
Holyoake, Mr., the Secularist, iii 7.
Home Rulers, their policy of obstruction, iv 322.
Hood, Thomas, ii 15.
Hope, Admiral, attempts to storm the Taku forts, iv 61.
Horsman, Mr., Irish secretary, iii 151.
Houses of Parliament, completion of, iv 4.
Howe, introduction of sewing-machine by, iv 19.
Howitt, William, explosive writing in his *Journal*, ii 151.
Hubbard, Mr., bill on church-rates, iv 13.
Hudson, George, railway king, ii 179.
Hughes, Mr. Thomas, on trades-unions, iv 241.
Hugo, Victor, ii 145.
Hume, Joseph, leader of the Radicals, i 81; his early career, i 82; ii 45; advocates the cause of the Canadian colonists, i 224; character of, ii 45; his industry, ii 46; his annual motion for parliamentary reform, ii 309; supports Mr. Gladstone's war budget, iii 58; his death, iii 58.
Hungarian insurrection, ii 155; Francis Deak's popularity, ii 156; Kossuth provisional governor, ii 156; Arthur Görgei succeeds Kossuth as dictator, ii 156; surrender of the Hungarian army, ii 156.
Hunt, Leigh, conductor of *Examiner* newspaper, ii 161; sarcastic articles on the prince regent, ii 161; breadth of view in his advocacy of reforms, ii 162; pension granted to, ii 161; death of, iv 38.
Hydepark Riots of 1866, iv 224.

I.

Ibrahim Pasha, ii 7.
Imports and exports, statistics of food, iv 1, 2.
Income-tax, first imposed, i 330; Sir Robert Peel appeals to the house on behalf of, ii 36; opposition of Lord John Russell and Mr. Roebuck to, ii 70.
India, historical notice of, i 287; Board of Control established, i 287; troubles with Afghanistan and the Sikhs, i 288; changes in, ii 160; changes in, since 1853, iii 209; mutiny of Sepoys in, iii 240; its causes, iii 240; improvements in the condition of the country, iii 241; severity of the British to the natives, iii 241; previous warnings of discontent, iii 242; Colonel Hodgson's pamphlet, iii 242; improvements introduced by Lord Dalhousie, iii 243; extension of British rule in, iii 244; the Koh-i-noor diamond sent to England, iii 244; Azimoolah Khan visits London, iii 245; Lord Canning succeeds Lord Dalhousie, iii 245; causes of the mutiny, iii 245; origin of the name Pandies as applied to revolted Sepoys, iii 247; distribution of chupatties, iii 247; disposition of the troops in the country on the outbreak of the mutiny, iii 247; outbreak at Meerut and Delhi, iii 248; the news reaches Lahore and the Sepoys there disarmed, iii 249; those at Mooltan disarmed, iii 250; troops on their way to China intercepted by Lord Canning, iii 250; outbreak at Lucknow, iii 250; outbreak at Cawnpore, iii 251; Sir Hugh Wheeler applies to Nana Sahib for assistance, iii 252; heroic defence of the garrison, iii 253; treachery of Nana Sahib and massacre of the garrison, iii 253; Sir Colin Campbell sent out, iii 255; General Havelock marches on Cawnpore and captures it, iii 256; defeat of Nana Sahib and blowing up of the magazine, iii 256; Outram and Havelock march on Lucknow, iii 257; entry into the Residency, iii 258; advance of Sir Colin Campbell on Lucknow, iii 258; its fall, iii 259; death of Sir Henry Havelock, iii 260; siege of Delhi, iii 260; blowing up of the Cashmere Gate, iii 262; the city captured, iii 262; capture of the King of Delhi and shooting of his sons, iii 263; punishments inflicted on the rebels at Cawnpore, iii 264; Disraeli on the mode of governing, iii 265; Cobden on Indian government, iii 266; disposal of the King of Delhi, iii 268; death of the Rhanee of Jhansi, iii 268; general order by Sir Hugh Rose, iii 268; Sir Colin Campbell announces the end of the rebellion, iii 268; proposal to transfer the government from the East India Company to the crown, iii 274; bills of Lord Palmerston and Lord Derby, iii 274; act for the better government of India finally passed, iii 275; the queen proclaimed throughout, iii 275; separate European army abolished, iv 43.
Inkerman, battle of, iii 111; descriptions of, iii 112, 113; cruelties of the Russians, iii 114.
Insanity laws, discussion on the, ii 40.
Inspection of prisons, conflict between House of Commons and the law courts concerning, i 269.
Insurrections on the Continent, i 91.
International law, improvements in, iii 192.
Inundation of the sea in 1862, iv 185.
Ionian Islands, political condition of, iii 209; Mr. Gladstone sent as lord commissioner visits the, iii 289, 299; they demand to be annexed to Greece, iii 299; finally handed over, iii 300.
Ireland, agitation and distress in, i 18, 37, 120; crimes in, in 1832, i 121; coercive measures, i 121; church and military statistics in 1833, i 123; failure of the potato crop in, ii 85; poverty of the cottars and alarming distress in, ii 87; increase of crime in, ii 107; bill for the protection of life and property thrown out, ii 107; Sir Robert Peel resigns, ii 108; increasing famine and crime, ii 116; remedial measures adopted, ii 117; opposition to the establishment of secular colleges, ii 117; injurious effects of the relief granted, ii 118; Mr. Smith of Deanston on how to improve Ireland, ii 119; Lord George Bentinck's proposal, ii 119; spiritlessness of the people, ii 120; the Young Ireland party, ii 120; repeal year, ii 123; results of famine, ii 141; need of improved cookery, ii 141; statistics of mortality and relief during the famine, ii 182; punishment of agitators, ii 181, 184; the "Cabbage Gar-

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den Insurrection," ii 181; deplorable condition of the people in 1848, ii 184; Prince Albert on, ii 184; visit of the queen to, ii 185; Mr. Sharman Crawford moves for leave to bring in a land bill, ii 290; political condition of, iv 247; seditious proceedings of professional agitators, iv 248; Fenian threats against England, iv 248; proceedings of Irish Americans, iv 248; views of British statesmen on, iv 249; the Fenian organization, iv 250; Stephens and Mahoney, iv 250; suspension of Habeas Corpus Act, iv 251; Fenian raid on Canada, iv 251; Irish-American attempt on Ireland, iv 251; capture of Colonel Burke and others, iv 252; attack on prison van at Manchester and murder of Sergeant Brett, iv 253; execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, iv 255; outrage on Clerkenwell Prison, iv 255; execution of Barrett, iv 256; outrages in Ireland, iv 257; great procession in memory of the Manchester murderers, iv 257; the land question, iv 260; the Ulster "Custom," iv 261; Mr. Maguire's proposed inquiry into condition of Ireland, iv 262; Mr. Gladstone introduces the Irish Land Bill, iv 276; its provisions, iv 277; it becomes law, iv 279; a national education bill introduced, iv 289; continued outrages in, iv 324; Mr. Gladstone's later measures, iv 325.
Irish Brigade raised, iv 76, 86; Mr. Pope Hennessey conspicuous in its formation, iv 86.
Irving, Edward, i 110.
Isabella, Queen of Spain, ii 290.
Italy, fate of Ruffini, ii 1; sympathy with Mazzini, ii 1; condition in 1848, ii 151; spread of secret societies, ii 152; insurrectionary movements, ii 152; Charles Albert takes the lead, ii 152; Garibaldi declares war against Austria, ii 152; enters Rome and a republic proclaimed, ii 152; Victor Emmanuel succeeds his father, ii 153; the French, Austrian, and Neapolitan armies advance upon Rome, ii 153; gallant defence of Garibaldi, ii 153; end of the Roman Republic, ii 154; Austrian rule unendurable, iii 306; policy of Cavour and of Mazzini, iii 307; Mazzini and Garibaldi, iii 307; the Emperor of the French contemplates hostilities with Austria, iii 308; Victor Emmanuel's declaration, iii 308; feeling in England, iii 308; the emperor's letter to the queen, iii 309; unpopularity of the war in France, iii 310; Prince Albert on the emperor's position, iii 310; negotiations with Lord Cowley, iii 310; the queen on Napoleon's position, iii 311; M. Thiers' opinion, iii 311; proposal for the disarmament of the great powers, iii 311; Austria preparing for war, iii 312; memorandum of the Sardinian government, iii 312; Austria demands the disarmament of Sardinia, iii 313; Victor Emmanuel's proclamation to his troops, iii 313; the Austrian army ordered to enter Sardinia, iii 313; the emperor takes command of the French army, iii 313; positions of the armies, iii 313; battle of Montebello, iii 313; defeat of the Austrians at Palestro, iii 314; defeat of the Austrians at Magenta, ii 314; the Emperor of France and King of Sardinia enter Milan, iii 315; retreat of the Austrians, iii 315; battle of Solferino, iii 315; meeting of the emperors at Villafranca, iii 315; treaty signed, iii 316; dissatisfaction of Sardinia and resignation of Cavour, iii 322; complaints of Sardinia against the conduct of Austria, iv 66; tyrannous government in Naples, iv 66; Garibaldi's conquest of Sicily and Naples (see *Garibaldi*), iv 69; Victor Emmanuel occupies the Papal territory, iv 78; chosen king of the Two Sicilies, iv 80; Lord John Russell's despatch on the action of the Sardinian government, iv 81; Ratazzi succeeds Cavour as minister, iv 83; tries to repeat Cavour's policy, iv 83; Garibaldi raises a force for an attack on Rome, iv 83; he is opposed by government troops at Aspromonte, iv 84; seat of government removed to Florence, iv 85; Venetia joined to Italy, iv 85; another unsuccessful attack on Rome, iv 86; discussion in the House of Commons on the government policy, iv 86.

J.

Jamaica, proposal to suspend the constitution of, i 158; serious riots in, iv 190; condition of the negro in, iv 191; George Wm. Gordon and Paul Bogle, iv 191; course pursued by Governor Eyre, iv 192; execution of Gordon, iv 193; severities practised on the insurgents, iv 193; public sympathy felt for Gordon, iv 194; Carlyle defends Eyre, iv 194; he is suspended, and a commission of inquiry appointed, iv 195; the prosecution against him fails, iv 195.
Japan, opening up of trade with, iv 20.
Jerrold, Douglas, death of, iv 38.
Jews, admission of, to House of Commons, iv 36.
Jingoes, origin of the name, iv 317.
Jones, Ernest, ii 145.
Jones, William, conceals himself in Buckingham Palace, i 315.
Jowett, Professor, iv 202, 204; opposition to, iv 206.
Judicature Bill passed, iv 289.

K.

Kaffirs, war with, ii 275, 309.
Kars, defence of, iii 187.
Kenealy, Dr., is returned for Stoke-upon-Trent, iv 294.
Kent, Duchess of, income granted to, i 220; illness of, iv 49; the queen's description of her last hours, iv 49; her death, iv 50.
Kent, Duke of, i 182.
Kimberley, Lord, lord privy-seal, iv 270.
Kingsley, Charles, efforts to improve the condition of the labouring classes, ii 150; his opposition to the Manchester school, ii 306; his Christian socialism, iii 221; appointed professor of history, iv 202.
Knowledge, repeal of taxes on, ii 296.
Koh-i-noor diamond sent to England, iii 244.
Kossuth, Louis, ii 142; learns the English language, ii 142; becomes provisional governor of Hungary, ii 156; resigns the dictatorship and flees to Turkey, ii 156; reaches England, ii 157; his American tour, ii 275.

L.

Lady Hewley's Charity, i 282.
Lady novelists, ii 301.
Lamoricière, General, commander of Papal troops, iv 67.
Lancashire, distress in, iv 125; provisions for relief, iv 126; Mr. Cobden on the amount of distress, iv 126; poor-law relief, iv 127; aid from America, iv 127; Mrs. Gladstone's efforts, iv 129; improvement of health and decrease of mortality in distressed districts, iv 129; occupation provided, iv 129.
Lansdowne, Lord, in cabinet without office, ii 317.
Lawrence, Sir Henry, stationed in the Punjaub, iii 247; his death, iii 251.
Lawrence, Sir John, stationed in the Punjaub, iii 247; his able administration and tact, iii 269; rewards for his services, iii 270.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, president of the United Kingdom Alliance, iv 151.
Layard, Austin Henry, his career, iii 139; his excavations near Nineveh, ii 175; attacks the government on the Crimean war, iii 139; attacks Palmerston's government, iii 153.
Laymen in the church, Gladstone on functions of, iv 12.
Leech, John, death of, iv 197.
Lehzen, Louise, governess to Princess Victoria, i 215.
Leicester the Glass-blower, iv 239.
Leopold, chosen King of Belgium, i 91; guardian and adviser of Princess Victoria, i 217; promotes her marriage with Prince Albert, i 292.
Leopold, illness of Prince, iv 292.
Letheby, Dr., his sanitary inquiries, iii 226; remedies suggested, iii 228.
Lewis, Sir G. C., chancellor of the exchequer, iii 155; his antecedents, iii 163; his budget, iii 163, 164.
Liberia, establishment of colony of, iv 91.
Lincoln, Abraham, elected President of the United States, iv 101; character and career, iv 101; personal appearance, iv 102; his reply to an address from Manchester, iv 126; assassination of, iv 143.
Lind, Jenny, her extraordinary success, ii 208.
Liquor traffic, bill for regulation of, iv 288.
Livingstone, David, early life and education, iv 20; joins the London Missionary Society and is sent to South Africa, iv 21; his marriage, iv 21; his great journey to Lake Ngami, iv 22;

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receives the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, iv 22; Sir Roderick Murchison on his discoveries, iv 22; recommends the growth of cotton in Africa, iv 22; explorations on the Zambesi, iv 22; leaves England for his last journey, iv 23; honours given to him, iv 23.
Local Government Acts, iv 286.
Loch Katrine water supply for Glasgow, inauguration of, iv 5.
Londonderry, Marquis of, his claim for place, i 133.
London University, receives power to grant degrees, i 135.
Lords, House of, rejection of bill for repeal of the paper-duty, iv 28; report of committee of Commons on precedents for such a course, iv 28; Mr. Bright dissents from report, iv 28; Mr. Gladstone's opinion, iv 29; resolutions carried in the Commons, iv 29.
Lorne, Marquis of, marriage with Princess Louise, iii 304.
Louis Philippe, King of France, i 90; attempt on his life, ii 6; news reaches the House of Commons of his flight and abdication, ii 133; intrigues concerning the Spanish marriage, ii 133.
Lowe, Mr., his amendment urging prosecution of the war, iii 169, 176, 178; supports the bill for limited liability in joint-stock companies, iii 303; his early career, iii 303; advances in political offices, iii 304; his character as an educationist, iv 169; is charged with mutilating school inspectors' reports, iv 170; he resigns office, iv 170; his speeches on reform bill of 1866, iv 215, 218; his attack on Mr. Disraeli, iv 234; chancellor of the exchequer, iv 270; his budget of 1869, iv 273; his budget of 1871, iv 287; proposed tax on lucifer matches, iv 287.
Lucknow, outbreak at, and vigorous measures taken by Sir Henry Lawrence, iii 250; entry of General Havelock into, iii 258.
Lyndhurst, Lord, his ancestors, i 113; began his parliamentary career as a Radical, i 113; lord chancellor in various ministries, i 98, 113, 129, 318; a law reformer, i 113; attorney-general, i 113; friendship between him and Canning, i 113; his generosity and good-humour, i 114; his bills to amend the law concerning parliamentary oaths, and to better the position of married women, iii 12; his speech on the unfaithfulness of Russia, iii 91; advocates additions to the national defences, iii 305.
Lytton, Sir E. Bulwer, speech on the conduct of the Crimean war, iii 144; motion to censure the government, iii 181; supports Disraeli's reform bill of 1859, iii 291; Disraeli's description of his oration, iii 291; secretary for the colonies, iii 299; his success as a politician and defects as a speaker, iii 300; his political creed and industry as a writer, iii 300; created a baronet, iii 301; his personal peculiarities, iii 301; his romantic novels and dramas, iii 301; his political progress and literary success, iii 302; his unhappy marriage, iii 302; anecdote of, by Mr. Ballantine, iii 302; interested in criminal investigations, iii 302; Lord Rector of Glasgow University, iii 303.

M.

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, enters parliament, i 104; his high place as a speaker, i 104; advocates reform, i 105; a great talker, i 186; war secretary, i 289; opposes Peel's sliding-scale, ii 23; his description of a stormy scene in the House of Commons, ii 40; on the sugar duties, ii 72; on the Maynooth College Bill, ii 79; loses his seat for Edinburgh, ii 80; paymaster of the forces, ii 116; publication of his *History of England*, ii 163; is again returned for Edinburgh, iii 10; speech on the Militia Bill, iii 11; his death, iv 39; his position as an author and politician, iv 39; Mr. Gladstone's review of, iv 39.
M'Clintock, Captain, his expedition in the *Fox*, iv 20.
Mackenzie, Bishop, in Africa, iv 22.
Mackintosh, Sir James, his efforts to ameliorate the criminal code, i 17.
Macnaghten, Sir William, murdered in Cabul, ii 8.
Magazines, beginning of popular, i 112.
Magenta, battle of, iii 314.
Mahoney, Fenian head-centre, iv 251.
Mail-coaches, i 236.
Malmesbury, Lord, foreign secretary in Lord Derby's ministries, ii 296; iii 287.
Malt duty, motion to repeal, in 1835, i 133.
Malthus on population, i 52.
Manchester, rapid growth of, i 275; turn-out of mill-workers, i 278; meetings prohibited and dispersed, i 279; meeting of trades delegates and resolutions adopted, including the People's Charter, i 280; employers resolve to keep the mills closed, i 280.
Manchester school of politics, rise of, ii 139; opponents of the, ii 139, 305.
Manin, Daniel, revolutionist at Venice, ii 144.
Manners, Lord John, commissioner of Woods and Forests, ii 296.
Manning, Henry Edward, birth and education, iv 17; joins the Roman Catholic Church, iv 18; made a cardinal, iv 18.
Manteuffel, Prussian minister, iii 34.
Maronites. See *Druses*.
Marriage laws, unsatisfactory nature of the old, i 179; interpretation of them by Sir Matthew Hale, i 178; attempts to amend, i 178, 179; a reform accomplished, i 179.
Married women, laws relating to, i 273; iii 12.
Martaban, capture of, iii 197.
Martineau, Harriet, her influence in Liberal politics, i 81; declines a pension, i 81; on the Chartists, i 280; on the potato disease, ii 86.
Martini-Henry rifle, invention of, iii 326.
Mathew, Father, his early career, i 255; labours on behalf of total abstinence, i 256; iv 149; anecdotes of, i 256.
Maurice, Rev. Frederic Denison, on the Manchester school, ii 306; dismissed for teaching certain views on the subject of eternal punishment, iii 43; appointed professor of moral philosophy, iv 202.
Maynooth College Bill, introduced by Sir Robert Peel, ii 78; speech by Macaulay on, ii 79; supported by Gladstone and opposed by Disraeli, ii 81; passing of, ii 82.
Maynooth Grant, Mr. Aytoun's motion on, iv 266; compensation for withdrawal of, iv 271.
Mayo, assassination of Lord, iv 319.
Mazzini, Joseph, the father of Italian freedom, ii 143; his early life, ii 143; personal appearance, ii 144; joins the Carbonari, ii 145; joins the insurrection in Italy, ii 152; chosen president of the republic in Rome, ii 152; his reception in England, i 336; general sympathy with, ii 1; Carlyle's praise of, ii 1; his account of an hour of suffering, ii 1.
Meagher of the Sword, iii 7.
Mechi, Mr., experiments in agriculture, iii 2.
Medical science, advances in, ii 178.
Meerut, beginning of mutiny at, iii 248.
Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, i 291; British government decline to assist him, i 292; his revolt against Turkey, ii 2; is opposed by England and supported by France, ii 3; refuses the terms of the western powers, ii 5; at last signs a convention, ii 6.
Melbourne, Lord, characteristics of, i 99; Sydney Smith's opinion of, i 99; becomes prime minister, i 126; anecdotes of, i 127; his ministry dismissed, i 128, but recalled, 145; resigns, but shortly after forms another ministry, i 158; weakness of ministry, i 212; adviser of the young queen, i 214; refuses the Garter, i 215; supposed undue influence of, over the queen, i 215; inactivity of his ministry, i 305; Conservative attacks on, i 305; defeat of, and dissolution of parliament, i 311; Earl Russell on the situation, i 311; vote of want of confidence in the ministry carried, i 313; they resign, i 314; caricature of, i 315; his character and domestic life, i 315; strange conduct of his wife, i 316; solitude and neglect of his later life, i 317; his account of a statesman's position, ii 44; his reception of a deputation of radical working-men, ii 45; his death, ii 44.
Metropolitan Underground Railway, iv 3, 199.
Mexico, Juarez president of the republic, iv 155; disorder in the country, iv 155; action of Britain, France, and Spain, iv 155; the United States refuse to join the convention, iv 155; a European expedition sent out, iv 155; proclamation by the allied powers, iv 156; Mexican opposition to General Almonte, iv 156; Napoleon III.'s views with regard to the Archduke Maximilian, iv 156; M. Billault's statement in the Corps Législatif, iv 156; confer-

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ence between the Mexican and allied commissioners, iv 156; withdrawal of the English and Spanish governments, iv 157; proclamation of the French commissioners and defeat of the French troops, iv 157; General Forey sent out with reinforcements, iv 157; Puebla surrendered and the French enter the capital, iv 157; General Forey's proclamation, iv 157; the crown accepted by Maximilian, iv 158; opposition to his reign, iv 158; he is captured and executed, with his generals Miramon and Mejia, iv 158; Juarez again president, iv 159; fate of the ex-empress, iv 159.
Miall, Edward, his views on oaths, iii 7; is defeated, but afterwards elected for Bradford, iv 268.
Militia Bill, introduced by Lord John Russell, ii 291; opposed by Hume and Cobden, ii 292; speech by Lord Palmerston, ii 293; defeat of government, ii 296; bill of 1852, iii 9; speech by Macaulay, iii 11.
Mill, James, a philosophic Radical, i 53; his influence with the East India Company, i 286.
Mill, John Stuart, his influence on Indian affairs, i 286; is rejected by Westminster electors, iv 268; his political views, iv 268.
Milner-Gibson, Thomas, advocates free trade in food, ii 24; gains a seat for Manchester, ii 26; opposes the sugar duties, ii 71; is defeated at Ashton-under-Lyne, iv 268.
Mines, act regulating the working of women and children in, i 331.
Mirror, first of the cheap magazines, i 112.
Mitchel, John, ii 145; his return from transportation, iv 293; is twice elected for Tipperary, iv 293; his death, iv 294.
Model Lodging-houses, iii 217.
Moldavia. See *Principalities*.
Molesworth, Sir William, enters parliament of 1832, i 107; opposition to, i 108; first commissioner of public works, ii 317; colonial secretary, iii 181.
Moltke, General von, iv 237.
Montebello, battle of, iii 313.
Moore, Thomas, death of, ii 301.
More, Hannah, influence of her writings, i 184; advocates the better education of women, i 184.
Moxon, Mr., the publisher, trial of, i 285.
Müller, Franz, the railway murderer, iv 188; his apprehension and execution, iv 189; need of communication in railway-carriages, iv 190.
Municipal Corporations, inquiry into working of, i 165; growth and corruptions of, i 165; report of commissioners, i 166; bill introduced by Lord John Russell to amend, i 167; supported by Sir Robert Peel, i 168; passes House of Commons but opposed in Lords, i 171; after compromises between the houses the bill finally passed, i 174; feeling in the country on the disagreement between Lords and Commons, i 175; satisfactory result of the act, i 176; London exempt from the reform, i 176.
Murchison, Sir Roderick, on Livingstone's explorations, iv 22.
Music-halls, increase of, iv 7.

N.

Nana Sahib, the chief of Bithoor, iii 252; asked to aid in the defence of Cawnpore, iii 252; his treachery, iii 253.
Napier, Sir Charles, bombards St. Jean d'Acre, ii 7; admiral of the Baltic fleet, iii 70, 77; quarrel with Sir James Graham, iii 78; refuses the Grand Cross of the Bath, iii 79; what he achieved in the Baltic, iii 79.
Napier, Sir Charles James, conquers Scinde, ii 13.
Napier, General Sir Robert, leads the Abyssinian expedition, iv. 247.
Napiers, the family of, ii 12.
Naples, Mr. Gladstone's strong charges against the government of, ii 259; horrible condition of the prisons, ii 261; examples of tyranny, ii 262; case of Baron Carlo Poerio, ii 262; treatment of the prisoners, ii 265; Poerio's character, ii 266; political catechism taught in the schools, ii 266; extracts from the constitution, ii 268; comparison with Charles I. of England and Ernest of Hanover, ii 269; the subject before the House of Commons, ii 270; Lord Palmerston sends copies of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet to all the courts of Europe, ii 270; replies to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, ii 271; Lord Palmerston's treatment of them, ii 271.
Napoleon, removal of his body from St. Helena, ii 4.
Napoleon, Louis, early career of, i 196; attempts a rising at Strasburg, i 197; retires to London, i 198; his literary efforts, ii 4; prepares for an expedition, ii 4; lands at Boulogne, ii 5; unsuccessful attempt at revolt, ii 5; his imprisonment, ii 5; escapes from Ham, ii 138; settles in England, ii 138; elected a representative to the National Assembly, ii 228; elected president, ii 230; the *coup d'état*, ii 251; Kinglake's and Victor Hugo's summary of him, ii 251; a communication addressed to the National Assembly, ii 252; his accomplices in the seizure of power, ii 253; selection of ministers and army officers, ii 253; arrangements to print the proclamations, ii 253; Granier de Cassagnac's account of the arrests, ii 253; arrest and imprisonment of the deputies, ii 255; promotion and suppression of insurrection, ii 255; great loss of life, ii 256; proclamations to the country and the army, ii 256; vote for the extension of his term and his power, ii 257; distrust of him in this country, ii 274; his progress through France as president, ii 324; speech at Bordeaux, ii 325; his reception in Paris, ii 326; is proclaimed emperor, ii 327; speech to the senate and legislative body, ii 327; his marriage, iii 20; addresses a letter to Emperor Nicholas, iii 21; desires to go to the Crimea, iii 99; visits the queen at Windsor, iii 101; letter to the queen acknowledging the kindness of the reception, iii 102; the queen's return visit to Paris, iii 103; his difficult position, iii 277; attempt on his life by Pianori, iii 277; his schemes regarding the Principalities and Austria, iii 278; his visit to the queen at Osborne, iii 279; attempt on his life by Felice Orsini, iii 280; indignation in France against England, iii 281; despatch of Count Walewski concerning, iii 281; ill feeling of the French towards England, iii 282; the matter amicably settled, iii 288; policy of, iv 159; his proposal for a congress of nations, iv 159; its reception by the powers, iv 159.
Napoleon, Prince, his marriage, iii 312; Cobden's opinion of, iii 322.
Napoleonic prestige, the, ii 273.
Nasmyth, inventor of steam-hammer, iv 19.
National Complete Suffrage Union formed, i 281.
National Convention formed, i 281; enormous petition to the House of Commons, i 281; motion by Mr. Duncombe that the petitioners be heard at the bar, i 281; rejected by house, i 282.
National Debt, reduction of interest on, ii 60; Mr. Gladstone's proposals on, iv 213.
National Education, need of, iv 279; the Elementary Education Act introduced, iv 280; establishment of school-boards, iv 284; the compulsory and conscience clauses, iv 284; statistics of progress, iv 284; objections to the Code, iv 285; Mr. Gladstone's education bill for Ireland, iv 289.
Navigation laws, instituted, ii 186; successive modifications of, ii 186; passing of bill to abolish, ii 187.
Neild, Mr., leaves his fortune to the queen, ii 319.
Neill, General, death of, iii 258; Lord Canning's description of, iii 270.
Newcastle, Duke of, his early history, i 334; secretary for the colonies, ii 317; defends himself from charges of indolence and indifference in the conduct of the war, iii 147.
Newman, Dr. J. H., his account of rise of Tractarian movement, i 110; trial for libelling Achilli, iii 8.
Newspapers, abolition of stamp-duty, iii 231; starting of the penny newspaper, iii 231.
New Zealand, discovery of, ii 13; formally annexed to England, ii 13; difficulties with the natives, ii 14; Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, ii 14; plan adopted for its colonization, ii 190; incompetent governors, ii 191; affairs put on a better footing by Governor Grey, ii 191.
Nicholas, Emperor of Russia, visit to this country in 1844, ii 130; iii 14; personal appearance and manner, ii 130; attempts to get England to agree to his plans concerning Turkey, iii 14; his fondness for dramatic performances and familiarity with actors, iii 16; love of display, iii 16; industry in goveru-

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ing, iii 17; estimate of his character, iii 17; anecdote related by Dr. Mandt, iii 18; domestic affection, iii 19; reply to the Emperor of France's letter, iii 22; effect of the news of the battle of the Alma on, iii 103; his death, iii 155.
Nightingale, Florence, her birth and education, iii 121; her work in the Crimea, iii 122; testimonial fund subscribed for, iii 122.
Nile, discoveries of Captains Speke and Grant, and of Mr. Baker, iv 198; death of Captain Speke, iv 199.
Nitro-glycerine, explosion of, at Newcastle, iv 256.
Norbury, Lord, assassination of, i 306.
Northcote, Sir Stafford, opposes the budget of 1861, iv 119; private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, iv 119, 123; expectations of his success, iv 123; his ancestry and career, iv 123.
North-west passage made by Captain Maclure, iv 20.
Nottingham, riot at, i 85.

O.

Oath in courts of justice, iii 1.
O'Connell, Daniel, supports the Catholic Association, i 26; his mode of appealing to a jury, i 26; his declaration of loyalty to the crown, i 31; is elected and re-elected member for Clare, i 36; speech on Irish disturbances, i 120; his violent language on Earl Grey, i 124; described by Haydon the painter, i 135; the repeal year, ii 123; his great influence, ii 123; government interferes and prohibits a meeting, ii 125; the meeting prevented by O'Connell's advice, ii 125; his influence at an end, ii 126; is prosecuted and found guilty, ii 126; acquitted on appeal, ii 127; his last speech in parliament, ii 128; his death and funeral, ii 129.
O'Connor, Feargus, arrested, i 262; leader in the National Convention, i 281; character of, ii 145; shows symptoms of insanity, ii 278; winding up of his land scheme, ii 278; scene in the House of Commons, ii 279; committed to prison for assault, ii 289; confined in a lunatic asylum, ii 279.
Omar Pacha, iii 21.
Open-air meetings, attempt to suppress, iii 6.
Orange conspiracy to prevent the accession of the Princess Victoria to the throne, i 183.
Orangeism, attempt to assassinate the queen attributed to, i 306.
Orator Hunt, a Radical reformer, i 3; imprisonment of, i 5.
Organization among the masses, growth of the tendency to, ii 30.
Orsini, Felice, iii 280.
Osborne, Bernal, his sallies of wit, iv 166; his attack on Mr. Disraeli, iv 232.
Osborne House, ii 93.
Oudh, annexation of, iii 244.
Outram, Sir James, iii 257.
Overend, Gurney, & Co., failure of, iv 235.
Owen, Professor, on the gorilla, iv 24.
Owen, Robert, his social experiments, i 25; presented to the queen, i 250.
Oxford School, the, iv 203.
Oxford Union Society, Mr. Gladstone's connection with, i 44.
Oxford University, tendency of, towards high Toryism, i 43.
Oxford University Commission, report of, iii 12.

P.

Pacifico, Don, ii 212.
Pakington, Sir John, colonial secretary, ii 296; troubles about the transportation of criminals, ii 308; first lord of the admiralty, iii 287.
Palestro, battle of, iii 314.
Palmer, William, case of, iii 234.
Palmerston, Viscount, his early career, i 189; is war secretary and foreign secretary, i 31, 69, 189; ii 116; his success in the foreign office, i 190; advocates free-trade in corn, ii 23; the Don Pacifico business, ii 138; his character and policy, ii 208; demands satisfaction from Greece of the Don Pacifico and other claims, ii 213; settlement of claims, ii 214; complaints of his action in the matter, ii 214; brilliant speech by Palmerston in defence, ii 215; speeches of Gladstone, Cockburn, and Sir Robert Peel, ii 217; majority for government, ii 221; he approves of the *coup d'état*, ii 258; remonstrances of the queen and government, ii 258; his removal from the foreign office, ii 258; his conduct in regard to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on the Neapolitan government, ii 270; the subject of his dismissal before the house, ii 281; Lord John Russell's explanation, ii 281; Lord Palmerston's explanation, ii 284; Mr. Roebuck on, ii 285; speech by Mr. Disraeli on, ii 285; Palmerston's dealings with Sir Benjamin Hall, ii 286; his horror of cruelty, ii 287; his later account of the reason of his dismissal, ii 287; is home secretary under Lord Aberdeen, ii 317; eager to take decisive measures with Russia, iii 24; his views on the situation, iii 28; his success as home secretary, iii 42; his view on a national fast for the cholera epidemic, iii 42, and on burying dead bodies under buildings, iii 44; his resignation, iii 45; it is withdrawn, iii 49; his speech at a banquet to Sir Charles Napier, iii 70; attacked by Mr. Bright, iii 72; his reply, iii 72; forms a ministry, iii 150; precarious position of the ministry, iii 182; his government attacked and defeated, iii 202; appeal to the country, iii 204; return of a large majority for government, iii 205; introduces a Conspiracy to Murder Bill, iii 284; opposition to the bill, iii 285, and defeat of the government, iii 287; resignation, iii 287; again prime minister, iii 292; he offers the presidentship of the Board of Trade to Mr. Cobden, iii 292, 293; on the national defences, iii 306; support given to his ministry by the Conservative party, iv 29; his letter to King Leopold on the Dano-German war, iv 167; his personal habits, iv 167; his failing health and death, iv 181; anecdote of, iv 181.
Pandies, origin of name, iii 247.
Panmure, Lord, war secretary, iii 151; his antecedents and personal appearance, iii 151.
Paper-duty, reduction of, i 189; agitation for the repeal of, iv 26; the bill passes the Commons, but is thrown out by the Lords, iv 27; conflict between the houses, iv 28; appointment of a select committee to inquire into precedents, iv 28; its report, iv 28; resolutions passed in Commons concerning, iv 29; a proposition for remission of duty passed, iv 30.
Papineau, Louis Joseph, i 223.
Parliament houses burned, i 159.
Parliament, opening of session 1830, i 65; dissolution of, in 1834, i 130; the new parliament of 1835 with a Liberal majority, i 132; the opposition choose the speaker, i 132; preparations for the elections to the queen's first, i 218; small Liberal majority returned, i 220; opened by the queen, i 220; dissolution of, in 1841, i 311; election in 1841, large Conservative majority, i 313; meeting of, i 329; opened by the queen, i 330; opening of, in 1852, ii 277; discussion on the kitchen arrangements, ii 277; meeting of, in December, 1854, iii 138; the government attacked for its conduct of the war, iii 139; Lord John Russell replies, iii 140; dissolved in 1859, iii 291; Liberal majority in the new parliament, iii 291; session of 1866 opened by the queen, iv 209. See *General Election*.
Parliamentary Oaths, bill introduced by Lord Lyndhurst, iii 12.
Parliamentary Reform, early attempts at, i 1; effect of French Revolution on, i 2; proposed march of Manchester workmen to petition for, i 2; organizing societies to promote, i 3; efforts of Lord John Russell, i 17, 70; of Marquis of Blandford and Lord Althorp, i 38; of Lord Brougham, i 66; Earl Grey's ministry successful, i 90; county franchise bill lost, iv 173; Mr. Gladstone on, iv 174; referred to in royal speech of 1866, iv 210; a bill introduced, iv 210, 213; Mr. Gladstone's speech, iv 214; Mr. Lowe's opposition to the bill, iv 215; speeches by Mr. Bright and Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, iv 216; demonstrations throughout the country, iv 217; speech of Mr. Gladstone at Liverpool, iv 217; Mr. Bright's letter, iv 217; Mr. Lowe's speech against the bill, iv 218; Mr. Gladstone's reply, iv 219; narrow majority for government, iv 221; bill for redistribution of seats, iv 221; defeat and resignation of the ministry, iv 222; angry demonstrations over the country, iv 223; bill of 1867 introduced by Mr. Disraeli, iv 226; its provisions, iv 228; opposition of the Liberal party to the bill, iv 229; Mr. Hodgkinson's proposal, iv 231; redistribution of seats, iv 231; Bernal Osborne, Lowe, and Lord Cranborne on Mr. Disraeli and

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of Lords, iv 233; Lord John Russell's view of the position, iv 233; the bill finally passed, iv 234.
Passports, abolition of, iv 200.
Patagonian missionaries, story of, ii 298.
Patronage (Scotland) Bill introduced, iv 300; Mr. Gladstone's objections to it, iv 300.
Paul (Sir John Dean), Strahan, and Bates, trial of, for fraudulent appropriation of trust money, iii 232.
Paxton, Sir Joseph, ii 234; his design for the Crystal Palace, ii 234; it is adopted, ii 237.
Peabody, George, his generous gift, iv 127; letter from the queen, iv 128; his additional gifts, iv 128; his death, iv 128; object to which his gifts were applied, iv 128.
Peard, Colonel, Garibaldi's Englishman, iv 74.
Peel, Sir Robert, his early career, i 18; is home secretary, i 30; character of, i 68; opposes the disfranchisement of close boroughs, i 78; is chancellor of exchequer, i 98; issues Tamworth Manifesto, i 130; his ministry defeated, i 133; the Duke of Wellington on his truthfulness, i 136; his speech on Irish Church, i 143; he resigns office, i 145; Conservative banquet to, i 200; his speech on accession of Queen Victoria, i 211; his election address for the queen's first parliament, i 218; his policy of opposition to government, i 231; forms a ministry, i 231; requires the dismissal of some of the ladies of the royal household, i 232; opposes the reduction of sugar duties, i 309; his speech on the corn-laws, i 310; carries a vote against the ministry, i 311; his speech on want of confidence vote, i 313; his proposals for modifying the tax on grain, ii 19; his remarks on high duties being unproductive, ii 35; on the income-tax, ii 36; murder of his secretary, ii 38; angry encounter between him and Cobden, ii 39; on free-trade, ii 52; his opposition to his government, ii 63; the personal attacks of Mr. Disraeli on, ii 74; declines the Garter offered by the queen, ii 92; resigns, but again assumes office, ii 93, 94; announces his change of views on the corn-laws, ii 95; his budget, ii 96; arguments against protection and defence against the charge of inconsistency, ii 97; is enthusiastically praised by Mr. Bright, ii 102; he proposes to challenge Mr. Disraeli, ii 106; his defeat on the Irish protection of life and property bill, ii 108; announces his intention to resign, ii 108; Disraeli's estimate of, ii 109; anecdotes of, ii 113; acts of patronage by, ii 114; his last speech in the house, ii 138; his last words on public business, ii 221; is thrown from his horse, ii 221; his death, ii 222; mourning for him over the country, ii 223; his funeral, ii 224; Thomas Carlyle on, ii 224.
Peel, Sir Robert, made a lord of the admiralty, iii 155.
Peel, Sir William, death of, iii 270; Lord Canning's opinion of, iii 270.
Pegu, annexation of, iii 197.
Pelissier, General, commands the French army in the Crimea, iii 135; his antecedents, iii 136, 164.
Penny Magazine begun, 1832, i 112.
Periodical Literature, increase of, i 187.
Persia, war with, iii 197; suicide of Major-general Stalker and Commodore Ethersey, iii 205.
Peterloo Massacre, the, i 5.
Philosophical Radicalism, i 107, 311; ii 13.
Phœnix Park assassinations, iv 326.
Photography, introduction of, i 271.
Pillory abolished, the, i 97.
Pitt, William, opposes parliamentary reform, i 1.
Plimsoll, Mr., his efforts on behalf of seamen, iv 312; scene in the house, iv 313; a government measure introduced, iv 313.
Poet-laureate, appointment of, ii 206.
Poland, insurrection in, i 92; Russian tyranny in, iv 153; debate on, in House of Commons, iv 154; conduct of Prussia, iv 154; great meeting at the Guildhall, iv 154; insurrection in, headed by Langiewicz, iv 154; remonstrances of England, France, and Austria, iv 154; Gortschakoff's reply, iv 155; attitude of Austria, iv 155.
Police force, organization of, i 53.
Political parties, change in views of, i 198, 252; ii 64.
Political Register, Cobbett's, i 100.
Polytechnic in London, iv 9.
Poor-law, the new, i 160; evils of the old system, i 160, 164; passing of the bill, i 161, 163; hardships under the new, i 162, 163; decrease of poor-rate under, i 163; proposal by Mr. Disraeli to modify, ii 188; supported by Gladstone and opposed by Peel, ii 189; working of the poor-law, iv 241.
Poor-law Association, Carlyle on, ii 288.
Pope Pius IX., Mr. Gladstone on, ii 147; began his career as a reformer, ii 147; is driven from Rome, ii 147, 152.
Population, statistics of, iv 331.
Postal system, great need for a cheap, i 234; Charles Knight's description of the old, i 235; Mr. Palmer's improvements, i 236; Rowland Hill advocates a penny postage, i 239; proposal for an inquiry into the plan opposed by government, i 240; the plan adopted, i 240; its enormous development, i 241.
Post-office, diminution of revenue from, after the introduction of penny postage, ii 36; complaints concerning opening of letters in the, ii 73.
Potato crop, failure of, ii 85.
Power-loom, inventor of the, i 275.
Press prosecutions for political offences, i 40.
Prince Imperial, death of the, iv 321.
Princess Royal, betrothal of, iii 278; dowry and pension of, iii 278; her marriage, iii 280.
Principalities, disposal of the, iii 194.
Prize-fight between Tom Sayers and Heenan, iv 5.
Progress, meaning of, i 334; railway progress, i 335; of literature and art, i 335.
Property qualification, abolition of, iv 37.
Prosperity of the country, ii 60; before the Crimean war, iii 1; improvement in the condition of the working-classes, iii 2; signs of, in 1860, iv 1.
Protectionists, form an opposition to Peel's government, ii 63; their dismay at Sir Robert Peel's free-trade budget, ii 98; led by Lord George Bentinck, ii 99.
Prussia, death of King of, iv 41; war with Austria, iv 236; acquires predominance in Germany, iv 238; war with France, iv 285.
Public Schools, commission of inquiry on, iv 169.
Public Worship Regulation Bill passed, iv 301; its small effects, iv 302.
Punch, beginning of, ii 15; influence of Hood's "Song of the Shirt," ii 15.
Punjaub annexed to British India, iii 244.
Pusey, Dr., joins Tractarian movement, i 111; his opposition to Professor Jowett, iv 206.
Puseyism, i 284.

Q.

Quakers, advocate freedom for the negro, i 148.

R.

Radnor, Lord, friend of Cobbett, i 102; recommends Cobbett to the electors, i 103.
Ragged School movement, iii 212.
Raglan, Lord, master-general of the ordnance, ii 320; at the battle of the Alma, iii 95; death of, iii 136, 167.
Railway accidents, iv 187; on the Shrewsbury and Chester line in 1865, iv 187; at Abergele in 1868, iv 188; Col. Rich's report, iv 188.
Railway companies, embarrassments of, iv 238.
Railways, development of, i 233, 272; beginning of excursion trains, i 272; the mania of 1845–50, ii 179; dispute concerning the broad and narrow gauges, ii 181; great increase of, in the years preceding the Crimean war, iii 1; increase of railways and public works, iv 3; statistics of railways, iv 331.
Rangoon, taking of, iii 197.
Ratazzi succeeds Cavour as minister, iv 83; attempts to repeat Cavour's policy, iv 83, 86.
Rebeccaites, the, ii 121; joined by the Chartists, ii 122; grievances removed, ii 122.
Recreation for the people, iii 217.
Redistribution of seats, bills for, iv 221, 229, 231.
Redpath frauds, the, iii 236.
Reform, agitation for parliamentary, ii 302; iii 289; Mr. Bright's outlines of a bill, iii 289; Mr. Disraeli introduces

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it, iii 290; Lord John Russell's amendment, iii 290; Mr. Gladstone supports the government, iii 290; the oratory of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton and Sir Hugh Cairns, iii 291; Lord Palmerston on the position of the government, iii 291; defeat of the government, iii 291.
Reform Bill of 1832, provisions of the, i 72; list of places wholly or partly to be disfranchised by it, i 77; opposition of the clergy to, i 78; second reading carried, i 78; government defeated in committee, i 78; parliament dissolved, i 79; new parliament, i 83; the bill passed in House of Commons, i 83; thrown out by House of Lords, i 84; excitement and riots in the country, i 84; proposal to refuse to pay taxes till the bill was passed, i 88; the king declines to create new peers to pass the bill, i 88; the ministry resign, i 88, but are recalled, i 90; the bill receives the royal assent, i 90; fears entertained of the consequences of its passing, i 199.
Reform Bill of 1852, introduced by Lord John Russell, ii 289; its provisions, ii 289; received lukewarmly, ii 289.
Reform Bill of 1854, iii 50; withdrawn, iii 51.
Reform Bill of 1860, introduced by Lord John Russell, iv 37; lukewarmly received, and withdrawn, iv 38.
Reform Bill of 1866 introduced, iv 213; its fate, iv 222.
Reform Bill of 1867 introduced by Mr. Disraeli, iv 226.
Reform League, the, iv 223; its connection with the Hydepark Riots, iv 223.
Reformed parliament, work in, i 118; diary of Edward Baines, i 119.
Registration Act passed, i 177.
Regium Donum, motion on the, iv 266; compensation for withdrawal of, iv 271.
Religious activity from 1830–1834, i 110.
Restaurants, spread of, iv 10.
Revolutions in 1848, effect of, on this country, ii 142.
Rhanee of Jhansi, iii 268.
Ribbonism in Ireland, iv 260.
Rice, Spring, in Lord Melbourne's ministry, i 127; chancellor of the exchequer, i 180; reduces the duty on newspapers and on paper, i 189.
Richmond, surrender of, iv 142.
Rinderpest, appearance of, iv 2.
Riots and incendiarism, ii 120.
Ripon, Lord, president of Board of Trade, i 318.
Ritualism, result of, iv 12; riots in St. George's-in-the-East, London, iv 17; in the Church of England, iv 294; Mr. Gladstone on, iv 298; a royal commission appointed, iv 300.
Roberts, General Sir Frederick, iv 320.
Roebuck, John Arthur, birth and early career, i 225; enters parliament of 1832, i 107; unseated at Bath, i 220; advocates the cause of Canada, i 224; his quarrel with Mr. Coppock, ii 301; on danger from French invasion, ii 308; moves for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the Crimean war, iii 141, 143; carried by a large majority, moves a vote of reprehension on the cabinet, iii 178: rejected by Sheffield electors, iv 268.
Romilly, Sir Samuel, i 17.
Rosse, Lord, his great telescope, ii 175.
Royal British Bank, failure of, iii 233.
Royal Charter, wreck of the, iv 56.
Royal Institution, lectures on science at, iv 9.
Ruffini, fate of, ii 1.
Runnymede Letters, ii 63, 65.
Russell, Lord John, his education and early efforts on reform, i 17; introduces first reform bill, i 70; his popularity, i 79; on the defeat of the Peel ministry, i 134; on the Established Church, i 136; on the Irish Church, i 137; is charged with inconsistency, i 138; becomes home secretary, i 167; his election address for the queen's first parliament, i 218; on Philosophical Radicalism, i 311; opposes Peel's sliding-scale, ii 21; is unable to form a ministry, ii 93; reasons for voting against the Protection of Life Bill, ii 115; forms a ministry, ii 116; carries a sugar-duties bill, ii 116; introduces a reform bill, ii 289; militia bill, ii 291; resigns office, ii 295; is foreign secretary, ii 317; his reform bill of 1854, iii 50; it is withdrawn, iii 51; his resignation, iii 52; he urges the prime minister to remove the Duke of Newcastle and appoint Lord Palmerston, iii 137; again resigns office, iii 141; is colonial secretary, iii 155; sent to Vienna, iii 157; complaints of his conduct in the Vienna negotiations, iii 180; again resigns, iii 181; is denounced by Disraeli, iii 181; moves amendment on Disraeli's reform bill, iii 290; amendment carried, iii 291; again foreign secretary, iii 292; on church-rates, iv. 16; introduces a reform bill, iv 37, and withdraws it, iv 38; his despatch on the action of the Sardinian government, iv 81; gratitude of Cavour and Garibaldi, and other Italians, iv 83; forms a ministry after Palmerston's death, iv 182; his reform bill of 1866, iv 210, 213; resigns office, iv 222; his view of the reform bill of 1867, iv 233; retires from public life, iv 235.
Russell, Lord William, murder of, i 306.
Russell, W. H., describes the battle of Inkerman, iii 112.
Russia, her demands on Turkey, iii 22; they are refused, iii 23; the Russians take possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, iii 23; the Vienna note, iii 23; her alleged policy, iv 316; declares war against Turkey, iv 316. See *Crimean War*.

S.

Sadleir, John, M.P., embezzlements and forgeries of, iii 232.
Sadowa, battle of, iv 238.
Sale, General Sir Robert, marches from Cabul to Jellalabad, ii 8; relieved by General Pollock, ii 11.
Sale of Beer Act, ii 295.
affairs, iv 318; attends Berlin Congress, iv 318.
Salomons, Sir David, prosecution of, iv 37.
Sanitary matters, increased attention to, i 187; ii 18, 178, 181; iii 2.
San Juan, island of, iv 288.
Schleswig-Holstein war. See *Denmark*.
Schneider rifle, the, iii 326.
Scientific progress, iv 19.
Scinde, annexation of, ii 13.
Scott, John. See *Eldon*.
Scott, Sir Walter, his political views and treatment at Jedburgh, i 106; his death, i 106.
Sebastopol, strength of, iii 105; investment of, and attack on, iii 106; blocking of the harbour, iii 106.
Secessions to the Church of Rome, iv 203.
Secret Societies, English genius not favourable to, ii 145; sketch by Mr. Disraeli of initiation into a trades'-union, ii 146; increased since Chartist days, ii 147.
Secular Education, advance of, i 49.
Secularists, organization of the party, iii 7.
Semmes, Captain, commander of the *Sumter* and *Alabama*, iv 135, 136.
Sewing-machine, introduction of, iv 19.
Shaftesbury, Earl of, devoted to the amelioration of the condition of the labouring poor, ii 204; succeeds in stopping delivery of letters on Sunday, ii 205; the practice resumed, ii 205; his interest in the Ragged School movement, iii 212.
Sheffield, inundation of, iv 186.
Sherbrooke, Lord. See *Lowe*.
Shipka Pass, the, iv 316.
Shuttleworth, Sir J. K., i 267.
Sikhs, drinking habits of the, ii 161.
Simpson, General, takes command of the army in the Crimea, iii 136, 168.
Six Acts, the, i 6.
Slavery, proposed abolition of, i 22; beginning of agitation, i 55; renewed attempt, i 146; statistics of, i 146; evidence before committee of House of Commons, i 146; liberation of slaves by Quakers, i 148; government object to sudden emancipation, i 148; insurrection in Jamaica, i 149; excitement in Great Britain, i 149; motion for abolition lost, i 149; meetings on the subject, i 149; account by Sir George Stephen of one, i 150; Mr. Gladstone rebuts the charge of cruelty on his father's estate, i 150; government scheme of abolition, i 158; apprenticeship proposed, i 152; Harriet Martineau on, i 152; opposition to the apprenticeship scheme, i 153; the government scheme of emancipation passed, i 154; joy of the negroes, i 154; Thomas Carlyle on the results of abolition, i 154; the apprenticeship ended and emancipation completed, i 156; the efforts to stop the slave-trade increase the sufferings of the negroes, i 156; Lord Brougham's attempts to mitigate these, i 157; motion in the

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House of Commons, i 157; Mr. Gladstone's speech, i 157; the motion rejected, i 157; government proposal to suspend the constitution of Jamaica fails, i 158; a modified proposal introduced and carried, i 158; further arrangements for putting down the slave-trade, i 158; treaty between France and England to suppress slave-trade, i 192.
Smith, Albert, iv 9.
Smith of Deanston, Mr., his proposal on improving the condition of Ireland, ii 119.
Smith, Rev. Sydney, i 95, 186.
Smith, Mr. Vernon, president of the Board of Control, iii 155.
Social improvements, i 54.
Social science, increased attention to, ii 18.
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, i 49.
Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, iii 228.
Solferino, battle of, iii 315.
Somerville, Mrs., ii 176.
Soult, Marshal, at the coronation of Queen Victoria, i 230; on the French alliance with England, i 230.
South Kensington Museum, the Vernon and Turner collection removed to, iii 325; establishment of, iv 200.
Soyer, Alexis, his views on Irish cookery, ii 141; organizes the culinary services in the Crimea, iii 130.
Spanish marriages and Louis Philippe, ii 133.
Spasmodic school of poetic romance and philosophy, ii 207.
Special Correspondents at the seat of war, iii 120.
Speke, death of Captain, iv 199.
Spencer, Earl, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, iv 270.
Spinning-jenny, the first, i 275.
Spiritualism, introduction of, iv 18; Faraday on, iv 19.
Spurgeon, Mr. C. H., iv 11.
Stanfeld, Mr., iv 212.
Stanhope, Lady Hester, her ability and strange career, i 273.
Stanley, of Alderley, president of Board of Trade, iii 155.
Stanley, Dean, iv 204.
Stanley, Lord, chief secretary for Ireland, i 69; resigns, i 123; declines to join Peel's ministry, i 131; ii 94; speech on the Irish Church, i 142; is colonial secretary, i 318; opposes repeal of the corn-laws, ii 92; becomes Earl of Derby, ii 297; the "Rupert of Debate," iii 301.
Stanley, Lord, secretary for the colonies in his father's ministry, iii 287.
Star of India, the order of the, iv 43.
Statute Law, consolidation of the, iv 168; Lord Westbury's labours, iv 168.
Steam-hammer, invention of, i 271; iv 19.
Steam marine, development of, i 271, 234; iii 327; iv 20.
Steel, making of, iv 19.
Stephens, James, Fenian head-centre, iv 250.
Stephens, Rev. J. R., i 253; his violent speech at Chartist meeting, i 260.
Stephenson, Robert, works constructed by, iv 3; their commercial success, iv 3; death of, iv 3.
St. Jean d'Acre, siege of, i 290.
St. Leonards, Lord, lord-chancellor, ii 296.
Stockmar, Baron, sent by King Leopold as adviser and secretary to the queen, i 217; esteem in which he was held, i 218; dissatisfaction of opponents with his position, i 218; his value in the queen's household, i 305.
Stowe, Mrs. Harriet Beecher, publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ii 301; iv 92.
Strathbogie case, the, ii 166.
Strikes among the working-classes, iv 309.
Strong drinks, decreasing use of, i 188.
St. Stefano, treaty of, iv 318.
Subscription to Church articles, iv 208.
Suez Canal, the, iv 322.
Sugar duties, proposal of Peel's government to modify, ii 66; amendment of Mr. Miles carried, ii 67; government threaten to resign unless the vote be reversed, ii 67; the vote reversed, ii 68; further reduction of duties, ii 69; Mr. Milner-Gibson on, ii 71; Gladstone and Macaulay on, ii 72; the government proposal carried, ii 73.
Sugden, Sir Edward. See *St. Leonards*.
Sumter, Fort, taken by the Confederates, iv 100, 110.
Sunday Beer Bill, iii 226.
Sunday trading, bill for the suppression of, iii 222; riotous demonstrations against the bill, iii 222; it is withdrawn, iii 224; petitions for inquiry into alleged outrages by the police, iii 224; riotous proceedings, iii 224; Lord Palmerston and Lord Brougham mobbed, iii 225.
Surrey Zoological Gardens, iv 10.
Suttee abolished in India, iii 243.
Sveaborg, bombardment of, iii 184.
Swift, Dean, his scheme for disposing of children, i 253.
Syria, outbreak and massacres in, iv 63, 64; generous conduct of Abd-el-Kader, iv 65; Lord Dufferin's account of the scene at Deir-el-Kamar, iv 65; interference of France and England, and punishment of the leaders, iv 65.

T.

Tahiti, differences about, ii 131.
Taku forts, stormed by the allies, iv 61.
Tamworth Manifesto, the, i 130.
Tea-room Party, the, iv 230, 231.
Telegraph, increase of, previous to the Crimean war, iii 1.
Telegraph Cable, laying of the first and second Atlantic, iii 329.
Temperance movement, its beginnings, iv 149; formation of societies, iv 149; merges into the Total Abstinence movement, iv 150; the "Paisley Youths" and the Tradeston Society in Glasgow, iv 150; organization at Preston, iv 150; progress of the movement, iv 150; formation of the National Temperance League and of the United Kingdom Alliance, iv 150; the Permissive Bill introduced, iv 151, 152; operations of the Alliance, iv 151; meeting of clergymen at Manchester, iv 151; provisions of the bill, iv 152; Mr. Bright's counter plan, iv 152.
Tennyson, Alfred, appointed poet-laureate, ii 206; family of, ii 207; on the *coup d'état*, ii 274.
Thackeray, Wm. M., poem on the Great Exhibition, ii 283; May Day Ode, ii 243; on the snob political, ii 287; publication of *Esmond*, ii 301; his death, iv 196; his literary character, iv 196; Dickens' obituary notice of, iv 196.
Thames, purification of the, iii 228.
Thames Embankment, the, iv 3.
Thames Tunnel, the, ii 175.
Theology, change in popular, ii 301.
Thiers, M., forms a ministry, ii 2; his warlike attitude, ii 3; his professions distrusted, ii 6; resignation, ii 6.
Thom, "Sir William Courtenay," delusion of, i 247; his pretentions and their result, i 247.
Thomson, Sir William, his early career, iii 329; studies and improvements in electrical science, iii 329; the success of the Atlantic telegraph cable due to, iii 330.
Thuggism prohibited, iii 243.
Ticket-of-leave system, iii 238.
Tithe rent-charge, plan for extinction of, in Ireland, iv 271.
Toll-gates, destruction of, in Wales, ii 121.
Tory party, remodelling of the, i 131.
Toryism and Conservatism, Disraeli on, i 130.
Total Abstinence. See *Temperance Movement*.
Tower of London, fire at, i 330.
Tractarian movement, the, i 110, 284; is joined by Dr. Pusey, i 111.
Trades-union, Mr. Disraeli's sketch of initiation into a, ii 146.
Trades-unions, revival of, i 161; activity of, in 1834, i 162; large mass meeting of, at Copenhagen Fields, i 162; alarm in London, i 162; petition the government, i 163; outrages connected with, iv 123; action of, iv 239; great demonstration in London, iv 239; Mr. Leicester's oratory, iv 239; effects of their operation, iv 240; outrages at Sheffield and other towns, iv 241; addresses to working-men by Lord Brougham and Mr. Thomas Hughes, iv 241; a commission of inquiry appointed, iv 242; evidence of witnesses, iv 242; the miscreant Broadhead, iv 242; Trades-union Act passed, iv 286.
Transportation, abolition of, iii 237.
Transvaal, the, iv 320.
Trelawney, Sir John, his church-rate bill, iv 13.
Trent case, the, iv 116.
Truck system, Disraeli's description of a scene in a tommy-shop, ii 15.
Turkey, affairs in, iv 315; Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on *Bulgarian Horrors*, iv 316; war with Russia, iv 316.
Turner, the artist, iii 3; bequeaths his collection to the nation, iii 3; buried in St. Paul's, iii 4.

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U.

Ulster "Custom," the, iv 261, 278.
United Kingdom Alliance, iv 150.
United States, difficulties with Britain, iii 193, 195; commencement of the civil war in, iv 88; feeling in England, iv 89; secession of a number of states and Jefferson Davis elected their president, iv 89; Mr. Lincoln's declaration of the purpose of the war, iv 89; opinion in the Northern States on slavery, iv 90; attitude of South Carolina in 1848, iv 90; the Democratic and Republican parties, iv 90; a memorial from English ladies on the subject of slavery, iv 90; resentful reply, iv 90; the Fugitive Slave Bill, iv 91; Lincoln's fugitive slave proclamation, iv 91; establishment of the colony of Liberia, iv 91; the slave population in the United States, iv 91; anti-slavery societies, iv 92; cruelties practised on the slaves, iv 92; Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, iv 92; career of John Brown, iv 92; Arkansas and Mississippi join the confederation, iv 99; Fort Sumter taken by the Confederates, iv 100, 110; President Lincoln calls for 75,000 men, iv 100, 110; career of Jefferson Davis, iv 100; character and career of Abraham Lincoln, iv 101; his personal appearance, iv 102; difference of opinion in England with regard to the war, iv 102; speech by Mr. Bright on the United States, iv 103; attitude of suspicion between England and the Federal government, iv 105; the Southern States acknowledged as a belligerent power by the British government, iv 106, 111; strict neutrality proclaimed between the Federal and Confederate States, iv 106, 111; the extradition question, iv 106; ill feeling between Britain and the United States, iv 108; the Morrill Tariff Bill, iv 108; the *Times* on the prohibitory tariff, iv 109; sympathy in Britain for the North, iv 110; Jefferson Davis issues letters of marque, iv 110; calls for 150,000 volunteers, iv 110; blockade of the Southern ports, iv 110; the border slave states sympathize with the South, iv 110; the Federal government resent the recognition of the South, iv 111; French desire to aid the South, iv 112; a second call for men by the North, iv 112; early successes of the Confederates, iv 112, 115; Cassius M. Clay's letter on the objects of the war and the right of secession, iv 112; battle of Bull Run, iv 115; Captain Wilkes of the *San Jacinto* boards the *Trent* and demands the surrender of the Confederate commissioners, iv 116; the commissioners forcibly carried off, iv 116; excitement in England, iv 116; action of the British government, iv 116; Mr. Seward's answer, iv 117; Captain Wilkes commended for his conduct, iv 117; the ambassador in Washington instructed to leave unless satisfaction were given, iv 117; troops despatched to Canada, iv 118; the Federal government agree to deliver up the Confederate commissioners, iv 118; action of the European powers on the matter, iv 118; Mr. Lincoln's opinion, iv 118; fitting out of blockade-runners, iv 134; building of ships of war in Britain for the South, iv 135; remonstrance from the Federal government, iv 135; damage done by privateers, iv 135; the *Sumter* destroyed by a northern war steamer, iv 135; the *Florida*, iv 135; building of the *Alabama*, iv 135; the British government decline to interfere, and it is shipped off to sea, iv 136; her depredations, and destruction by the *Kearsarge*, iv 136; difficulty of preventing the building of privateers in Britain, iv 136; the Confederate rams, iv 137; speech by Mr. Gladstone on the war, iv 137, 139; opinions of Bright and Cobden, iv 137; effect of the war in England, iv 139; proclamation freeing the slaves, iv 140; manifesto by Jefferson Davis recommending the cultivation of food instead of cotton, iv 141; successes of the Federals, iv 141; successes of the Confederates, iv 141; the *Merrimac* and *Monitor* armour vessels, iv 141; repeated defeats of the Federals, iv 142; General Grant takes Vicksburg, iv 142; General Sherman's successes, iv 142; General Grant appointed to command the forces, iv 142; re-election of Mr. Lincoln, iv 142; all the Confederate ports taken by the North, iv 142; capitulation of Petersburg and Richmond, iv 142; end of the war, iv 142; Jefferson Davis imprisoned, iv 142; humanity and generosity of the North, iv 142; assassination of President Lincoln, iv 143; attempt on Mr. Seward's life, iv 143; cost of the war, iv 144; appearance of Richmond after the surrender, iv 144.
University Tests Bill passed, iv 286.

V.

Vaccination Act passed, iii 228.
Vane, Charles Stewart. See *Londonderry*.
Vatican Decrees, Mr. Gladstone on the, iv 304.
Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation, publication of, ii 176.
Veto law, the, ii 166.
Victor Emmanuel, succeeds to the throne of Piedmont, ii 153; his qualifications, ii 153.
Victoria, Queen, birth and early life and training, i 181, 208, 211; anecdote of her education in economy, i 182; alleged conspiracy to prevent her succession, i 183; receives information of the death of William IV., i 208; her first privy council, i 209; her proclamation, i 210; sentiment throughout the country, i 210; is advised by Lord Melbourne, i 214; suspicion of being controlled by the Whigs, i 215; her first speech in parliament, i 220; coronation, i 230; procession and banquet on Lord Mayor's Day, i 246; great expectations of radical reformers from her accession, i 249; creeds of political parties at this time, i 252; attempts on her life, i 272; her relations, i 292; her nearness to the throne first made known to her, i 293; consulted by King Leopold as to a marriage with Prince Albert, i 296; the marriage decided upon, i 297; enthusiastic reception of the announcement by the parliament and the country, i 298; remarks on the question of precedence, i 303; her marriage, i 304; changes in her household caused by change of ministry, i 315; her visit with the prince consort to Germany, Belgium, and France, ii 92; encourages native manufactures, ii 123; her visit to Louis Philippe, ii 129; visit of Emperor of Russia to, ii 130; her visit to Ireland, ii 185; the queen and most of the royal family attacked by measles, iii 39; receives a visit from the French emperor and empress, iii 101; her return visit to Paris, iii 103; visits Cherbourg, iii 279; her visit to Coburg, iv 46; letter to King Leopold on the twenty-first anniversary of her marriage, iv 49; her grief and seclusion on the death of Prince Albert, iv 56; opens session of 1866, iv 209.
Victoria, Australia, discovery of gold in, ii 201.
Victoria N'Yanza, discovery of, iv 20.
Vienna Conference, iii 158; failure of, iii 160; debates on, iii 168.
Villafranca, Treaty of, iii 316.
Villiers, Mr., proposes the abolition of the tax on corn, ii 23; the motion lost, ii 33.
Volunteer movement, proposals for the formation of volunteer regiments, iii 284; growth of, iii 324; iv 43; code drawn up by Prince Albert, iii 325.
Volunteer review in Hyde Park, iv 44; first meeting of National Rifle Association at Wimbledon, iv 45; review of the Scottish volunteers at Holyrood in 1860, iv 45; the queen's account of, iv 46.

W.

Wakley, Mr., editor of the *Lancet*, iii 229.
Wales, Prince of, his birth and education, iii 324, 330; his popularity, iii 324; at Edinburgh and Oxford, iii 325; Marlborough House prepared for him, iii 325; visit to Canada and the United States, iv 42, 47; his visit to Ireland, iv 258; his serious illness, iv 287; Charles Sumner's description of, iv 47; letter from President Buchanan to the queen, and her reply, iv 48; betrothal of, iv 144; his marriage, iv 145; Tennyson's ode of welcome, iv 145.
Wallachia. See *Principalities*.
Walpole, Mr., home secretary, ii 296; iii 287; iv 225.
Warburton, Henry, a philosophical Radical, i 311.
Ward, F. O., labours for sanitary improvement, iii 2.

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stone's speech, i 157; the motion rejected, i 157; government proposal to suspend the constitution of Jamaica fails, i 158; a modified proposal introduced and carried, i 158; further arrangements for putting down the slave-trade, i 158; treaty between France and England to suppress slave-trade, i 192.
Smith, Albert, iv 9.
Smith of Deanston, Mr., his proposal on improving the condition of Ireland, ii 119.
Smith, Rev. Sydney, i 95, 186.
Smith, Mr. Vernon, president of the Board of Control, iii 155.
Social improvements, i 54.
Social science, increased attention to, ii 18.
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, i 49.
Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, iii 228.
Solferino, battle of, iii 315.
Somerville, Mrs., ii 176.
Soult, Marshal, at the coronation of Queen Victoria, i 230; on the French alliance with England, i 230.
South Kensington Museum, the Vernon and Turner collection removed to, ii 325; establishment of, iv 200.
Soyer, Alexis, his views on
cookery, ii 141; organizes the
services in the Crimea, iii 130.
Spanish marriages and Louis
ii 133.
Spasmodic school of poetic
philosophy, ii 207.
Special Correspondents
war, iii 120.
Speke, death of Capt
Spencer, Earl, Lor
land, iv 270.
Spinning-jenny, t
Spiritualism, in
Faraday on, i
Spurgeon, Mr
Stanfeld, Mr
Stanhope, I
strange c
Stanley, c
of Trad
Stanley
Stanley
land,
join
on
ser
cc
i
S
death of, iv 3.
St. Jean d'Acre, siege of, i 290.
St. Leonards, Lord, lord-chancellor, ii 296.
Stockmar, Baron, sent by King Leopold as adviser and secretary to the queen, i 217; esteem in which he was held, i 218; dissatisfaction of opponents with his position, i 218; his value in the queen's household, i 305.
Stowe, Mrs. Harriet Beecher, publ
Uncle Tom's Cabin, ii 301; iv
Strathbogie case, the, ii 166.
Strikes among the workin
elected iv 309.
Strong drinks, decreasin
iii 187.
St. Stefano, treaty of,
a pension
Subscription to Chu
votes for
Suez Canal, the, i
Sugar duties, pr
meeting of the Na-
ment to mod
ciation at, iv 45.
Mr. Miles
al, ii 171; his personal
threaten
ii 171; his learning, ii 172;
reverse
the appointment of Dr.
furth
ii 172; the Ecclesiastical
Mi
s
of the Alliance,
173; Earl Russell
clergymen at
173; petitions of Oxford
visions of t
dge Universities in favour
counter
ll, ii 173; excitement in the
Tenny
mind during several years, ii 174
rea
eley, Sir Garnet, iv 305.
ood, Sir C., president of the Board of Control, ii 317; iii 151; appointed first lord of the admiralty, iii 151.
Wordsworth, William, ii 163; made poet-laureate, ii 163; alliance with Coleridge, ii 164; his death, ii 163; anecdotes of, ii 164.

Y.

Yeh, governor of Canton, iii 199; capture and death of, iii 277.
Young England party, i 263.

Z.

Zulu war, the, iv 320.

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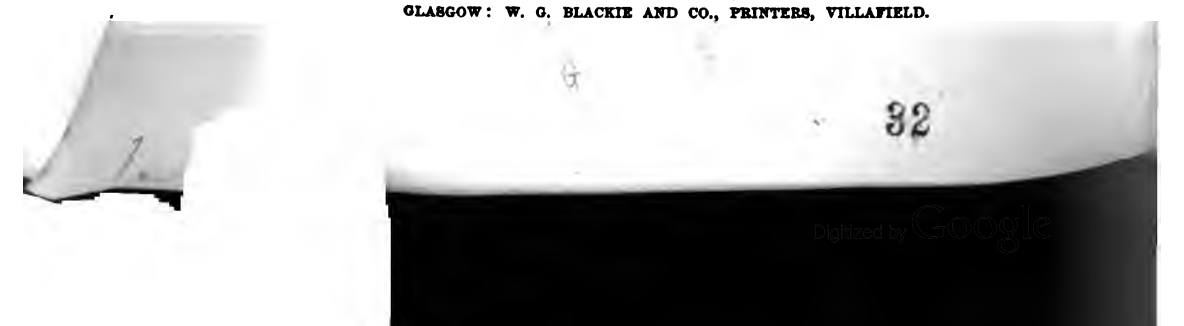

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WATER

Water supply, of London, iv 4, 187; of Glasgow, iv. 5.
Waterloo Bridge mystery, the, iii 236.
Wellington, Duke of, his administration, i 30; unpopularity of, i 60; refuses to support parliamentary reform, i 65; resignation of his ministry, i 66; his failure as a politician, i 66; breaking of his windows, i 83, 110; estimate of the duke, i 119; avowal of his political conduct, i 119; undertakes to conduct the government till Peel's return, i 129; foreign secretary, i 130; in Peel's ministry without office, i 318; renewed popularity of, i 210; at the coronation of the queen, i 230; his correspondence, ii 318; his simple personal habits, ii 318; his death, ii 317; lying in state, ii 320; the funeral, ii 321; military funeral services held at Madrid, Berlin, and Vienna, ii 322; Prince Louis Napoleon's respect for, ii 322; Lord Derby, Disraeli, and Gladstone on, ii 322.
Wesleyan Methodist Association founded, 1834, i 110.
Westbury, Lord, solicitor-general in the Aberdeen ministry, ii 317; his legal labours, iv 168; his speech on Convocation, iv 207; his early career, iv 208; is accused of laxity, and resigns the lord-chancellorship, iv 209.
Westminster Review, the, i 108.
Wheeler, Sir Hugh, commands the garrison at Cawnpore, iii 252.
White Conduit House, the, i 98.
Wilberforce, William, i 155; his share in the agitation for abolition, i 156.
William IV., accession, i 57; death of, i 181; character of, i 181.
William of Denmark, Prince, elected King of Greece, iv 145.
Williams, Sir W. F., of Kars, iii 187.
Wilson, Prof. John, receives a pension from government, iii 10; votes for Macaulay, iii 10.
Wimbledon, first meeting of the National Rifle Association at, iv 45.
Wiseman, Cardinal, ii 171; his personal appearance, ii 171; his learning, ii 172; excitement on the appointment of Dr. Wiseman, ii 172; the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Act passed, ii 173; it is repealed, ii 173; Earl Russell's account of, ii 173; petitions of Oxford and Cambridge Universities in favour of the bill, ii 173; excitement in the public mind during several years, ii 174.
Wolseley, Sir Garnet, iv 305.
Wood, Sir C., president of the Board of Control, ii 317; iii 151; appointed first lord of the admiralty, iii 151.
Wordsworth, William, ii 163; made poet-laureate, ii 163; alliance with Coleridge, ii 164; his death, ii 163; anecdotes of, ii 164.

Y.

Yeh, governor of Canton, iii 199; capture and death of, iii 277.
Young England party, i 263.

Z.

Zulu war, the, iv 320.

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